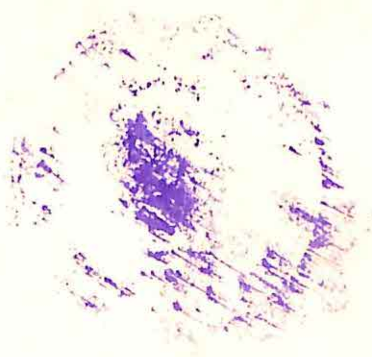
Sociology in India

BELA DUTT GUPTA

CENTRE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH



SOCIOLOGY IN INDIA

AN ENQUIRY INTO SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING &
EMPIRICAL SOCIAL RESEARCH IN THE NINE-
TEENTH CENTURY— WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO BENGAL

BELA DUTT GUPTA
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH
CALCUTTA 32

Sociology in India
by
Bela Dutt Gupta

15th August
International Book Year (1972)

Published by
The Author
on behalf of
Centre for Sociological Research
123 Regent Estate
Calcutta 32

Rs. 55.00
85 shillings
$ 20

Entire sale proceeds will be devoted to the development of the Centre.

Printed by
Debesh Dutta
Arunima Printing Works
81 Simla Street
Calcutta 6

To my esteemed teachers,

Professor T. H. Marshall
Professor Norman Birnbaum
Professor Furer Haimendorf

PREFACE

This Book is about the development of sociological thinking and empirical social research in India in the nineteenth century. In India, sociology is a comparatively late entrant in the academic world. But the academic world in India was not that impervious to the idea of a systematic study of society. And, emphasis of the Indian authors on the uniqueness of Indian value system, the centrifugal, communalistic and non-hedonistic character of Indian culture and polity notwithstanding, a tradition of positivistic and empirical study and research grew in this country right from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, i.e., with the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. In fact, social research and socio-economic survey coincided with the British rule in India. These were needed by the alien authorities for the purpose of efficient administration of the country. Reports of surveys and administrative records, nonetheless, set the pace for more ambitious works like the Survey of Bengal Districts by Dr. Francis Buchanan and Statistical Accounts of Bengal by Sir William Hunter.

From the middle decades of the nineteenth century, both speculative and practical ideas were being forwarded by the academics and men of affairs in India ; these ideas, speculative and practical, contributed in their turn, greatly to the development of sociology in this country. In this book, I have attempted to capture those ideas and then reconstruct the 'sociological map' of India, which had remained, unfortunately, a little blurred till to a recent date.

Writing a book when one has to take care of the normal teaching schedule in the postgraduate classes

of one of the most disturbed campus, is indeed a strenuous task. My thanks are extended to all who helped me in this task. I wish to mention, specially, the name of my sister Sreemati Ela Majumdar. Her help in copying documents from the Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association has been invaluable.

I should also like to express my appreciation to the librarians of the Central Library, Calcutta University, National Library, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Uttarpara Public Library, National Archives, New Delhi, British Museum, Commonwealth Relations Office and Nottingham University Library for their very kind co-operation.

I am extremely grateful to the University Grants Commission for its financial assistance in my research.

In spite of very careful proofreading, some printing mistakes remain in the book. My apologies to the readers.

B. D. G.

CONTENTS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I *Primary Accumulation* .. 1

CHAPTER II *Social Milieu* 23

CHAPTER III *The Founding Fathers* .. 48

CHAPTER IV *Social Network & Institutionalization* 92

CHAPTER V *The Bengal Social Science Association* 129

CHAPTER VI *Positivism & India* 173

EPILOGUE 201

APPENDIX I—VIII

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART TWO

1. Address by the Hon'ble Justice Phear at the first meeing of the Bengal Social Science Association 1
2. 'On the Laws of Health considered with reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of India' 26
   (*Kanai Lal Dey*)
3. 'Female Occupations in Bengal' 52
   (*Greesh Chandar Ghosh*)
4. 'Mahomedan Education in Bengal' 64
   (*Moulvi Abdool Luteef*)
5. 'The Festivals of the Hindus' 88
   (*Kissory Chand Mittra*)
6. 'The Calcutta Ragged School' 109
   (*J. B. Knight*)
7. Summary of replies received to the enquiries of the Association on the subject of Female Education 114

8. 'The Social Condition of the Muhamedans of Bengal, and the Remedies' 130
(The Rev. J. Long)

9. 'Thoughts on the Present Social and Economic Condition of Bengal and its probable Future' .. 153
(Chunder Nath Bose)

10. 'On the Condition of Bengal Ryot' .. 186
(Peary Mohan Mukherjee)

11. 'On Indian Sanitation' 195
(Miss Florence Nightingale)

12. 'The Improvement of Indian Women' .. 205
(Keshab Chandra Sen)

13. 'Village Communities in India and Russia' .. 221
(The Rev. J. Long)

14. 'Indian Cooly Emigration' 278
(J. Geoghegan)

15. 'Prison Discipline and Industrial and Reformatory Schools' 308
(Miss Mary Carpenter)

16. 'A Few Facts Concerning Village Life' .. 327
(Isser Chunder Mitter)

17. 'The Origin and Development of Caste' .. 344
(The Rev. K. M. Banerjee)

18. 'On Reformatory Schools and the Proper Classes of Juvenile Criminals to be subjected to Reformatory Treatment' 362
(H. Beverley)

19. 'On the Statistics and Causes of Suicide in India' 391
(Kenneth McLeod)

> "It becomes the task of sociological history of thought to analyse. . . . all the factors in the actually existing social situation which may influence thought."
>
> *Karl Mannheim*

INTRODUCTION

The story of Indian sociology has not been properly told ; neither her own authors nor those from abroad had taken pains to make a genetic study of social sciences, particularly of sociology, in India. Allegation has it that an essentially philosophic and religious orientation of Indian intellectuals, generally unreceptive to the idea of an empirical sociology, hindered the development of the discipline in this country, and that Indians are adept not in tool-making but in tool-using. Eur-American authors maintain that whatever literature on sociology in India exists today, is either a pale and attenuated version of Western empirical sociology, or a framework which is basically rooted in Indian philosophical assumptions. Also that, the relatively late arrival of sociology in the universities of India is due to this 'philosophical orientation of Indian intellectuals.[1]

Eur-American authors had indeed been a bit over-enthusiastic in their 'otherworldly' delineation of Indian erudition and culture. To them, an essentially theo-philosophical and an a-empirical attitude characterised Indian intellectuals. Supporting statements abound in the writings of Max Muller, Emile Senart, Bougle and others.[2]

More recently, Max Weber's essays on the relation between religion and economic life reiterate the same conventional analysis of the Indian scene. The main strand of thought in his *The Religion of India,* as it is very well known by now, is that worldly life and secular activities received rather scant attention from Indians of all ages, specially Hindus and Buddhists.[3]

Pitrim Sorokin is no exception to this tenor of opinion about

the Indian world-view. His statement, though extremely provocative, appears baffling. He writes,

> "Almost all the European investigators of the problems unanimously stress that the materialistic thought never gained any important place in the literature of India, except in the legendary pre-Aryan period, before 2000 to 4000 B.C. of which nothing is known and which did not have as yet the Vedic culture, nor crystallised into a real school of thought, nor if it existed as such had any great influence".

Again,

> "Even in such seemingly purely secular works as the great Hindu treatise on politics, the *Arthasastra* ascribed to Kautilya, we do not find a purely secular empirical and morally cynical standpoint so pronounced as in many Western works beginning with Machiavelli's *Prince*. The standpoint of the *Arthasastra* is sensatism mitigated by pure ideationalism, that is, it is idealistically rationalistic in its epistemology as well as in its ethics and politics".[4]

Paradoxically however, it has been brought to our notice that in the country of Machiavelli himself authors claim that "Kautilya preceded Machiavelli in Machiavellism".[5]

Prof. Edward Shils also joins in this chorus of condemnation on the position of sociology. According to him colonial countries and colonial universities are at best adept in "adaptive" researches, "routinized" science which required no original thinking or creativity. It was just an application of known principles to new situations.[6]

That this kind of 'Indology' and pattern of thinking exercised influence on Indian writers is evident from recent discourses and writings of Indian sociologists. R. N. Saksena in his paper 'Sociology in India', presented at the Fourth International Congress of Sociology at Tressa, 1959 definitely underscored this subjective slant for sociology in India. Said he,

"It may, therefore, be said that in our sociological thinking there is a pre-ponderance of belief in nature and divinity. An individual's actions are believed to be justified not only in his own life time, but even beyond. Thus, Darwinism, which had such a great influence in Western thought could possibly not have found a place in Indian thought. Even now in our society an individual's behaviour and values are interpreted as part and whole. *Hence sociology in India cannot be entirely 'objective' in its content and approach. It has to contain a little bit of abstract philosophy,* which provides a continuum between the past and the present which constitutes the dynamics of Indian society". (Italics added).[7]

Saksena reiterated the same point in his Presidential Address at the Tenth Indian Sociological Conference at Hyderabad, December 1970; he said that Indian society is 'tradition-bound'.[8] A. K. Saran posits the same 'subjective' value to sociology and to social sciences in India. A profound awareness of traditional Indian philosophy and thought should, according to Saran, precede sociological studies and researches in India.[9] Y. B. Damle also does not seem to have gone beyond Saksena, Saran and others. Accepting Shil's characterisation of Indian intellectuals that they are always torn between tradition and modernity, Damle asserts that they could not usher into the country the empirical, positive and pragmatic study of society. They were mostly taken up with 'pattern maintenance'.[10] Yogindra Singh evinces an apologetic attitude for sociology in India ;—"As evident upto 1947, the scope of Indian sociology had remained very limited ; there is no evidence of urban sociological studies ; in criminology and social pathology are exceptionally few, and above all there exists no consensus about the nature of sociological enquiry and its logic of procedures. Sociological sensibility is diffuse."[11] Equally, Ralph Pieris disappoints us. In a genuine Durkheimian *genre* Pieris writes, "Sociology can emerge in Asian countries only as a consequence of erosion of traditionalism, which hampers understanding of the demands of a changing society. For only with the eclipse of traditionalism

can a live faith be evolved appropriate for contemporary reality, and it is in such a context that a live sociology can grow."[12]

Judged by all these, the claim of sociology in India appears very tenuous. The postulation of all the pandits, mentioned above, is that positivism as taking 'natural science as the paradigm of human knowledge' is conspicuous by its absence in the study and researches of society in India.

Indeed, the idea that the Hindu society was "unintelligible in terms of positivistic concepts" reigned supreme in the nineteenth and early twentieth century writings, here and abroad. It is still, unfortunately, having some sway over intellectuals of the two worlds. But, nothing can be more damaging than this kind of partial, one-sided and prejudiced views. It shows a lack of knowledge and understanding too, of the local history and of the indigenous development of institutions. It is not true that there was any built-in reluctance or resistance among intellectuals in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to take natural science as the paradigm of human knowledge. The establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 is a great landmark in the intellectual history of India. The Society was to investigate, within the geographical limits of Asia, whatever is performed by man or produced by nature "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia."[13]

In July 1823, the General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed by the government. It was entrusted with the task of suggesting such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt 'with a view to the better instruction of the people to the introduction of useful knowledge, including the sciences and arts of Europe'. Earlier, around 1818, the missionary fathers were disseminating scientific knowledge through their periodicals *Samachar Darpan* and *Digdarshan*. The General Committee of Public Instruction had a more serious view on the spread of scientific knowledge and training. They wished to see that the Hindu College grows up as a centre for the diffusion of sound practical knowledge amongst the able and respectable individuals. For the teaching of natural sciences, such as mechanics,

hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, electricity, astronomy and chemistry, it was proposed to create a professorship of experimental philosophy.

A Society for Translating European Sciences came into being in 1825. Under its auspices, fifteen volumes of *Vijnan Sebadhi*—a periodical on science were published. Contemporary newspapers (*India Gazettee* 5.5.1832, *Samachar Darpan* 19.9.1832, 3.10.1832) spoke highly of the contributions of the journal.

With the establishment of the Calcutta Medical College in 1835, the circle of scientific studies in India was complete. Grant Medical College in Bombay and Madras Medical College date 1845 and 1852 respectively. Earlier, medical classes were opened in Sanskrit College and Calcutta Madrasa in 1826 and the School for Native Doctors in Calcutta was established in 1822. In these earlier endeavours at medical training there were serious gaps, both in teaching and recruitment. Eligibility to these earlier institutes was guided by high caste factor. When the Calcutta Medical College came into being, all these were done away with. A minimum educational qualification was prescribed for the intending candidate ; the restrictions of caste were abolished ; and, all Indians, between the age of 14 and 20, were declared 'equally eligible without exception to caste or creed'. The first batch of medical students who sat for the final examination in 1839 naturally show a motley group of different castes and religions There were eleven students in all for the final examination. Of them Christian 1, Brahmin 1, Vaidya 4, and Kayastha 5.

That social and religious prejudices did not stand in the way of accepting natural science as the paradigm of human knowledge will also be evident from the remarks of John Eliot Drinkwater Bethune on the occasion of the first dissection at the Medical College. On 10 January, 1836, Madhusudan Gupta first wielded his scalpel on a cadaver. Mr. Bethune gives a very graphic description of the whole show :

"I have had the scene described to me. It had

> needed some time, some exercise of the persuasive art, before Madhusudan could bend up his mind to the attempt, but having once taken the resolution, he never flinched or swerved from it. At the appointed hour scalpel in hand, he followed Dr. Goodeve into the godown where the body lay ready. The other students deeply interested in what was going forward but strongly agitated with mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm, crowded after them, but durst "not enter the building where this fearful deed was to be perpetrated ; they clustered round the door, they peeped through the jhilmils, resolved at least to have ocular proof of its accomplishment. And when Madhusudan's knife held with a strong and steady hand, made a long and deep incision in the breast, the lookers-on drew a long and deep breath like men relieved from the weight of some intolerable suspense".

and it is no exaggeration that "the day (when the dissection took place) will even be marked in the annals of Western Medicine in India when Indians rose superior to the prejudices of their earlier education and thus boldly flung up the gates of the modern medical science to our country". And it has not been belied by subsequent developments in the institution in question.

On the model of the Mechanics Institute in England, a Mechanics Institute was established in Calcutta in 1839. Tarachand Chakraborty of 'Young Bengal' fame was at the helm of the Institute. In the absence of the proper milieu, the institute did not, however, last long. But the very idea of broaching of an institute of this kind is indeed radical in the contemporay period.

In 1840 the Linnaean Society of India was established in Calcutta. *The Calcutta Journal of Natural History* came cut in the same year. Dwarkanath Tagore, Ramkamal Sen, Durgacharan Bhattacharyya and a few others were closely associated with the journal.

That interests in scientific studies and applied sciences were

on the increase is also evident from the emergence of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Art in the late fifties of the last century. Cecil Beadon, the Rev. J. Long, Kishori chand Mitra, Pratap chandra Sinha and quite a few other Indian and European gentlemen were constructively associated with the Society. It was also instrumental to the establishment of the Calcutta School of Industrial Arts in the sixties of the 19th century.

The whole intellectual climate in contemporary Calcutta was really and truly surcharged with science and things 'scientific'. In individual lectures, writings in journals, newspapers there was a constant demand for the study, teaching and dissemination of scientific knowledge. In the pages of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika,* in the columns of the *Sambad Prabhakar* logic for technical schools, agricultural institutes researching on improved methods of cultivation, was repeated again and again. In 1854 Col. Goodwin's paper on 'Union of Science, Industry and Art' read before the Bethune Society, is an important index of the people's demand for applied science in this country.

A depth study into the social, economic, educational and religious history of the country for the last two hundred years will, I am sure, definitely strengthen the claim of Sociology in India right from the middle of the last century. In that, 'Sociology' in the West and in India is almost contemporaneous. It will be revealed also how well entrenched was the practice of sociology, that is, sociological reflection and research, in this country even in an early period. The year 1859 may, however, be singled out as the year of institutionalization, however fragmentary it might have been, of sociology in India. Except the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences (1857) in Great Britain, there was, possibly, no other association dealing with sociology in the world at that time. The sociology section of the Bethune society, therefore, confirms a long tradition of sociology in India.

The lead of 'institutionalization' given by the Bethune Society was taken up more hopefully and with success, by other academic, administrative and voluntaristic associations in Calcutta and in other parts of India later in the nineteenth century. They

created a 'resonant and echoing intellectual environment'; and, in course of interpreting social reality, they helped building up a sociological tradition which had become "more and more coalescent in practice and in retrospect with the substantive traditions."[14] Of these associations, the Bengal Social Science Association deserves special mention. It satisfied one of the major demands of 'institutionalisation' of Sociology as envisaged by Edward Shils. Papers read at the Bengal Social Science Association and such other associations, and investigations taken up by them show that reflections and researches went in the area of science, comparative social institutions, criminology, sociology, sociology of recreation and so on.

The impact of Comte's positivist ideology on Indian thought and imagination in the sixties of the last century is also a phenomenon of great moment. In July 1, 1868, K. S. Macdonald of the United Free Church Mission delivered his lecture "August Comte, the Positivist" to a large audience at Calcutta; a Bengali translation of the same appeared in print in 1874. In the same year, an original essay in Bengali vernacular on Comte and his philosophy appeared in the *Vangadarshan*. The author of the essay was Rajkrishna Mukherjee. A Positivist Society had already been established in Calcutta in 1873. All these must have had their influence on reflection and action of sociology in India in the nineteenth century. Ralph Pieres' observation that, "In Japan alone a long tradition of Sociology (in Asia) dates from about 1879, when the word *Shakaigaku* or Sociology first appeared in print"[15] appears, therefore, difficult to accept in view of the intellectual and institutional development in India in the fifties and sixties of the last century. *Samajvijnan* the Bengali word for Sociology appeared in print in 1875. Even earlier, in 1868, Syed Shurufuddin of Lucknow had his booklet *Sociology for India* published on behalf of the Oudh Scientific Society. We thus, see that the word 'Sociology' was known in India, both intellectually and formally, much earlier than many countries of the world.

It is true that these early sociologists in India did not employ the vocabulary of special words and usage which Sociology and Anthropology have now developed. Even if their interests

were practical-administrative and meliorative like the eighteenth century sociologists in Britain, they were, nevertheless, sociologists and not social philosophers: And they analysed social facts in a wholly secular manner. They wrote on the alienating consequences of urbanisation, social consequences of the spread of railways and other communication media, social conflict arising from acculturation, and many other subjects of social reality. They were also very much aware, almost in a Durkheimian *genre*, of the sociological consequences of the extension of division of labour. They were not professional academics on the subject of Sociology. They were rather frontiersmen with a keen sense of social welfare. They were never tired of feeling, thinking and talking about what is good for their society in India. They wrote out what they would feel and we can hardly dismiss their work as something amateur. With reflections and researches about society that went on in the nineteenth century, one can very hopefully draw a retrospective map of sociology in India.

With the benefit of hindsight, which the availability of recent materials on the nineteenth century much improves, it is not difficult to draw that restrospective map. This, I am sure, will dissolve many doubts and clear away cobwebs of conjecture about sociology in India; that sociology is not a post-1947 phenomenon thriving in "borrowed plumes," and that sociology in this country had a definitely secular and not a sacred or religious basis. As a good deal of 'sociography' went before 'sociology' here as in Western countries, it is necessary to recapture the history of empirical research in this country, and then add to it the existing social concepts and theories. It is not a chronological study of peoples, places and things alone. I have tried to find out a nexus between social thought and social organisation in the period of study.

"To proceed on such a sociology of sociology", stages or levels should be delineated. First of all we will have to enquire into the pre-requisites of sociological reflections and action in this country. That is, is there a tradition of sociological thinking and some primary accumulation of sociological knowledge in this country? What indeed was the intellectual potentiality of receiving the science of society in India?

Second, what were the broad historical, social and cultural factors that shaped the birth and development of sociology, both in its reflectional and actional aspects in India? The introduction of European learning and people (missionaries, in their proselytising endeavour) into India had important consequences. European learning in India gave birth to scholars versed in Western studies, it unleashed a struggle between traditionalists and modernists, between Anglicists and Orientalist ; it raised a controversy between religion and science. The major theme of the traditionalists' discourse was the different historical developments of the West and India, and the superiority of the Indian culture over that of the West ; Indian culture being based on spiritual values while material values constituted the basis of much of the European civilisation with its industrial and urban complexes. This basic difference, the traditionalists alleged, was germane to any study of sociology in India with its widely ramifying problems like the relationship of the individual to the group ; the formation and dissolution of solidarity ; indicators, agents and directions of social change ; problems of progress ; structural character of Indian society : influence of religion and tradition in social change ; social mobility and so on. Since both the traditionalists and rationalists contended to win the hearts of the people here, sociological reflections and actions of the period bear stamp of their contention and conflict.

Third, or the final process is that of receptivity or the association of social networks like institutions, associations, personal contacts within which sociological thinking and empirical researches were promoted.

In this study, I have followed a historical approach with a descriptive-cum-critical method. There is no gainsaying the fact that the pattern of administration in the colonial period of India had much to do in the development of researches either in natural sciences or in social sciences.[16] Despite all these difficulties, Sociology in India evinced tremendous strength and resilience which, unfortunately, remained unnoticed by scholars and researchers, here and abroad.

The work is divided into two parts. In the first part, I

have tried to trace the development of sociology in India in the nineteenth century with a special emphasis on the working of the Bengal Social Science Association. In the second part, I have incorporated a number of papers that were read at different meetings of the Bengal Social Science Association.

Notes :

Motto ; K. Mannheim,—*Ideology and Utopia,* London 1969, p. 69.

1. International Encyclopaedia on Social Sciences, 1968, vol. XV, p. 15. Article on 'Sociology'.
   Clinard, M. B. & J. W. Elder,—'Sociology in India : A Study in the Sociology of Knowledge', *American Sociological Review,* August 1965, pp. 581-87.
   Bottomore, T. B.,—'Sociology in India', *British Journal of Sociology,* vol xiii, pp. 98-106.
   A. K. Saran,—"Indian thinkers, with one or two exceptions, have been too much dependent on the West for their theory and have been promptly accepting the changing theoretical framework from the West". 'Sociology in India', *Contemporary Sociology* (ed) Roucek, J. S. pp. 1013-1034.
   Morehouse, W (ed)—*Science and the Human Condition in India and Pakistan.* Embree says that the metaphysical implication of Hindu belief impedes the spread of science. N. Y. 1968.
2. Senart, E.,—*Les Castes dans l'Inde,* 1897, also the 1927 edition of the book, p. 228.
   Sorokin, P.,—*Social and Cultural Dynamics,* vol III, pp. 193-94.
3. Weber, Max.,—*The Religion of India* : *The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism,* (tran & ed) Gerth, H. H. & Don Martindale (Glencoe 1958), p. 326.
4. Sorokin, P.,—*Social and Cultural Dynamics,* vol II, pp. 57-58.
   Dunning in his *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval,* vol I, Introduction, observes in almost a similar vein,
   "The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in

which it is embedded today".

5. Bottazzi, G. B.,—'Precursori di Nicolo Machiavelli in Indie' quoted by B. K. Sarkar in 'Hindu Politics in Italian', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925-26.
6. Shils, E.,—'Scientific Development in the New States', In *Science and the New Nations*, New York 1961, *Passim.*
7. Saksena, R. N.,—'Sociology in India', *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology*, 1961, p. 61.
8. Presidential Address at the Tenth Indian Sociological Conference, Hyderabad, December, 1970. *Passim.*
9. Saran, A. K.,—'Some Aspects of Positivism in Sociology' *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology* Also the *Eastern Anthropologist* January-April 1962.
0. Damle, Y. B.,—'For a theory of Indian Sociology' In *Sociology in India,* (Agra 1965) p. 42.
1. Yogendra Singh,—'The Scope and Method of Sociology in India' In *Sociology for India* (ed) T. K. Unnithan *et al* (New Delhi 1967) p. 20.
2. Pieris, R.,—'Implantation of Sociology in Asia' *International Social Science Journal,* vol. xxl No. 3, 1969. p. 439 ff.
3. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
4. Shils, Edward.,—'History of Sociology' *Daedalus,* Fall 1970, p. 763.
5. Pieris, R.,—*loc cit.*
6. Philimore, Col. R. R.,—*Historical Records of the Surveys of India,* vols II, pp. 354-55. vol III, pp. 388 ff. Sir P. C. Roy—Presidental Address Seventh Annual Meeting of the Indian Science Congress, 1920.

PART ONE

Chapter I

PRIMARY ACCUMULATION

'India possessed not only world-escaping thinkers but also realists. These latter took men and things as they are, with fine understanding of their weaknesses'.

A. Hillebrandt.

Rational thinking about society and individual was basic to the intellectual tradition of India. The organisers of the ancient Hindu society possessed a high degree of wisdom, knowledge, and intimate experience of human values and tendencies. They formulated principles and disciplines that should guide individual and society. The individual constituted the unit of social life. But it was no narrow individualism. The ancient Hindu sociologist aimed at building up a broad-based, integrated society in which individual's physical, psychical and spiritual advance was well looked after. The system of castes was the pivot on which the whole community life revolved. It formed the basis of law and conventions in interhuman relations. Four different *ashramas,* education, securing a living, were all guided by it. Numerous observances relating to the joint family and marriage, polygyny, widowhood, child-marriage, adultery, divorce and other related matters are nothing but the reflections of law regulating Hindu social life. And basic to this law was *dharma* or righteousness. This *dharma* lent to social relations a deeper significance than the mere getting together of human beings. *Dharma* was significantly related to practical life as it was concerned with moralized social behaviour. The material and the spiritual have, thus, been equally emphasised in the conceptual scheme of individual and society in ancient India. The *Vaishesika Sutra* is apt indeed when it remarks, that 'Dharma

is that from (the true observance of) which result in general well-being and supreme beatitude'.

Varied and numerous are the sources of understanding the social institutions of India. To them can be safely included the Vedic literature, the Epics, the *Dharmashastras*, the Buddhist and the Jain texts, the *Smritinibandhas* or law-digests. As early as 1900 Keller had called attention to the great gain which would accrue to sociologists if they, "could have at their service separate monographs which would undertake impartially to gather and systematize the sociological material in such documents as the Vedas, the Zend Avesta, the Hebrew Scriptures, the Homeric Poems and the like".[1] The Vedic evidence points to an extant patrilineal society. Social, political and economic relations were accordingly delineated. Laws and principles regarding marriage and family, the most vital of the social institutions, were couched not in 'otherworldly' principles but very much in 'thisworldly' ones. The Rik 37, X. 85 of the RgVeda describes the whole marriage ceremony and the ideals of fidelity, devotion, steadfastness of the spouses are emphasised all through. We also get ample evidence on the legal status of women in the different sutras of the RgVeda. In Rik 7, II. 17, we find "as the daughter who stays with her parents all along her life, asks a share from her father's family (*pitrikula*), likewise, I ask wealth from you". On this, the annotator Sayana comments that "the unmarried daughter living with her father asks for her share of the property like others". The institution of personal property has also found expression in different Riks of the RgVeda (X. 102.2 ; X 102.8 ; X. 102.11 ; IX. 69.8). These definitely point to the nature of principles and disciplines guiding individual and society in that remote period.

Next to the Vedas, the first systematic treatment and codification of rules and regulations of social living are to be found in the *Grhyasutras*. They are important treatises dealing with problems arising in the family situations, birth, marriage, death, property, pattern of family and the congruent behaviour of the members of the family in each of these situations. They afford us a deep insight into the life of the ancient Indians and their

social institutions. Of the importance of the *Grhyasutras* it was most eloquently remarked by Winternitz that "....insignificant though they may be as literary works, these *Grhyasutras* are a real treasure for the ethnologist. One need only remember how laboriously the student of antiquity has to collect the reports on the daily life of the ancient Greeks and Romans from the diversified works. Here in India, we have the most reliable reports, we may say, reports of eye-witnesses upon the daily life of the ancient Indians, in the forms of rules and precepts, in these apparently insignificant Sutra texts. They are, as it were, the 'Folk-lore Journals' of ancient India......The *Grhyasutras* are the most valuable sources for the popular customs and usages of that ancient period. The numerous parallels in the manners and customs of other Indo-European peoples, which have been discovered long ago, with the usages described in the *Grhyasutras* make these documents all the more important. In particular, the comparison of the Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Slavonic marriage customs with the rules contained in the *Grhyasutras* has shown that the relationship of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language, have also preserved common features from the prehistoric times in their manners and customs".[2] *Grhyasutras* may, hopefully, be taken as efficient treatises on 'comparative sociology' of institutions in that early period.

Sociological insight may also be traced in the treatment of the *Samskaras* in these sacred texts. The word *Samskara* is derived from the root *Kr.* with the prefix *sama.* It means any rite that purifies. The sacraments and rituals were really intended to serve a significant cultural purpose, they were the landmarks in the process of the development of the individual into a full-fledged social being." By birth", according to the Dharmasastras, "everyone is born a Sudra ; it is a *Samskara* that turns him into a *Dvijati*".[3] In modern sociological parlance it amounts to saying that it is socialization that makes a human child an individual. From the point of view of the individual, socialization is the fulfilment of his potentialities for personal growth and development ; and from the point of view of society, socialization is

the way culture is transmitted and the individual is fitted into an organised way of life. The early thinkers on society fully realised the importance of socialising a human child through various *samskaras* from birth to death. It was believed that *samskaras* were really necessary for the social and spiritual growth of the individual. *Parāsarasamhitā* has very ably defended the performance of the *samskāras* in the folloming words: "Just as a work of painting gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours (with which it is drawn), so the personality of a man is similarly brought out by the performance of the *Samaskāras*".[4]

Dharmasutras follow the *Grhyasutras*. They are, perhaps, written in continuation and have more relevancy on the individual-in-society than on individual in his family surroundings. All the rules of conduct are laid down in the minutest detail according to the differences of castes. Each man has a recognised function which he inherits as a member of a group rather than select of his own accord. Successful performance of this function is the highest object of his life; it is duty not merely political, social and moral, but also very much religious. The Dharmasutras, in the guise of rituals, also laid down the first lawyer's law. They incorporated rules regarding the duties of the king and rules regarding his administration of law in disputes and awards of punishment. The Grhyasutras and the Dharmasutras, together they constitute a highly effective source of knowledge of about every phase of life of the Hindus in ancient India.

The two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* give us a contemporary picture of the society in India. Of the younger epic the *Ramayana* it has been remarked "in a sense, this epic is a Hindu 'criticism of life' in as much as Rama (the hero) is not only worshipped as a *Avatāra,* an incarnation of God, but his life is also considered as mirroring the ideal, the holy and the divine in human life, institutions, ideology and practices".[5] Apart from this ideal in the ideal character, what forcibly strikes one is the presence of many practical points about life as it is lived in society, i.e., interhuman relations in all the detail.

Like the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* too, is a great source-book of knowledge about ancient Indian social institutions. In this epic is depicted a war fought between the two contending families, the Kurus and the Pandavas at about 1000 B.C. It embodies very minute details of principles of law and life situations during that period, nay of a period even much earlier. According to some authorities. the epic in its present form was being knit up by several writers between about the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., mainly in conformity with the traditions much older than when it was being written up. This is important so far as the sociological content of the epic is concerned. If the epic came to be finally written centuries after the actual happening of the events described in it, it only confirms our belief that at least a part of the background of the social transactions must have lingered in the posterior period. That is, the epic depicts the social conditions beliefs and practices prevalent during the long period of about one thousand years during which the epic was taking shape. Winternitz's assessment of the epic is extremely able : "The very fact that the *Mahābhārata* represents a whole literature rather than one single unified work and contains so many and so multifarious things, makes it more suited that any other book, to afford us an insight into the deepest depth of the soul of the Indian people".[6] Mcdonell also expressed that the epic has become "so much overgrown with didactic matter that it could hardly be regarded as an epic at all, and has rather taken the place of a moral encyclopaedia in Indian literature."[7] The profound and the deep penetration which the epics made in the society of India has been very carefully noticed by Sir Herbert Risley, the Director of Ethnography and Census Commissioner for India for quite a number of years. Risley was very much struck by the common people's acquaintance and pre-occupation with ideas concerning ideal society and ideal social organisation. In *the Peoples of India*, he remarked very succintly—"These ideas (about an ideal social organisation) are not the monopoly of the learned ; they are shared in great measure by the man in the street. If you talk to a fairly intelligent Hindu peasant about the *Paramātmā, Karma, Māyā, Mukti* and so forth, you will find. as soon as he gets over his surprise at your interest

in such matters, that the terms are familiar to him and that he has formed a rough theory of their bearing on his own future."[8]

The *Dharmasastras* developed into the *Smritis*. *Smritis* differ from *Arthasastras*, the latter deals more with political things, written in verse. The oldest and most well-known of the *Smritis* is the *Manusmriti*. Buhler, the German scholar put the date of *Manusmriti* between 200 B.C. to A. D. 200. *Vishnu Smriti* is also said to have been composed in the same period. Later on, the *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, *Narada-Smriti*, *Brhaspati Smriti* and *Kātyāyana Smriti* came into prominence. Most of these did not attain their present shape earlier than about 200 B.C. or later than about A.D. 200. In the *Mahābhāsya* of Patanjali (c 150 B.C.) three words, *Samaja*, *Samāsa* and *Samavāya* are very important as they refer to community life, community enjoyment and community recreation. Problems like social deviance, delinquency, prostitution etc. have also been properly dealt with in the treatise of Patanjail. Each of these *Smritis* deals with 'things' of socio-legal interests in interhuman relations in India. The institution of marriage in its various ramifications was the subject matter of *Manusmriti*, *Goutama Samhita Apastambha Dharmasastra*, *Baudhayana Dharmasastra*. *Baudhayana Dharmasashtra* even recommended marriage between Brahmin and a Sudra. In the *Vishnu Smriti* we get the picture of a developed legal structure in the treatment of the problem of inheritance. The Smriti literature as a whole, deals with socio-legal problems in the emergent Hindu society.[9]

The *Dharmasastras* apart, the *Arthasastras*, specially the *Arthasastra*[10] of Kautilya, and *Kamasastras*, the *Kamasutra*[11] of Vatsayana in the main, provide us with sociological materials of extraordinary importance. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, besides emphasising the earlier social codes and practies in general, furnishes us with new and important clues towards understanding the contemporary social situation, in continuity and change. Divided into 15 *adhikaranas* and 180 *prakaranas* it includes, encyclopaedically as it were, almost all subjects

concerned with social living. The *Kamasutra* of Vātsāyana, though expatiating on the science of erotics, gives, nevertheless, a detailed information of such social themes as the life of the citizen and his duties, etiquettes and manners, the position of women, etc. Normal and deviant behaviour, both occupied the most zealous attention of the author. Problems such as those of prostitution, promiscuity, perversion, therefore, were most incisively discussed in the book. Also, the problems of androgyny and scatology. These early authors of the *Arthasastra* and the *Kamasastra* were equally alive to the problems stemming from city life. And they made a sociologically significant distinction between an urbanite and a ruralite. This rural-urban dichotomy in social living was perceived not only by the authors of the *Arthsastra* and the *Kamasastra* but also by quite a few others. Mention may here be made of Damodar Gupta (9th century A.D.) Rajasekhara (c 10th century A.D.) and Banabhatta (c 6th century). In their works, *Kuttanimatam*,[12] *Kavya Mimansha* and *Kadambari* respectively, we do come across very sophisticated distinctions, psychological and otherwise, between a town-dweller and the inhabitant of a village. Though couched in literary languages, these writings appear very much sociological even when judged by the modern standards of sociology.

Besides Hindu sacred texts, Buddhist and Jain texts are replete with materials of sociological relevance. Very little material is, however, in the form of sociological description. Whatever is there it is in a highly formalised way and also it is very incidental. But this very incidental nature, as Rhys Davids would have it, increases its value as a historical significance.[15]

An idea of the social structure of the Buddhist period can be had from the Pali Canonical texts. Of them, the *Vinay* books contain rules of interhuman relations for the monks and nuns as laid down by the Buddha ; the *Digha Nikāya* contains parables, similes and anecdotes giving sociological data, descriptions, objective observations and religious advice ; the *Samyutta Nikāya* deals with the behaviour of groups and individuals who

were the associates of the Buddha. There are also the *Jatakas*, stories dealing with the reincarnations of the Buddha. These stories give, nonetheless, a vivid picture of the social structure and social processes in the contemporary period. Much of the sociological material which can be abstracted from these texts is in the form of similes, stories, direct verbal statements and objective observations. But there is one feature of singular sociological importance about the Buddhist literature. While the Brahminical literature is concerned with the "ideal" rather than the "average" or the norm, the Buddhist literature contains both.[16]

A perusal of the Pali texts mentioned above will acquaint one with the pattern of family living and the roles played by the different members in the family, both in the normative and deviational aspects. It will be evident from the texts that kinship played a vital role in the ordering of social relationships, and the extended family had the most precious position in the kinship system. The productive and the distributive aspects of the family have also received careful attention in the texts. Rules of connubium and commensality were discussed to some length in the *Jatakas* too. That a very elaborate system of of grouping and social ranking prevailed in the contemporary period is very much discernible from the *Majjhima Nikaya* dealing with religious and philosophical controversies. Though a system of social stratification prevailed, social mobility was possible too. It was not impossible for a prostitute even ![17] That 'achieved status' was more important than the 'ascribed status' in the Buddhist society is borne out by the position of Jivaka, the physician. He was the son of a courtesan Silabati and his paternity was not known. Despite this fact, he was not only the most sought-for doctor, but also one of the chief Buddhist lay devotees. He used his professional activities in order to convert people to the Buddhist way of life.[18]

Another phenomenon of paramount sociological importance in the Buddhist period was the development of mass media and mass communication. The Mahayana work *Saddharma- Pundarika Sutra* is a treatise dealing by the help of parables and

other methods (*Upayakausalya*), with the ways and means of reaching the precepts and teaching of the Buddha to the common people. The parable of rescuing children from a burning house is important in as much as it exemplifies the skill of the good father in saving his children from the burning pains of mundane existence. There is another parable, exemplifying the skill of the wise father in leading the child that has gone astray and lost all self-respect back to a feeling of his innate nobility and to happiness. Also, the parable of plants and the rain, to exemplify the impartiality and equal care of the Lord for all creatures; and the parable of the blind man, to intimate that the phenomena have but an apparent reality and that the ultimate goal of all endeavours must be to reach all-knowingness, which in fact, is identical with complete nescience. *Upayakausalya* is, possibly, the earliest account on sociology of communication in the world.[19]

A careful reading of the Jain texts is also very rewarding. In the Jain text *Nayadhammakatha* we get an abundance of materials on the pattern of the family, inter-personal relations of the members of the family, social net-work existing between the 'family of procreation' and the 'family of orientation'. *Mittā* (friends), *Nāi* (kinsmen), *Niyaga* (members of one's own family), *Sāyana* (one's blood relations), *Sambandhi* (connected by marriage) and *Parijana* (one's dependent) have all been very carefully and elaborately delineated and differentiated.[20]. At different occasions of *samaskaras* like birth, marriage, death and also at various festivals, the relatives and friends were invited; *Samskaras* were held in much esteem as they were the agencies of socialisation in the later period too.[21]

As primary accumulation in sociology in India, the Puranas occupy a very important position. The Puranas have been called 'the Veda of the common folk'; they furnish much material, traditional and orthodox, through myth, legend, story and symbol. Collectively they are encyclopaedic in scope. There are eighteen Puranas (*Vayu, Varaha, Vishnu, Vavishya, Vishnudharmaattara, Vamana, Brahmā, Brahmavaivarta, Brahmānda, Padma, Matsya, Markandeya, Linga, Skanda, Kurma, Garuda,*

Agni, Narada) with a number of sub or *Upa-Puranas*. These Puranas might have been composed over a number of centuries commencing probably with the third or fourth century .B C. and ending with the tenth or eleventh century A.D. At the starting of the Indic studies in the last decades of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the Puranas were regarded as of no historical value on account of the confused conglomeration of legendary and historical events in them as also their peculiar ideas of 'ages' and 'cosmography'.[22] But attention was drawn to this literature and interest revived, when in 1792, Lieutenant Francis Wilford succeeded in indentifying the course of the river Nile in Nubia (*Kusadvipa*) with the help of the Puranas.[23] Today, the Puranas are considered to 'constitute an important source of the cultural history of India as they throw a flood of light on the various aspects of the life of the time. They occupy an intermediate position, broadly speaking, between the Vedic age and the period of classical literature. They have been influencing the life of the people throughout the centuries and are valuable as supplying the materials for the critical study of such diverse subjects as religion and philosophy, folklore and ethnology, literature and science, history, geography, politics and sociology'.[24]

The social data of the Puranas are to be gleaned from their treatment of such diverse subjects as social organisation, marriage, family, position of women, and religious and social life.

Caste system with its structure and strictures have been eleborately dealt with in the Puranas. *Varna* and *jati,* the two very important concepts in the caste system had already been clearly differentiated there. The problem of social mobility has also been elaborately discussed in the Puranas. In the *Matsya* Purana are preserved some instances of social mobility which are of absorbing interest to the student of the science of society. They are reminiscent of a stage of society when the rules of the caste-movement were not that rigid. Penance, curse, adoption were relevant to this process of caste-movement. Pṛṣadhra was cursed to be a Sudra by his preceptor as a punishment for his sinful act of killing a cow (Matsya Purana 12.15) ;

Kaksiwat practised austerities on Giribraja for a long time and attained the status of a Brahmin and thereby relinquished his sudrahood inherited from his mother (ibid, 48.84).[25] The Kshatriya Brahmins also present a notable instance of social mobility, for "they were real Brahmanas with the Kshatriya status super-added. There is no suggestion that there was any difficulty in the assumption of brahmanhood in such cases".[26] We thus see that the process social mobility was in full operation independent of such sophisticated concepts like 'sanskritisation', 'westernisation'.

In the family, the structure of the family, mores of the relation of the members of the family of 'procreation' and the family of 'orientation', position of the children, widow, eligibility and ineligibility of marriages, descent, inheritance, and such other problems have been discussed. Such questions as number of mates, nature of authority, selection of mates, basis of selection, age at marriage, possibility of remarriage were also included in the study of the family. In the study of the family, the acceptance of both biological and sociological basis of kinship was of extreme sociological significance. Thirteen kinds of sonship, viz., *Aurasha, Putrikaputra, Kshetraja, Datta, Kṛtima, Gudotpanna, Apabidhha, Kanina, Sahoda, Kṛta, Shaudra, Paunarbhava, Sayamdatta,* recognised in the Puranas, are instances of such acceptance.[27] Not only biological fatherhood, fatherhood was defined too, as a social convention, in terms of property rights. "The progeny of a married woman belong to her husband. As man was the father of all children born to his wife and so even after the death of man, a man could get children born to him (who claimed his parentage) through his widow provided she remained his widow. During the life-time, if a man was incapable of procreating children he could command his wife to get children for him from somebody".[28]

Education was conceived in terms of 'induction into the learner's culture' and not in terms of 'gazing at the star' philosophy.

II

In the early and late mediaeval periods, law digests or *Nibandhas* constitute important documents on social matters.[29] The *nibandha* writers reflected the changing views of the people. They modified and extended social laws with the changing demands of society. Enlightened social conscience of the age was, so to say, reflected in their writings. They were, to use a concept of Arnold Toynbee, the 'creative minority' of the age. The *nibandha* writers heralded social change through their writings. These writings deal with rites, rituals, norms, sanctions and the codes which are at the base of interhuman relationships, defining the true relation between individual and society.

During the fourteenth century, Chandeswara was an important *nibandha writer*. His *Smritiratnakara* is a valuable treatise on man-to-man relationships. There are seven sections in the book, each being called a *Ratnākara*. The *Ratnākaras* are named after *kritya* or ceremonial observances and festivities; *dana* or gifts; *vyavahāra* or legal procedure; *suddhi* or purification from birth, death etc; *puja* or worship; *vivāda* or civil criminal law; and *grihastha* or householder. Madana's commentary on *Parasarasmriti* and also his *Kālanirnaya, Madanapārijata* and *Smritikaumudi* of Visweswara are important additions to the sociological literature in the mediaeval period. Madhava was a minister in the kingdom of Vijayanagar and Visweswara wrote for the king Madanapāla of Kanauj. (1360-70). The *Smritikaumudi* may be taken as a treatise on social mobility in the Hindu society. In it, the author deals with the problem of *adhikāra* (rights) so far as the different castes are concerned, and the problems of their changing caste and status positions. A perusal of this treatise helps one to adjudge on the closeness and openness of the caste system in India.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century appeared Raghunandana, the most important social thinker of Northern India. Raghunandana is considered to be a fellow pupil of Chaitanya (1485-1534) under Vasudeva Sarvabhauma and

might have been his junior contemporary. It was somewhere around 1570 that Raghunandana composed his encyclopaedic treatise *Astavimsatitattwa*. This is a work in twentyeight sections, each given over to a *tattwa* or topic. In all, 27,600 verses are there in the book of Raghunandana. His interests were as wide as the life itself. Came under his microscope of analysis such diverse matters as the influences of the season on the human body and mind, foodstuff and their bearings on human physiology, marriage, eugenics, inheritance and many other subjects relevant to life in society.

Raghunandana exercised such an all-round influence in society that even as late as 1816, Rammohan was obliged to pay not a grudging tribute to this master 'sociologist'. In his Preface to the English translation of the *Isopanishada,* Rammohan writes, "The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have since the middle of the last century (c 1750) forsaken their ancient modes of performance of ceremonial rites of religion and followed the precepts of the late Raghunandana, and consequently diffrent in the most essential points of ceremonies from the natives of Bihar, Tirhut and Banaras".[30] On the subject of *Sati* also, Rammohan found a very helpful and constructive ally in Raghunandana. In fact, Rammohan drew his *forte* from this *nibandha* writer. Since Raghunanda classes "concremation among the rites holding out promises of fruition", Rammohan interpreted Raghunandana as being opposed to concremation or *sati* and he constituted his own logic against *sati* accordingly.

In a later period, *Smritikausthbha* (c 1675) by Anantadeva, a jurist from the Deccan is worth mentioning. It is very comprehensive and deals with almost all the subjects of human existence. Mention may also be made of the *Kayastha-dharmadipa* (c 1677) by Visweswara or Gaga Bhatta. It is an extremely important document dealing with the most vexed problem of intercaste social mobility. Another important *nibandha* writer was Balam Bhatta from Maharashtra. In his treatise, a commentary on the Mitakshara commentary on Yajnavalkya, he endowed women with rights of inheritance of

which they were denied by Yajnavalkya and others. Sisters were authorised by Balam Bhatta to succeed immediately after brothers in case a man dies without a male issue. This relenting in favour of women reflects to a great extent the structure of the family, position, social and legal, of the members in the family and the position of the women. Kamalākāra, the author of *Nirnayasindhu* (c 1612) should also be remembered here. He too, hailed from the Deccan. Of his works which are of sociological significance, the most important was *Sudrakamalākāra*. In this treatise he has dealt on the rights and privileges of the Sudras in India and the possibilities of their social mobility.

It is thus seen that the various religious, quasi-religious, and legal texts contained knowledge about social structure and directions for social organisation, in continuity and change. It is no wonder that Evans-Pritchard should be so enthusiastic about Indian sacred texts ;. . . ." if one has any regard for scholarship one cannot be a student of Indian peasant communities without having some knowledge both of the literature of their language and of Sanskrit, the classical language of their ritual and religious traditions".[31] Of the resource materials on sociology in the ancient Indian texts, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, Dumont and Pocock spoke in no uncertain terms that "the construction of an Indian sociology rests in part upon the existence of Indology and. . . . . .far from its being confined to its own domain, it can hope to widen and deepen the understanding of India, present and past, to which Indclogy is devoted".[32]

In the light of what what has been discussed about the the primary accumulation of sociology in India in the ancient and mediaval period, it seems very hard to accept that Indian social thinking has an overtone of spiritual and 'other worldly' things. On the contrary, a purely secular ethics guided almost every thing of social living. Unfortunately, this heritage of knowledge and learning about societal things was lost to the country. Successive waves of invasion from abroad, internecine struggles within the country made one oblivious of the pragmatist and realistic principles of societal living as propounded

by the ancient Indian literati. In the extremely conflicting currents and cross-currents of Hindu, Moslem and Christian ideologies, rational and scientific thinking had been the most important casualty. Superstition reigned supreme and eclipsed reason. In the British period, what was sociologically significant was the steady emergence of Rationalism and Positivism from the end of the eighteenth century. The birth of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784 is significant for its 'quest for secular salvation'.

III

Sir William Jones was the most outstanding intellect in the Asiatic Society. In contrast to the Orientalism of the nineteenth century with its romanticist view of cultural diveristy, the scholarship of Jones was universalist and rational. During his long voyage from England to India, while on the Arabian Sea, a train of reflections on the 'eventful histories and agreeable fictions of the Eastern World' crossed his mind and he availed of the earliest opportunity to give shape to his reflections. The Asiatic Society came into being. To him, 'History, Science and Art' constituted the trinity of human learning or knowledge : In his own words, "The first (history) comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states ; the second (science) embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematics together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty............"[33] William Jones decided to hold weekly meetings for the purpose of hearing original papers on subjects as fall within the Society's enquiries. Invitations went to all learned men to contribute their valuable writings for being published in the *Asiatick Miscellany* at the end of each year. In 1849 one writer thus estimated the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal till then :

> "To the fostering care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the world owes a large debt of knowledge on various subjects, that otherwise might have still remained in obscurity, or have been lost to the world altogether. It afforded, and continues to afford, a stimulus to exertion, in crder to

rescue from oblivion, much that is worthy of the attention of rational beings, that has been preserved by the means of the art of printing, to excite a spirit of philosophical enquiry in others".[34]

What started with William Jones, reached its institutional and organisational climax during the administration of Marquess of Wellesley. With him is associated the Fort William College, his 'Oxford of the East'. And it was Wellesley's College at Fort William that gave the Asiatic Society a most viable structure and organisation. Together, they brought in a 'cultural revolution' not experienced before. Calcutta emerged as the 'Florence of Asia'. By 1800, the ideas of Montesqueiu, Voltaire, Hume and Bentham reached the literati of Calcutta.

In 1829, *Gleanings in Science,* a monthly journal, appeared. It was published by Captain J. D. Herbert. This journal, as it will be seen from the materials published in its pages, set the pace of scientific as well as empirical social research in this country.

In its November issue 1829, an article was published on 'The Produce of the Soil and Rent of Land in Hindusthan'. This article is of immense sociological importance as it deals, on the basis of an empirical research, with the problems of production, property relations and revenue from land in India. In the December issue, we get a very useful table showing the market price of grain, etc. in lower Bengal from the year 1700 to 1813, extracted from authentic documents of one month in each year, for which, generally, the month of August was selected. The table was drawn up by G. Herklots, Fiscal of Chinsura in Hooghly. In the volumes published in 1830, detailed statistical accounts of population, sex-ratio, number and nature of houses, places of worship, caste, occupation, agricultural produce, average price of articles of food at different places (Anupsehr, Benares, Burdwan, Dacca, Madras) were given. Study of small communities started as early as 1830 when H. Walters took a census of the Armenians, Greeks, Portugese and French at Dacca. Reverend H. H. Milman connected with the Asiatic

Society got the following questionnaire published in the *Gleanings of Science*, December 1831, to elicit information regarding the Jews in India :

(i) Is the date of their migration to India in or about the year 4250 (answering to A.C. 508) generally agreed upon ?

(ii) Have they any Hebrew writings besides their copies of the Scriptures—if so, what is their nature ?

(iii) Have they any religious traditions—and if so, in what respect do they hold them ?

(iv) What books do their Scriptures contain ? more particularly have they the books of Ezra or Esther ? or any of those which we call the Apocryphal books ?

(v) Have they any Synagogue—if so, what is its form ? What is its reputed antiquity ? in what manner is the service conducted ?

(vi) How is the community governed ? by a religious or a civil head ? by a Rabbi or a Magistrate ?

(vii) Have they any religious teachers ? What is their character and authority ?

(viii) Has the mass of the people any knowledge of the Hebrew language ? Is it used among themselves for the purposes of commerce, or on any other occasions ? (It would be curious to ascertain whether, as is stated of the Chinese Jews, their Hebrew is infected with Persian idioms)

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society and also in the *Calcutta Review* we come across plenty of writings which show that empirical research in social matters had already made its place in the learned society.

The Asiatic Society which was 'until the nineteenth century an association for an elite of Company officials in Calcutta' became the central figure in the development of legion other organisations. There was an unprecedented enthusian for literary, philosophical and scientific illumination in such societies. Development of a scientific outlook was followed by a

rationalistic climate of opinion. Institutions of long standing were being questioned and their rationale challenged. This type of society became the centre of reforming zeal of neophytes.[35]

Since the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta in 1784 we also see the incipient development of Social Anthropology in India. The British administrators, travellers, missionnaries and other anthropologically-oriented individuals collected data on tribal people and rural society in India, and wrote articles in the Journal of Asiatic Society, *Indian Antiquary, the Benares Magazine* about the life and culture of these groups. Historical and geographical information apart, they also collected ethnographic data to be incorporated, later on, in district gazetteers, handbooks on tribes and castes, and monographs on individual tribe or caste. Data on languages, dialects and local sayings were also collected very very assiduously by the administrators.

These scholar-administrators in India in the early British period, being posted in different parts of the country, (Risley, Dalton, and O'Malley were posted in Eastern region, Russel in Middle India, Crookes in Northern region and Thurston in Southern) wrote encyclopaedic volumes on the castes and tribes of the respective zones. These inventories provide, even today, the basic informative materials about the material culture, social organisation etc. of the tribes and castes of those regions. In view of their importance even today, the Anthropological Survey of India has, lately, taken a decision to reprint some of them with necessary editing. W. W. Hunter's monumental work, The Imperial Gazetteers of India, will remain the basic work to all social science researchers in this country.

Apart from the handbooks on tribes and castes by the authors mentioned before, general works on Indian ethnology were also there in the middle of the nineteenth century. R. G. Lathum published his *Ethnography in India* in 1856 ; Risley published his *Tribes and Castes in Bengal* a little later, in 1891. Studies on communities like the Armenians, Chinese, Parsees, Greeks, Syrian Christians were coming out in the *Calcutta Re-*

view, Indian Antiquary, the Jorunal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Bombay. The purpose of these works was to acquaint government officials and private individuals alike, with information about the tribes and castes in India. If the primary motivation had been to secure an effective administration in the country, the end-result has been extremely salutary. A survey of the articles by Indian authors published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal will show how seriously did the Indian authors devote themselves to empirical studies on social institutions in India. They proved equal to William Jones' eulogium that 'Indian ratiocination was of a high order'.[36]

This high order of ratiocination helped students of society to think sociologically and act sociologically even much earlier than the institutionalisation of the discipline in this country. Sir Brojendra nath Seal, who had a very high regard for India's potential for scientific thinking and research, in his speech at the Races Congress in London in 1911, gave ample proof of his sociological acumen.* He anticipated the study of comparative social institutions in his speech. In it, he contended that social development is multilinear and diversely ramifying, and that in most cases judgements of superiority or inferiority of social customs and institutions are irrelevant. He emphasised that social institutions can only be fully and adequately studied in the context of race, religion and culture. He expressed his opinion that races of men are entities 'capable in every phase of their existence of development and progress'. Dr. Seal received the most ungruding tributes from the participants of the Congress. One of them remarked, "His paper is admittedly a unique production. Dr. Seal has completely shown up the inefficiency of the methods followed by European Anthropologists; and the Continental Anthropologists who attended the Congress frankly admitted that it presented an altogether new view of that science, and illuminated many points that had hitherto been regarded as most puzzling and obscure".[37]

---

* Appendix 1.

Paragraph Epigraph : Hillebrandt, A., *Altindische Politik* (Jena 1923) pp. 1-2.

1. Keller A. G.—'Sociology and the Epic' *American Journal of Sociology* September 1901, p. 267.
2. Winternitz, M.—*A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I p. 274.
3. Kane, P. V.—*History of Dharmasastras* Vol. I.
4. *Parasara Samhita*—V, III, 19.
5. Prabhu, P. N.—*Hindu Social Organisation,* (Bombay 1954) p. 9.
6. Winternitz, M.—Op. cit., p. 326-27.
7. Macdonnel, A. A.,—*India's Past* (Oxford 1927) p. 88.
8. Risley, H.—*The People of India,* 2nd Ed. (London 1915) p. 224.
9. Kane, P. V.—Op. cit., Vol. (1-V). *passim*
10. Shamasastry, R. (Ed. & Tr.)—*Kautilya's Arthasastra* 4th Ed. Mysore 1956.
11. Upadhyaya S. C.—*Kamasastra of Vatsayana,* Bombay 1961.
    Chakladar, H. C.—Studies in Vatsayana's *Kamasutra,* (Calcutta 1929).
    De, S. K.—*Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature* (Calcutta 1959).
12. Damodar Gupta—*Kuttanimatam,* V. V. pp. 62-87.
    Mathers, E. P. (Tr)—*Lessons of a Bawd* (London 1927).
13. Rajasekhara—*Kavya mimangsha* X pp. 49-50.
14. Banavatta—*Kadambari, passim.*
15. Rhys Davids, T. W.—*Cambridge History of India* Vol 1 pp. 172-174.
16. *Vinaya Pitaka*—(Tr) I. B. Horner, 5 pts, Sacred Book of the Buddhists Series, 1938-52.
    Digha Nikaya—(Ed) T. W. Rhys Davids & J. E. Carpenter, 3 vols, Pali Text Society, London 1890-1911. (Tr) Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* 3 vols, Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series London, 1899—1926.
    Mahhjima Nikaya (Tr) I. B. Horner, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings,* 3 vols, Pali Text Society, London 1954-59.

2985

Jatakas—(Ed) Fausboll, V. 6 vols, London 1877-97 Ghosh Eshan Chandra. Bengali translation, 2 vols.

17. In *Vinya Pitaka*—11, p. 276, we find Addhakashi, a courtesan, was permitted to be become a nun by the *Samgha* (religions body).

18. *Vinya Pitaka, loc. cit.*

19. *The Saddharma-Pundarika Sutra* (tr.) K. Kern, Sacred Books of the East, UNESCO collection of Representative works-Indian series—Benares 1965, Vol. XXI Ch. 2, 3.

20. *Nayadhmmakatha*—Ed. N. N. Vaidya (Poona 1940) 11, p. 51 (Tr.) H. Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXII.

21. *Kalpasutra,*—(Tr.) H. Jacobi, *Ibid*. 5, 104.

22. Pusalkar, A. D.—Presidential Address, History Section, Proceedings and Transactions of the XVIII. All India Oriental Conference, Annamalainagar (India), December 1955.

23. Wilford, Francis,—'On Egypt and other countries adjacent to the CALI River or the Nile of Ethiopea from the ancient books of the Hindus,' in *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. *III*, pp. 295-462, 1801.

According to Major V. C. P. Hodson's *List of officers of Bengal Army,* 1758-1834, Part *IV,* London 1947, pp. 467-68, Francis Wilford (1760/ 1-1822) was an officer of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Bengal Army. During his official stay at Banaras he tooks pains to study Hindu Sacred texts and Geography very very thoroughly.

24. Munshi, K. M.—Forward to *Studies in the Epics and Puranas* by A. D. Pusalkar (Bharatiya Vidya Vaban, Bombay, 1955). p. *XVIII.*

25. (i) Kantawala, S. G.—*Cultural History from the Matsya Purana.* (Baroda, 1964).

(ii) Desai, N. Y.—Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as depicted in the *Markandeya Purana*. Baroda, 1968.

(iii) Farquhar J. N.—*Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Oxford 1920).

26. Pargitar, F. E.—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London 1922) pp. 244-45.
27. Kane, P. V.—*Op cit.,* Vol. p. 643 ff.
28. Karve, Irawati—'Kinship Terms and the family organisation as found in the critical Edition of the Mahabharata,' Bulletin of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Vol. *V* (1943-44) p. 131.
29. On the sociological relevance of the Nibandhas or law digests I have depended mainly on
    (i) 'Hindu Sociological Literature from Chandesvara to Rammohan (C 1300-1833)' Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Calcutta Review October* 1935.
    (ii) G. D. M. Derrett, *Introduction to Modern Hindu Law,* O.U.P. London 1963, pp. 22-25.
30. Quoted in Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *loc. cit.*
31. Evans-Pritchard, E. E.—*Social Anthropology* (London 1951). p. 15.
32. Dumont, L. & D. F. Pocock,—*Contributions to Indian Sociology* Vol. *I,* p. 7.
33. Sir William Jones, Quoted in David Kopf *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance* (Cal. 1969), p. 35.
    Mukherjee, S. N.—*Sir William Jones* (Cambridge Uni. Press 1968) Introduction.
34. Quoted in Dutt, K. K.—*The Dawn of Renascent India* (2nd Ed.) Cal. 1964, p. 59.
35. Turberville, A. S. (ed)—*Johnson's England* (Oxford 1933) Vol. I pp. 210-11.
36. Sir William Jones *Works* (ed)—Lord Teignmouth (London 1807) Vol. III p. 246.
37. E. Wilis on Dr. Seal's Paper at the Races Congress in London on 26 July 1911 Quoted in the *Manchester Guardian* 30 July 1911.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL MILIEU

> The more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both.
>
> E. H. Carr.

> Sociology, if it intends to individualize the motives of human behaviour as well as those of the behaviour of various social groups, must study the complex interrelations and interactions in society.
>
> *P. N. Fedoseyev*

Whatever might have been the primary accumulation of sociology in India, 'action research' and social thought constitute the corpus of Indian sociology in the modern period. Social thought is the attempt of men to render intelligible the social condition that environ them ; and 'action research' is an "individual, group or community effort within the framework of social work philosophy and practice that aims to achieve progress, to modify social policies and to improve social legislation and health-welfare services".[1] Also, "it covers movements of political reform, industrial democracy, social legislation, racial and social justice, religious freedom and civil liberty ; its techniques include propaganda, research, lobbying." [2] Social thought and 'action research' develop hand in hand and enrich each other. But social thought is no hot-house plant ; rarely, if ever, does it exist independently of social forces and social institutions. It maintains, on the contrary, a complex causal connection with them, both influencing their growth and direction,

and, in turn, being influenced by them. That is, social thought as a body of ideas referring to the social situation, should be analysed not as an externally existing entity but as an integral part of the socio-cultural milieu in which the reflective and creative thinking that produced the ideas took place. The problem is not *what* the social thinkers thought, but *why* they had thought it.[3]

The western impact produced a whole spectrum of responses in India. An atmosphere of attraction and repulsion toward the foreign culture—a psychological ambivalence of love-hate—was brought into being. There was an Indian consciousness too. Indians have risen from time to time demanding the rights and possessions of which they had been denied by the foreign rulers. In these struggles leaders gave initiative to movements which aimed at the abolition of autocratic control and betterment of the social, economic and cultural conditions of the common people. The leaders of these movements have sought to develop their programme of action and give them rational justification by the aid of philosophy and social sciences. They have, thereby, shown originality and have often given voice to distinct concepts which helped develop the corpus of sociology in this country. Without understanding this, it seems highly inprobable to gain an understanding of social thought and sociology in India in the modern period. In fact, the story of the development of sociology in India in the modern period, as in other Western countries, "is the story of the increasingly closer relationships formed between speculation and fact-finding ; the juxta-position of philosophical thought and 'reforming zeal' ; the puzzlement of the passively inclined theorist and the conscience of the actively inclined citizen".[4]

This dual process started in India as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The period betokens a gradual transition from tradition to modernity, to rational justification of social facts. During this period, influences defining new trends in thought and action were coming largely from European sources. Bacon, Bentham, Buckle, Carlyle Condorcet Hume, De Tocqueville and many others were the fountain-head of

inspiration of social elites of the then India. The perspective of the total Indian society and culture and the European influences should, therefore, be taken into consideration in tracing the development of sociology in India. "It was under the impact of British rule on her culture that sociological thinking first emerged in India" [5]—this is how an Indian author reacted on the problem. But this remark is tangentially true in the backdrop of the great catalyst role of the British rule in this country. Let us analyse, why?

The alien authority, in the early period of its rule, had oftener proved a hindrance than a help in the proper study of society in India. Students and scholars of modern Indian history[6] let us know that, initially, the foreign rulers followed a policy of *laissez faire* in social matters of this country. Also, exigencies of administration were secured even at the cost of distortion of historical understanding. To cite an example, village community in its pristine glory was an administrative obsession. At times it was a sort of nostalgia too, as is manifest in *The Village Communities, East and West* by Henry Maine. The fact of infiltration of the merchant economy into the villages and the process of rural disintegration escaped attention of these scholars. The institution of caste also occupied a very prominent place in their writings. Caste, as implied in the ancient law books—the *Dharmasashtras*—was accepted as the actual description of a caste-society, despite the fact that writers like W. W. Hunter, J. T. Wheeler and quite a few more had the opportunity of noticing the dynamics of caste-society in rural areas of India. They were in the know of the discrepancies between the theoretical description of caste and its actual working. Even today, studies on the caste system in India by Eur-American scholars of Sociology and Social Anthropology evince their concern more for 'values' of the system than for an analysis of 'interest' in the same.[7]

A disinclination to look for a change in the society of India was also there. Believing as the most cultural evolutionists did in some linear movement towards progress, the foreign administrators tried to take policy decisions according to the

ethos current in their society.[8] In this situation, "to check the worst effect of inperialism, the Conservatives created a high estimate of Indian society. culture and government. They insisted on a policy of preserving Indian civilisation as the just course, as the only way India might continue its future development. In opposition to the Conservative view, Liberal and humanitarian reformers censured most of what the Conservatives praised, They proposed, as an immense benefit to India, the massive Westernization of political system, economic practice, social, religious and intellectual life of the country."[9] The pace was set for the transformation of a traditional society. As positive aspects of Westernization and modernization, newer and newer institutions grew in Calcutta, the capital of British India till 1910. Indeed, "before Bentinck arrived on the scene, Calcutta had already a school system using European methods of instruction and text-books. On their own initiative, the urban elite had founded the Hindu College, the only European-style institution of higher learning in Asia. Newspapers, periodicals and books were being published regularly in English and the indigenous languages. The city had a modern public library." [10] Some of the most important landmarks in the process of Westernizátion and anglicanization had been the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, evangelising efforts of the missionaries, and the introduction of English education.

Anglicanization of Indian administration was the key-note of the socio-economic reforms of Lord Cornwallis. Even at the cost of admonition rather than admiration of the true Conservatives, Cornwallis could see his way to introducing aristocratic British ideas in his reform of land tenures and land revenues. "It is for the interest of the state", wrote he, "that landed property should fall into the hands of the most frugal and thriftly class of people, who will improve their lands and protect the ryots and thereby promote the general prosperity of the country." [11] Though aiming at creating 'Indian landlords who would be English in character', and also for convenience in revenue collection, the Permanent Settlement, in course of its operation, "tended to destroy the old aristocracy or whatever remained of it and bring about important changes in society." [12]

The much desired "middle class in land", assured of the benefits of security, rapidly grew in wealth and influence by judicious investments in commercial enterprise. This new *evolué* with its tradition of conservatism and involvement in modernity in the emergent commercial and urban set-up of the country, became instrumental to important social changes. The chief idea of Cornwallis' land-reform was "to bring order and stability to a society fast disolving, and not to bring about a social revolution which would effect its complete transformation".[13] Naturally, the pace was set for a "Victorian Society" in Bengal. Its *forte* had been conformism and compromise.[14] It will be seen later on, how this conformism and compromise came to be reflected in what the elites in that "Victorian Society" thought and did. That 'Positivism' found a *niche* in them is a proof of their social and intellectual position.

The advent of the evangelical Christian missionaries was also a phenomenon of great moment in the contemporary social life. As a trading body, it had always been in the consideration of the East India Company that it was their duty to preach Christ to the Indian heathens. In a despatch of 1659, the Court of Directors had declared their intention to propagate the Gospel in India by all means. A missionary clause was incorporated in the Charter of 1698 and missionaries began to embark on Company's ships for India. Though there had been a reversal of this policy after the battle of Plassey, missionaries came pouring in, nevertheless, in India. The earliest Protestant missions in Bengal were those of Kiernander in Calcutta (1758-86) and Moravite Brethren in Serampore, nicknamed Frederisksnagar (1777-91). During the period 1793-1833, eight Missionary societies were functioning in Bengal. They included, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Established Church of Scotland, and the Netherlands Missionary Society. The Church of Scotland also became active in India through its agent, Alexander Duff. No less important was the endeavour of the British and Foreign

Bible Society, founded in 1804. It played a significant role both in spreading the Scripture and suggesting reforms to the Hindu society. The main object of the missionaries was evangelisation, but they did not remain uncritical of the Hindu religion and the social system which it engendered. In their opinion, Hindu society must be purged and renovated, and in this, they were aided by their associates in Britain. However much they had tried toward proseletysation of the natives in India, their success in it remains a strongly debated point. "No denomination of Christians has had any real success in bringing natives of India over to the Christian faith",[15] this is how Rammohan gave his reply to the questions of H. Ware in 1824. Also, "the first fact forced on Duff was that, as against the Brahmanised Hindoos, the prevailing missionary methods had failed."[16] Nevertheless, missionaries did not sit idle. Evangelisation, social reform and educational work went hand in hand and this gave them strength to brave the opposition of the government and challenge the conservatism of Indians.

The period is also marked by a stirring activity in the field of education. Before 1793, Europeans played an insignificant, almost negligible role in educational matters in India. Missionaries were doing their mite in education. It is not that the Court of Directors were unaware of "the utility and importance of establishing free and direct communication with the natives" and "their acquiring knowledge of the English language" as "the most effectual means of accomplishing this desired object"; [17] but they did not go beyond making annual grants to a few schools. Higher education received but a very mild encouragement from the Company's government. It was only in response to a considerable number of petitions and memorials from the Muslim gentry that a Madrassah or College was founded in in Calcutta in 1781. The primary purpose of the institution was to instruct the sons of Mahomedan Gentlemen in Muslim law in order they might fill up appointments in civil and criminal courts. Eleven years later, Jonathan Duncan, Resident of Benares, opened the Benares Sanskrit College "to preserve and cultivate the literature, laws and religion of the Hindus." The main principles which governed the efforts of Warren Hastings

and Jonathan Duncan in this direction were two-fold, viz, these institutions sought to qualify "the sons of Gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state" [18] and thus prove "a nursery for future doctors and expounders of law" for assisting "European judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit." [19] Unfortunately, however, during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the high hopes of the Bengal government were very much belied. The prospect of an improvement in education loomed bright around 1793. The House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that measures be adopted to promote the gradual advancement of the Indian people in the useful knowledge.

One important project before 1813 which did not emanate from the missionary endeavour was the establishment of a college at Fort William in 1800. Marquies of Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, early realised that 'imported civilians', inept, self-seeking as they are, need a thorough and rounded knowledge of local languages, manners and customs to transform them into efficient devoted civil servants of the British Empire in India. The Fort William College did more than providing "better instruction of junior civil servants of the Company." [20] Begun to serve an administrative purpose, the Fort William College "became a centre of Oriental learning and culture, and gave a stimulus to language and literature." [21]

By 1816, the desire on the part of the Hindus in Bengal to acquire a knowledge of European literature and science had reached its climax. They wanted to establish an institution exclusively at their own cost if they do not get government support. In this matter the support of Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief-justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court (1813-1822) came very handy. The Hindu College was born in 1817 and it actually started functioning from January 17 of the year. J. C. Marshman described the establishment of the Hindu College as "the first national movement in the cause of improvement."[22]

The Hindu College fulfilled to a great extent the desire of Holt Mackenzie while, at the same time, satisfying the growing

demand for Western education of the local people.[22a] From the very beginning it was insisted upon that the Hindu College not teach Hindu theology and metaphysics, but primarily concerns itself with imparting secular education, free-will, free-ordination etc. Hume, Reid, Dugald Stewart, Brown and others were studied critically and incisively. The letters written by the students, Adhir Chunder Dass, Rusik Krishna Mullick, Krishna Dhun Mitra, Krishna Mohan Banerjee, to name only a few, to Sir Edward Ryan and William Bentinck "are faint representation of the annoyances they have to entertain and the evils they endure"[23] Adhir Chunder Dass writes, "I have already enjoyed the blessings of a liberal education......and yet the education I have received has taught me principles opposed to those that have been professed and practised by my ancestors." And "disregarding the frown and threat of the mob" he is determined to "use every proper instrument in undermining superstition." Rusik Krishna Mullick informs Bentinck that his main object in editing *The Enquirer* was "to satirize the absurd customs that are prevalent among the Hindus and to give them historical and geographical knowledge that their view of nature may be extended."[25] It may not be incorrect to assume here that the path was paved for what Daniel Lerner calls "psychic mobility" or "liberating a man from his native self—to shape for himself a different personality than that with which he was born."[26]

Currently with the Hindu School, came two other institutions, the Calcutta School Book Society (1817) and the Calcutta School Society (1818) under the most careful patronage of the local elite, European and Indian. The purpose of these institutions was to improve existing schools "with the view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India."[27] Throughout the 1820's the Society, with the aid of the elite and intelligentsia in Calcutta, went on expanding and almost completely altered the existing system of lower education in Calcutta. The Society schools might have been the nursery, doing the "real formative work of training many of the students who later won distinction as Derozio's disciples."[28]

It was also an objective of the Society to make cheap books available to Calcutta schools. These books were meant for supplying "useful knowledge" to the students. Through the Society publications it was possible for Indian students to become acquainted for the first time with European science, history and literature. *Bhugol Vrittanta* of the Rev. W. H. Pearce, *Jyotish o Goladhyāy* of J. C. Marshman, *Padārtha Vidyāsār* of William Yates, an abridged Bengali translation of Goldsmith's *History of England* by Felix Carey, son of William Carey, enlarged the intellectual horizon of the students of this country. At the same time, these translations of alien technical works led to the enrichment of the indigenous languages, Bengali in particular. This aspect of the contribution of the Calcutta School Book Society was competently reviewed by Rajendra Lal Mitra in his pamphlet *A Scheme for the Rendering of European Scientific Terms into the Vernacular of India* as early as 1877. Based on the Calcutta models, School Book Societies or School Societies or the two combined in one, as in Bombay, were set up at Dacca, Murshidabad, Madras, Agra, Benares between 1818 and 1820 which either prescribed the books of the Calcutta School Book Society or translated them into local languages. Moreover, the opening of twelve Agencies at important places in India in 1835 led to the Calcutta School Book Society's impact felt from Penang in the East to Bombay in the West, from Ludhiana in the North to the Nilgiri Hills in the South.

However much attracted the Indians might have been towards rationalistic and scientific attitude of their alien rulers, they expressed, nevertheless, animadversions against the Establishment. The atmosphere of attraction and rupulsion for foreign rulers lingered. The native intelligentsia came up with three different responses in the situation. First, there were those 'dyed-in-the-wool' traditionists who rejected outright Western ideas and culture ; second, those who wanted a synthesis of the two cultures—'if we are at all sincerely anxious to promote the true advancement of our country we should combine the elements of Eastern and Western thought, the civilization of ancient and modern times' ; and the third, those to whom the basis of syn-

thesis, instead of synthesis *per se* appeared most important. Each of these groups organized its platform and press, forum and foyer to give vent to their ideas, social, political and religious. Societies and associations emerged in plenty.

The *nouveaux riches* of Calcutta such as the Mullicks, Debs, Tagores and Ghosals who owed much of their currently acquired wealth to European relationships, valued highly competence in the English language and training in European fields of study. Spread of such education through the Hindu College generated new ideas of public spirit and patriotism. As in eighteenth century France, *les societes de pense* or freethinking societies[29] were not slow to emerge in Calcutta after her familiarity with the writings of European authors. Also, very much like the associations of the nineteenth century England, e.g., the General Unions, the Anti-corn League, the Chartists, the Yorkshire, the Society for the Defence of the Bill of Rights, and the countless literary and debating clubs, a large number of associations and societies came into being in Calcutta and other Presidency towns. The Calcutta societies, include, to name only a few here, the Brahmo Samaj, the Academic Association, the Tattwabodhini Sabha, the Society for the Acquisition of General knowledge, the Dharma Sabha, the Bengal British India Society and the Bethune Society. Some of these associations were designed either to meet the demand for new education or to confute the advances made by the missionaries. Some of them, again, were of a different brand. They formed a class by themselves. They were "launched by the alumni of the new schools who were encouraged to band together, both by the mystique of the syllabus they shared and the ostracism they suffered at the hands of the orthodox society."[30] It is no wonder that Joshua Marshman viewed contemporary Bengal as entering a new age reminiscent of Europe at the time of her renaissance.[31]

Derozio and his pupils 'encouraged to band together, both by the mystique of the syllabus and the ostracism of the orthodox society' started in 1828 the Academic Association in Calcutta. This was the first debating club of India, which

discussed "topics like freewill and fate, virtue and vice, patriotism, arguments for or against the existence of God, the shames of idolatry and priest craft." [32] Henry Derozio was the president of the Association and its members included Peary Chand Mitra, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Rashik Krishna Mulick, Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Ramtanu Lahiri, Radhanath Sirkar, Madhab Chandra Mullick, Govind Chandra Basak, David Hare and many others. There were quite a few distinguished visitors to the Association. They were Dr. Mill, Principal Bishops College, Calcutta; Sir Edward Ryan, Judge Supreme Court and quite a few other dignitaries of the Establishment.

Regarding the origin and functions of the Association we read in the Eighth Report of the Calcutta School Society, "Many of the young gentlemen appear very properly to appreciate the value of knowledge, and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible; they have formed societies amongst their friends at some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition on literary subjects and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengali." [33] But, evidently, the line of action of the Academic Association was not that soft. The Young Bengali, so were the members of the Association called, had been bestowed with the laudatory appellation "the Athenians of India." [34] They debated and discussed freely, subjects which could not have been approached in the class-room. Their heroes were the 'philosophes' and the their handbook was Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*. Some one even took the trouble to translate some part of Paine's book into Bengali, and get it published in the *Prabhakar*. Inspired by such lively and unconventional teachers as Derozio and David Hare, the Young Bengal galvanised Calcutta in the late 1820's "flaunting their renunciation of orthodox Hindu Society." [35] To Young Bengal, "aflame with love for twin gods of liberty and rationalism,"[36] all forms of European learning were a passion. Nevertheless, they showed an acute concern for Indian society and social problems. Their magazines, the *Parthenon* (the *Athenium,* according to Sibnath Sashtri) and the *Jnananweshan* acted as a forum of free expression on things 'social'. In the *Parthenon* were mooted subjects like education of women, desirability

of cheap justice, and the baneful effects of superstition. This organ, ultra-radical as it was conceived, was suppressed after two issue by order of the College Visitor, Dr. H. H. Wilson. But delving deep by the students in the new thought of Bacon, Locke, Hume, Smith, Paine or Bentham continued unabated. The Young Bengal chose *Jnananweshan* to teach the countrymen the "science of government and jurisprudence". The journal serving as platform lasted till 1844. In its columns were discussed, critically and hopefully, problems like the education of women, *Sati*, colonisation of the British in India, export of Indian coolies to the Mauritius, and such other topical subjects. Even Derozio's imagination was evoked to write a poem on *Sati*.* The Young Bengal, who were all radical in matters of politics and followers of the Benthamite principles, organised meetings at the Town Hall to record their protest against the Press Regulation Act (on 5.1.1835), the export of coolies to the Mauritius (on 10.7.1838), and at the same time demanding extension of the jury system (on 5.7.1835). Awareness of social evils and measures for their melioration was fast developing in the countrymen. It was not for sheer reverence for knowledge that for the first thirteen years of the existence of the *Jnananweshan*, it was distributed free among the educated public in Bengal.[37]

But the Young Bengal soon began to experience social depreciation to an umpteenth degree. These "Chittagong Ferringis"[38] were believed to be "cutting their way through ham and beef and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer."[39] The Academic Association faced a united denunciaion from the contemporaries and authorities of education. In a circular it was made known that "The Management of the Anglo-Indian College, having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending Societies at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after

---

* Appendix II.

the promulgation of the order will incur their serious displeasure." [40]

Despite this hostile milieu, the Association kept its fire burning. Though its life was cut short by the sudden and premature death of Henry Derozio, the spirit that animated its founder was not to be easily damped. Other prominent members of the Association, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Peary Chand Mitra, Tarachand Chakravarti, and the Rev. K. M. Banerjee spoke in one voice of the necessity of "the protection of rights, the prevention of wrongs and the consequent promotion of happiness" among the people. Through publications and associations, they contributed considerably to the growth of social consciousness and political awakening of the people. They were instrumental, incidentally, to establishing the Calcutta Medical College (1835) and the Calcutta Mechanics Institute and the School of Art in 1839.

With the demise of the Academic Association the era of alleged 'extreme progressivism'[41] came to a close. There developed instead a desire for deeper understanding of men, nature and society. "Is it then not desirable to unite in such a laudable pursuit by which the bonds of fellowship may be strengthened, the acquisition of knowledge promoted, and the sphere of our usefulness extended ?" [42] queried Trani Charan Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghosh, Ramtanoo Lahiri, Tarachand Chakravarti and Raj Krishna Dey and straight went their appeal to the public of Calcutta on 20th February, 1838,

> "With a view therefore to create in ourselves a determined and well-regulated love of study, which will lead us to dive deeper than the mere surface of learning, and enable us to acquire a respectable knowledge on matters of general and more specially of local interest, we have thought it expedient to invite you to meet in order to consider the proposal of establishing an Institution which in our humble opinion is eminently calculated not only to effect this great end but likely to promote mutual good feeling and union —object of no less importance." [43]

The appeal had its effect on the public. About three hundred native Gentlemen assembled at the Sanskrit College Hall on the 12th March, 1838 and unanimously resolved to establish the proposed society. And the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was born. At the very outset Rev. K. M. Banerjee, a close associate of the society had the objective stated in no uncertain terms : "The formation of a Society like this, ought by no means to be passed over as a common occurrence in India. The Young men of our country had long been known to pursue only vicious and unworthy objects when they meet in a body. The social feelings of our nature had thus been turned to serve only base ends-and this has given to our friends much occasion for regret and to our enemies many opportunities of slander".

"I hope the edistence of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge will produce a different effect and refresh the former with joy and fill the latter with confusion. I hope this Association will prove to the world that however vicious and unworthy the state of Society might have been before in our country, a change has been effected to a considerable extent." [44]

The Society had two hundred members.[45] History, poetry, language, social condition of the various classes of peoples, topography, metaphysics, and plenty other subjects received careful attention of the members of the Society.[46] From the Transactions of the Society we get to know that the following papers on diverse subjects were presented and discussed at different meetings of the Society: "Reform, Civil and Social among Educated Natives"; "On the Nature and Importance of Historical Studies" by Rev. K. M. Banerjee; "Topographical and Statistical Sketch of Bankura" by Hurro Chunder Ghosh ; "A Sketch on the condition of Hindu Women," by Mahesh Chunder Dev ; "A Brief Outline of the History of Hindusthan by Govind Chunder Sen ; "Descriptive Notices of Chittagong," "Descriptive Notices of Tipperah," by Govind Chunder Bysack ; "The State of Hindusthan under the Hindus" by Peary Chunder Mitra ; "The Physiology of Dissec-

tion" by Prosanna Kumar Mitra etc. It is worth quotinp to some length from the paper of Mohesh Chunder Dev. While offering his notes on prostitution, he commented on the condition of the Hindu widow in the following way :

> "The death of their husbands cut them off from every comfort and enjoyment. A constant round of fast and vigils becomes the business of their existence. They are ordained by the *Sashtras* to feed upon rice and simple vegetables once a day and to put on coarse and unostentatious garment. They must not decorate themselves with any sort of jewles. In short, they are doomed to lead a life of stern privation the paralled of which is scarcely met with in the history of the most austere monk or ascetic,. . . . . ."[47]

"The most trying evil which they are obliged to undergo is the perpetual celibacy to which they are subjected. Many of them young and beautiful and unable to subdue nature give way to those temptations which beset them on every side. I would fain draw a veil over this part of my subject. These unfortunate victims of a monstrous system are led to commit every species of crimes. To conceal the consequences of their guilt, they have recourse to the most harrowing means. Thousands of innocent babes are smuggled into the grave from the womb, thousands of widows to commit self-destruction to fly these miseries and crimes."[48]

On May 8. 1840, Rev. K. M. Banerjee read an article on Female Education exhorting.

"It is impossible that a nation can take rapid strides to civilization while half the members that compose it are sunk in ignorance and degradation. The very persons who are to instil the first elements of knowledge into the tender mind and after whom the little infant learns to lisp broken sentences are suffered to continue uneducated and uninstructed. Can the people reap the advantages and enjoy the blessings of education to a considerable extent, while their partners in life grovel on the dust of superstition and darkness ?. . . . . "The fact can

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL NETWORK & INSTITUTIONALIZATION

> "History has for its object everything that is intimate, everything that is passionate, everything also that is trivial or daily occurrence. all the colour, all the infinite variety of the past".
>
> G. M. Trevelyan

"Indian intellectuals did not even see the need to study their institutions"......"Indian intellectuals were so much on the defensive about the condition prevalent in their own society and their institutions that they did not like them to be made known to the world outside......"[1] this is how the situation of the attenuated development of sociology in India has been summed up in the *Report on Sociology* (1966) by the University Grants Commission, India. Honestly speaking, this is a very negative view of the situation and is not warranted by the developments in the country in the period under survey.

The need for social and secular reform was felt to be so great that literary works, periodical publications, academic associations and reform organisations were seen working simultaneously, and with vigour and conviction. There were about five hundred newspapers, journals and periodical publications in the country then. By 1874-75, there were total of 248 newspapers alone ; 95 in Bengal ; 55 in Bombay Presidency ; 35 in N.W.P. ; 22 in the Punjab ; 8 in Oudh ; 1 in the C.P. and 32 in the Madras Presidency.[2] In Bengal, in the thirties of the last

century, newspapers assumed more prominence than elsewhere in India. This might be due to the charismatic figure of Rammohan and also to the non-conformist Young Bengal movement. Each faction had its newspaper. The chief characteristic of these early newspapers was their concern for society and a secular solution of its problems. Some wanted to educate society, some to change it, while others stood firmly by the traditional forms and norms. Notably in the case of Bengal, the effect of these early newspapers had been both to bring social reform and purify and enrich the language in which they were printed. Digby's remark about the native press in India is worth quoting here : "What Dante did for the Italian language, Wycliff and Shakespeare for the English and Luther for the German, that has the native press of India done."[3]

New words for social development were carried by legion journals, daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly and otherwise. Prominent among them were the *Brahminical Magazine,* the *Sambad Kaumudi,* the *Samachar Darpan,* the *Samachar Chandrika,* the *Jnananwesan,* the *Enquirer,* the *Tattwabodhini Patrika,* the *Vividhartha Samgraha*, the *Vidyotsahini Patrika,* the *Sarba Subhakar,* the *Satya Pradip,* the *Sambad Prabhankar,* the *Som Prakash,* the *Education Gazettee.* They discussed and suggested directives to various problems in society such as, alcoholism, education of men, women, working class, agriculturists, (the first Agricultural School and Industrial Schools with hostels were established at Barasat, a village in 24 Parganas, in 1840's), urban blight, social mobility and social climbing, anonymity and alienation in the emergent urban setting. About *Samachar Darpan,* the Rev. J. Long very succinctly observed that the officers of the Government felt it as a check on their misconduct and they dreaded its exposures.

The literary world was equally up and against the social malaise and social disaffection in the contemporary period. The *litterateurs* set themselves to prove with immense intrepidity, that pen was really mightier than the sword. Through the columns of newspapers and periodicals as well as in independent treatises, they gave vent to their feeling of denunciation of

never be so and therefore we must educate our daughters with the same care as our sons, if we are to expect the advancement of our country in the scale of happiness."[49]

It is no wonder that the SAGK coincided with this period of remarkable activity, high expectations, novel ideas and a great demand for education. And the Society, through its manifold activities, did, indeed, prove to the world that a change has been effected to a considerable extent. What started in the Academic Association, attained its intellectual maturity in the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge (SAGK). Awareness of things 'social' is more than manifest in what the SAGK did and looked forward to. Unfortunately, with all its bright promises, the Society died a death of inanition in 1843.

The flame lit by the Academic Association and the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was kept burning in full blaze by the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* established in 1839. The establishment of the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* was an event of singular importance in the contemporary Bengal. It was a situation of great intellectual turmoil. Derozio, the Academic Association, the SAGK have all brought the society in Bengal face to face with new challenges. They questioned the rationale of the time-old institutions and practices. They drew their *elan* from science and scientific discourses. So strong was their passion for things 'scientific' that in early 1833's they even brought out *Vijnan Sar Sangrahas,* a bilingual monthly on scientific subjects. They felt and began to assert that what is morally wrong cannot be theologically right. In the very first issue of the journal the publishers wrote :

> "The aim of the conductors is to communicate chiefly among the natives of Bengal, such selections from works of European literature and science as may tend to enlarge the sphere of their moral sentiments and infuse a spirit of activity and enterprise in all those pursuits which conduce to the happiness or glory of man..........It is on this account that we have decided to establish this paper."[50]

In this critical situation of the alleged alienation of the youths and intellectuals in Bengal the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* was established. It aimed at the resuscitation and revival of values that had been debunked on all quarters, by the missionaries, the new elites and intellectuals of the day. This successor of the *Brahmo Samaj* stood for truth and validity of India's old religion and culture.

After Rammohan had left for England the central organisation of the *Brahmo Samaj* received a set-back. There was none of the stature of Rammohan who could integrate the diversely ramified ideas of the intellectuals of the day. Naturally, his forward-looking ideas and cultural pattern could not be taken well care of. 'The need of the hour was a strong central organisation under the leadership of a towering personality that would be able to weld all the scattered forces of progress in the country together."[51] And this is actually what Devendranath did by establishing the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* in 1830. The *Sabha* was, in fact, the organisational wing of the *Brahmo Samaj* and it continued to function till 1859.

Even if, the declared objective of the *Sabha* was the "extensive propaganda of *Brahmo Dharma*", it accepted social amelioration as its prime concern. The spread of education through vernacular, city betterment, suppression of social evils like polygamy, prostitution etc., the freedom of the press and other allied subjects were in the approved agenda of the *Sabha*. Through its organ the *Tattwabodhini Patrika,* characterised by the "ability and originality of its articles" on the different subjects of social concern, the *Sabha* proved extremely dynamic and forceful in the formative period of the Renaissant Bengal. It is really rewarding to go through the file of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* since it first publication. On does not look in vain for well-thought-out discourses on social problems there. Journalistic literature like that of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* definitely added to the store of sociological writings in our country. Here are some of the titles : *Samajer Unnati* (Upliftment of Society) by Upendranath Ball ; *Samājer Ektā Dik* (One Aspect of Society) by Rabindranath Sanyal ; *Samāj Sanskārer Padhati,*

Herbert Spencerer Mat (Ways of Improvement of Society *a la* Herbert Spencer) by Jyotirindranath Tagore ; *Samāj* (Society) by Kshitindranath Tagore ; *Samāj Bhed* (Division in Society)) by Rabindranath Tagore ; *Somāj O Samskār* (Society and Reconstruction) by *Chi Cha* (*nom de plume*) ; *Palligrāmastha Prajādiger Durabasthā* (The Plight of the Village Ryots) ; *Sikshita Sampradāyer Ashā O Dukkher Kathā* (Tales of Hopes and Despairs of the Educated Class) . *Madhyabittwer Jibanjātrār Dristibhangir Paribartan o Jautha Paribār* (A change in the outlook of the Middle class and the Joint Family). In all these articles we find closely reasoned arguments about emergent social problems. Treatment was least journalistic. Attempts have always been made to go deep into the problems and analyse them with sociological insight and knowledge. Sociological works in contemporary European and American countries were freely quoted to give the analysis a comparative texture. Also, "scientific articles, moral instructions, accounts of different nations, and tribes, stories of the animate and inanimate creation, all that could enlighten the expanding intellect of Bengal and dispel darkness and prejudices, found a convenient vehicle in the *Tattwabodhini Patrina*".[52] It was no wonder that, referring to the good quality of its contents, Rev. James Long should observe, "To those who wish to know what expressiveness of the Bengali Language means we would recommend the perusal of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika,* a publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles."[53]

There were about eight hundred members of the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* and its influence in the contemporary period was really far-reaching. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose's estimate of the *Sabha* and the *Patrika* is worth remembering here :

> "*The Tattwabodhini Sabha* and the *Tattawabodhini Patrika* were destined to play a significant part in the moral and intellectual reconstruction of Bengal. The journal published information on science, history and social affairs ; answered charges levelled by Christian missionaries ; and although it played a defensive role, it made people feel proud of their civilisation in

its reformed version, and rendered satisfied pride the basis of an acceptance of the best which the West had to offer".[54]

By December 1830, there was the *Dharma Sabha* in Calcutta. In the context of the cultural issues that led to its emergence, the *Dharma Sabha* may be categorized as a society in defence of traditional Hindu pattern of life and living. This was the forum of the first Indian 'slavophils'[55] so to say. But this supposed orthodox association was not that impervious to everything modern. The association of the members of the *Dharma Sabha* with the Orientalist movement in contemporary Bengal prove their keenness not for orthodoxy *per se* but for syncretic schemes. Moreover, the institution was extremely modern and Western in orientation. A president, a board of directors. a secretary, and a treasurer were there in the executive body of the *Dharma Sabha*. Special purpose committees were also there, and the *Dharma Sabha* conducted its meetings according to the strict rules of parliamentary procedure.[56]

It is not also quite correct to hold that the *Dharma Sabha* was organised simply to defend *Sati*. Its was the protest against the rising tide of Macaulayism to Westernize Indian life, living and culture. The *Sabha*, it has been observed, rose, really and truly, above the narrow perspective of just defending *Sati*. On December 1, 1830, the programme of the *Sabha* called for an Indianization of the civil service, abolition of the Permanent Settlement, a defense of *Sati*. The programme included further, a warning about the baneful effects of colonization, a proposal for building a charitable institution for the poor in Calcutta and a hospital.*

It seems evident from what has been known of the social milieu, that the process of intellectual diversification was imma-

---

* Street begging was very much frowned upon. It was proposed to set up an alms-house in Calcutta. Matilal Seal was agreeable to offer a plot and Rustomji Cowsjee to defray the building expenses.

nent in the contemporary period. There had been 'traditionists', 'modernist' and also those who were a compromise of the two. They looked at their own society through their respective parallax. There was no single pattern of thought in delineating and deciphering society. They constituted, to use the language of Sorokin a large number of "sociological schools". But however heterogenous their attempts at interpreting, explaining and accounting for the growth and progress of society and civilisation might have been, they fulfilled to a great extent the aim of sociology as "to lay claim on objective and scientific knowledge about society or societies or social phenoment".[75] they set the stage, assuredly, for 'Sociology' in India and from them emerged the "founding fathers of social sciences" in the country.**

** The Bengal British India Society and the Bethune Society have been discussed in Chapter III and Chapter IV respectively.

NOTES

Chapter Epigraphs :

Carr E. H.,—*What is History* (Pengiun 1964) pp. 31-55.

Fedoseyev, P. N.,—Report at the IV Congress of Sociology, Stressa 1959

1. Friedlander, W. A.,—*Introduction to Social Welfare* (Prentice Hall, India) p. 219.
2. Baldwin, R. N.,—'Social Action', *Dictionary of Sociology*.
3. Hughes, Stuart H.,—'The Historian and the Social Scientist', *American Historical Review*, Oct. 1960, pp. 20-46.
4. Duncan-Mitchell, D. G.,—*Hundred Years of Sociology in Britain* (London 1968) p. 3.

It will be read with profit here the circular which was issued by the Massachusetts Board of State Charities on August 2, 1865, regarding the organisation of Sociology in America :

"Our attention has lately been called to the importance of some organization in the United States, both local and national, whose object shall be the discussion of those questions relating to the sanitary condition of the people, the Relief, Employment, and Education of the Poor, the Prevention of Crime. the Amelioration of the Criminal Law, the Discipline of Prisons, the Remedial Treatment of the Insane, and those numerous matters of statistical and philanthropic interest which are included under the general head of Social Science. An association for the consideration of these questions has existed in Great Britain for several years, including among its members many of the most eminent philanthropists and statistical writers of that country."

This call was answered by about three hundred people who met on October 4, 1865, and organised the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science. The original constitution, as finally adopted, stated the objectives of the American Social Science Association as follows : "to aid the development of Social Science, and to guide the public mind to the best practical means of promoting the Amendment of Laws, the Advancement of Education, the Prevention and Repression of Crime, the Reformation of Criminals and the progress of Public Morality, the Adoption of Sanitary Regulations, and the diffusion of sound principles on Questions of Economy, Trade and Finance."

Referred to in *American Sociology* by H. W. Odum, (Longmans, 1951) pp. 67-68.

Also, Oberschall, A.,—Empirical Social Research in Germany 1848-1914 (Mouton 1965).

5. Singh, Baljit (ed)—'The Development of Sociology in India', *The Frontiers of Social Science* (MacMillan 1958) p. 463.
6. Thapar, Romila,—'Interpretations of Ancient Indian History', *History and Theory* 1968, No. 3, pp. 318-338.
7. Leach, E. R.,—'What should we mean by Caste' in E. R. Leach (ed) *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan* (Cambridge 1960).

Dumont, L.,—*Homo Hierarchicus : The Caste System and its Implications* (London 1970).

Pocock, D. F.,—*Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol. I, 1957.

Lockwood, D.,—"Some Remarks on 'The Social System'." *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VII 1956.

8. Thapar, Romila.,—*loc cit.*
9. Bearce, J. D.,—*British Attitudes Towards India* (Oxford 1961) III.
10. Kopf, D.,—*British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance* (Calcutta 1969) p. 4.
11. Ross, Charles.,—*Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis of Cornwallis.* 3 Vol, (London 1859) Vol. I, pp. 552-53.

Stokes, E.,—*The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford 1959). Eric Stokes writes, "The Permanent Settlement was an attempt to apply the Whig philosophy of government", p. 5.

12. Ahmed, A. F. Salahuddin.,—*Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal* 1818-1835 (Leiden 1965) p. 6.
13. Stokes, E.,—*op cit.* p. 26
14. Sinha, P.,—*Nineteenth Century Bengal* (Calcutta 1965) pp. 91-92.
15. Ray, Rammohan—English Works, Vol. I, p. 256.
16. Smith, G.,—*Life of Duff,* 2 vols, (New York 1879), vol I, p. 107.

17. Despatch from Bengal, February 16, 1787.
18. Howell, A. P.,—*Education in British India* (Calcutta 1872), p. 1.
19. Howell, A. P.,—*loc cit.*
20. Ranking, G. S. A.,—'History of the College of Fort William'. Instalment No 1 *Bengal Past and Present* (Jan-June 1911) pp. 1-29.
21. Ghosh, J. C.,—*Bengali Literature* (Oxford 1948) p.110.
22. Marshman J. C.,—*Llfe & times of Carey, Marshman and Ward Embracing the History of Serampore Mission,* 2 vols. (London 1859) vol I. p. 123.
22a. Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary, Department of Territories, then in charge of Education expressed his desire to impart to Indians "whatever can extend the knowledge of the people. whatever can give them a juster conception of the true relations of things.........."

Vide Note by Holt Mackenzie on Public Education in India, July 17, 1823, Revenue consultation (T.D.) July 17, 1823, No. I.
23. Bentinck Papers, Bentinck's letter to Sir E. Ryan, June 13, 1831.
24. *Ibid,*—Adhir Chunder Dass to Ryan, June 2, 1831.
25. *Ibid,*—Rusik Krishna Mullick to Bentinck, Nov. 23, 1831.
26. Lerner, D..—*The Passing of Traditional Society* (Free Press Paperback 1966) pp. 57-64, 66-67, 120-121.

Kingsley Davis,—*Population of India and Pakistan,* pp. 150-161.

R. K. Lamb,—'Political Elites and the Process of Economic Development' in *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (ed) B. F. Hoselitz, pp. 34-35.

McCully, B. T.,—*English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism* (N. Y. 1940), p. 388.

They have all spoken on the importance of education in modifying the traditional order.
27. First Report of the Calcutta School Society 1818-19 (Calcutta 1820) p. iii.
28. Kopf, D.,—*Op cit.,* p. 161.
29. Eisler, Robert,.—"Free thinkers" *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences,* vol 6.

30. Seal, A.,—*The Emergence of Indian Nationalism : competition and collaboration in the later nineteenth century* (Cambridge 1968) pp. 191-193.
31. Cited in David Kopf, *op. cit,* p. 156.
32. Sarker, S. C.,—'Derozio and Young Bengal', *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance,* (Jadavpur 1958) pp. 16-31.
33. Eighth Report of the Calcutta School Society.
34. Knighton, W.,—'The Young Bengal', *The Contemporary Review,* December 1880, p. 897.
35. Seal, A.,—*loc cit.*
36. Bose, N. K.—*Modern Bengal* (Calcutta 1959) p. 47.
37. Sanyal, R. G. (ed)—*Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men in India* 2 vols. (Calcutta 1895) vol II, pp. 121-122.
38. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal containing Returns relating to the Publications in the Bengali language in 1857, No. 2. (India Office Library).
39. Quoted by S. C. Sarkar, *loc cit* p. 29
40. The Proceedings of the Hindoo College Magazine (unpublished)
41. There has been a lot of controversy regarding the role of the "Young Bengal'. Foreign and Indian authors are, more or less, united in their denunciation of the 'denationalising emasculation' (Heimsath), the absence of 'political potency' (Majumdar), and 'extreme progressivism, frivolity and recklessness' (Ghosh) of the Young Bengal. *vide* Heimsath, C. H., *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (1964) pp. 12-13 ; Majumdar, B. B., *Political Thought from Rammohan to Dayanand* (Cal 1938) p. 174 ; Ghosh B. "Maharshi Devendra nath Tagore", *Parichaya,* February 1965.

A corrective to these has been offered by S. C. Sarkar. (loc *cit*). His treatment of the Young Benagl is full of empathy and understanding. He writes,

"Many of the Young Bengal's true limitations were not peculiarly its own but shared by our entire

Renaissance.........The real failure of the Young Bengal trend was the failure to build up a sustained movement and developing ideology. Its most memorable positive aspects are a fearless rationalism and a candid appreciation of the regenerating new thought from the West. Much of this was drowned in the current of traditionalism, mysticism, religiosity, and revivalism fashionable in the latter part of the century. *It is permissible to doubt whether the change has been a gain in our national life.* (Italicts added).

42. Transactions of the S. A. G. K.
43. *Iibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Cited in *the Bengal Harkaru,* January 16, 1843.
46. *The Calcutta Review* 1851.
47. *Discourse* in the S. A. G. K. p. 104.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. Book Review in the *Calcutta Magazine*, May, 1833, pp. 176.
51. Biswas, D. K.,—"*The Maharshi and the Tattwabodhini*", *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* pp. 34-35.
52. Dutt, R. C.,—*The Literature of Bengal* (1895) pp. 163-164.
53. Long, James, the Reverend,—*The Calcutta Review* 1850 Jan-June, p. 131.
54. Bose, N. K., *op cit,* pp. 46-47.
55. The expression has been used by David Kopf to mean the traditionist section in the nineteenth century Bengal. But unfortunately, the traditionists in the nineteenth century Bengal did not manifest, like the Slavophils in Russia, 'Utopianism of the past,' i.e., a tendency to hark back to the good old days. On the contrary, they had streaks of modernism quite to an extent.
56. "Proceedings of the Dharma Sabha", *Friend of India* XIX (May 7, 1835), p. 145.
57. Aron, Raymond., *The Main Currents of Sociological Thought,* 2 vols. (Penguin 1968) vol. I, p. 8.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING FATHERS

> A *science* ignorant of its *founders* does not know how *far* it has travelled nor in what direction.
>
> A. V. Gouldner.

One of the seminal figures in the development of modern social science in India was Rammohan Roy (1777-1833). He was a phenomenon—"a purely spontaneous development by listening to the whispers of his own conscience".[1] He created a new empire. a new era. The future was his and he created men of new conceptions and new aspirations. Qualities which according to Alex Inkeles should cohere as a syndrome and which identify a modern man were very much present in Rammohan. Central to this syndrome are : Openness to new experience, both with people and new ways of doing things ; the assertion of increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures like parents and priests ; belief in the efficacy of science and medicine, and a general abandonment of passivity and fatalism in the face of life's difficulties ; to show strong interest and take active part in civic and community affairs and local politics ; and, to strive energetically to keep up with the news, and within this effort to prefer news of national and international import over items dealing with sports, religion, or purely local affairs.[2] Judged by these indices Rammohan was, without doubt, the first modern man in India.

The society Rammohan found in his time was that of custom consecrated by immemorial observance and interwoven with the tenets of Hinduism. He appeared on the stage to fight against error, falsehood and credulity. He stood for rationality and

not superstition. for logic and not blind faith, for science and not dogma.[3] He questioned the very validity of every institution in the Hindu social structure. 'Social awareness' was his sole *forte* and with an extraordinary clearness he saw that the new Western knowledge must be assimilated by his countrymen if they are to take their place in the comity of nations. And he sowed ideas with heirs and lineages. Within a year of his arrival in Calcutta, Rammohan established the *Atmiya Sabha* (Society of Friends). It was a private discussion group of members of kindred opinions and ideas. The *Atmiya Sabha* served as a sort of forum for free discussions and exchange of ideas on social, political and religious problems.

Rammohan found no rationale of the kind of religion practised by his countrymen as "the common people follow religion by blind imitation". His *Tuhfat-ul-Muahhiddin*—A Gift to Monotheists, was the first missile released against the contemporary organised religion of the Hindus. Though Miss Collet, the most accepted biographer of Rammohan, considers *Tuhfat* as an immature work as compared to his later writings, *Tuhfat*, nonetheless, gives us something very new. It has a modern ring to it. In it, Rammohan anticipated, much earlier than Emile Durkheim, the functional approach to religion.[4] Wrote Rammohan. "Human beings are naturally social beings and they are required to live together socially. But as society depends upon individual's understanding the ideas of each other reciprocally and on existence of some rules by which property of one is defined and distinguished from that of another, and one is prevented from exercising oppression over another ; so all the rulers inhabiting different countries, and even the inhabitant of isolated islands and the summits of lofty mountains, have invented special words indicating certain ideas which form the basis of invention of religion and upon which the organisation of society depends".[5] Also, "true religion consists in uniting the hearts of men without regard to their appearance and colour, and without inspecting their beliefs and creeds".[6]

Not only did he lay the basis of sociology of religion Rammohan, in his opposition to missionary activities in the contem-

porary period, emerged as the most astute student of comparative religion. As early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century he virtually laid the foundation of a comparative method in the study of social behaviour and practices. To the English missionaries Rammohan threw his challenge that "truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, high names or lofty places".[7] In the first issue of the *Brahminical Magazine* he replied to the arguments that had been levelled against the Scriptures by the missionaries in the *Samachar Darpan* of July 14, 1821 saying, that the teachings of the Scriptures, "if unreasonable, were not more so than their Christian faith". Rammohan was no Hindu chauvinist here. His 'little less than marvellous' study of and acquaintances with Christian and Semitic culture, Hebrew, Greek and other expository literature won him the most unique position of "the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion the world has produced".[8] Indeed, his monotheistic ideas as expressed in *Tuhfat*, were the result of his careful and meticulous examination of different religions, their customs, manners, dogmas, and miracles. His *Tuhfat* was particularly influenced by a 17th century Persian tract, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*. This Persian tract was first discovered by Sir William Jones in 1787. Rammohan's earlier work *Manazarat-al-Adyan*, not extant today, was supposed to have also been influenced by *Dabistan*. Rammohan's another work, *Jawab-i-Tuhfat ul-Muwahhidin* is extremely important as it was written against a Zoroastrian attack on Hindu religion.[9]

It is true that Lessing and others in Europe had already outlined the science of comparative religion. But what is striking about Rammohan is that he practised it in personal and public life. The advocacy of the utilitarian basis of religion[10] and of the parity of culture and mental equipment between the ruler and the ruled, that the Hindus and the Mahomedans had the "same capability of improvement as any other civilised people", required no mean courage of him, specially, in the context of the abounding orthodoxies and colonial rule in the country. Much earlier than Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse, Rammohan voiced the idea that "Progress is social and not racial". Moreover, to Rammohan progress or human welfare did not mean the

progress or welfare of any one country, race, sect or people; it meant the welfare and progress of all, the progress of one depending on the progress of all the rest. Further, progress did not mean to him advancement only in religion, or in politics, or in knowledge, or in any other thing. He sincerely believed that the right approach towards progress was simultaneous development along all lines. We get a touch of holistic approach here.

Social awareness was the supreme virtue in Rammohan[11] and this remained the sole motivating force in all he thought and did. Liberty had no other connotation to him than the liberation of the mind from the 'idols of the caves'. Civil and political liberty without a proper liberation of the mind was, to him, nothing but a travesty of the same. With this social awareness he struck at the root of all the institutions of society. Caste with its structure and strictures was scanned and scrutinised by him, its rationale questioned. Today, sociological, political, anthropological. economic and religious studies on the caste system are legion. But at the time when Rammohan was writing about this invidious distinction between man and man, his was a lonely voice. But it was not wholly lost and it did drown doubters. With his thoroughbred realism he could look deep into the system and pronounce his verdict on the same. He firmly postulated that caste system had no sanction in the *Sashtras* and that superiority and inferiority of men depend on their own merits, and therefore, absolutely independent of birth. 'Achievement' and not 'Ascription' was the yardstick Rammohan used for gauging superiority and inferiority of men. Later on, this was the position of Vivekanand and Mahatma Gandhi too. Vivekanand emphasised that "in spite of all the ravings of the priests, caste is simply a crystallised social institution, which after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with stench".[12] According to Mahatma Gandhi, "......caste has nothing to do with religion. It is harmful both to spiritual and national growth".[13] By accepting 'achievement' as the basis of the superior status of a man Rammohan, unwittingly, stood for what in current sociological parlance goes by the name of 'open society' and 'open class system'.

Rammohan's *realpolitik* induced him to study caste system in India from a rather political-utility point of view. As such, his tirades against the same formed no part of his reformating activities.[1] He attacked the institution as he considered it to be a great deterrent to the 'political advantage and social comfort'[14] of the country. The baneful effects of over-sensitiveness to one's caste resulting in fissiparous fragmentations and 'casteism' were early revealed to his pisgah sight. In his letter to James Silk Buckimham dated January 18, 1818, Rammohan wrote, "The distinction of castes introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them (the people) has entirely deprived them of patriotic feelings, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise".[15]

If Rammohan's indictment on the caste system and the secular analysis of the same was anything unique, no less so was his prophetic utterance on the development of 'class' in India. 'Middle Class' which had already made its appearance in Europe, was rather an alien concept in this country in the contemporary period. Rammohan could foresee not only the emergence of the middle class but also the historical role it is going to play in the destiny of India. In his paper *The Bengal Herald*, dated June 13, 1829, he welcomed the emergent middle class in the country : "A class of society has sprung into existence, that were before unknown, these are placed between aristocracy and the poor and are daily forming a most influential class......It is the dawn of new Era. Whenever such an other of men have been created, freedom has followed its train". Again,......"with the examples of Poland, Spain before us, it may not be presumptuous to assert, these middle class inhabitants of Bengal, afford the most cheering indication of any that exists at the present moment".

Rammohan's sociological acumen is most manifest in his treatment of the baneful institutions in society in India—"the source of prejudice and superstition and of the total destruction of moral principles as countenancing criminal intercourse, suicide, female murder and human sacrifice".[16] Like his writings on

comparative religion, his works on economics. politics, sociology and law were dictated by the needs of the day. Each of his contributions in socio-economic and religious field was 'action-oriented' and 'goal-oriented'. It has been aptly remarked by one of his compatriots that he "turned gradually from theory to practice, from doctrine to institution, from polemics to reform".[17] And his own statement corroborates the truth of the above remark. In no uncertain voice said he...."should my labours prove in any degree the means of diminishing the extent of those evils, I shall ever deem myself amply rewarded".[18] In this, he stood, essentially, for what is now called 'the Applied Sociology' in Eur-American countries.

In the field of 'Applied Sociology' in the contemporary period two items demanded the special attention of Rammohan : The first was the practice of *Sahamarana* or concremation or *Sati*, and the second, the law of property affecting both men and women in the country. In these two fields he evoked the *Sashtras* to make his firm departure from the age-old practices. Painfully aware of the need of social and economic emancipation of women as he was, Rammohan's penchant for education of women and their liberation is writ large in all his writings. "As you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore in justice, pronounce their inferiority"[19]—this is how he championed the cause of women. He firmly believed that with proper education and facilities for improvement, women would prove in no way inferior to men. This awareness of 'womanpower' made him fight relentless against *Sati* (or concremation.

Quoting more venerable authorities than his opponents had done, Rammohan tried to prove that the custom had no hieratic sanction at all and, therefore, not indispensable. Such was his keenness for positivism and pragmatism that he would seek an economic motivation for the custom rather than subscribe to any religious or theological explanation of it.[20] To him, disinclination to support 'a useless mouth' might be at the back of the practice of *Sati*. He was also aware that more often it was designed to secure the temporal good of the survivors than the

spiritual welfare of the sufferer or her husband. It is but natural, therefore, that Rammohan would feel tempted to explain *Sati* from a purely utilitarian and prymatic point of view. To him, *Sati* was out-and-out a 'this worldly' affair and this prompted him to raise funds for the Hindu widows.[21] This 'this worldly' treatment of *Sati* by Rammohan was further heightened by his efforts to introduce statutory measures in matrimonial matters. His vindication of the truth of this 'this worldly' phenomenon is to be found in his three brochures on *Sati* published in 1818, 1820 and 1829......*Sati* came to be abolished on a statutory basis in 1829. It is even said that he advocated the passing of a State Regulation requiring a man obtain a license from the magistrate, before he proceeds to marry a second wife while the former wife is living. The magistrate or some other authorised government officer would certify to such defects in the existing wife as alone, according to the sacred texts, justified taking a second wife.

The pamphlets on *Sati* also show his grasp over scientific. sociological methods., "If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed by women, I presume that the number of deceived women would be found ten times greater that of the betrayed men." These lines are of immense sociological significance even when judged by the standards of sophisticated sociological methods and techniques of today. First of all, the basis of conclusion is empirical; second, an idea of sampling is there; third a method of comparison has also been broached. Conclusion is drawn, not by any motivated or arbitrary reasoning but by a cool and careful analysis of facts. Rammohan's way of looking at social facts is, as evident from above, simultaneously sociological and radical. The sociologist in him makes sure of a social condition behind each social evil and the radical in him indicts that very social condition for that social evil to disappear. He thus attempted to escape the theological formulation of the problem by transforming it into a secular, sociological one.

In the field of "Applied Sociology" Rammmohan's second

contribution was his law of property. *His "Brief Remark Regarding Modern Encrochments of the Ancient Rights of Females According to the Hindu Laws of Inheritance* (1822) is an important document vindicating the position of women in their claim on ancestral property. In a successive series of pamphlets he upheld the position of women as having a share in the ancestral property. The same was admissible to them but they were being denied of it by the new British administration. Rammohan categorically asserted that 'it would be a most rash and injurious as well as ill-advised of the present day to set himself up as the corrector of successive expositions, admitted to have been received and acted upon as authoritative for a period extending to upwards of three centuries past."[22] This invocation of the sacred texts should not put us off against Rammohan, the moderniser. This was no retrograde step on his part ; on the contrary, his realism prompted him to accept what is good in the olden texts, and once again, he proved that he was no doctrinnaire.

A thorough analysis of the writings of Rammohan would, I believe, give us an idea of what we call Political Sociology today. Broadly conceived, political sociology is concerned with the underlying social conditions that affect government and politics. In narrower terms, political sociology focuses on the organizational analysis of political group and political leadership. It also involves an investigation of the social basis of political cleavage and political consensus. Alienation or political apathy is sought to be remedied through political socialization. Analysis of the social, economic and psychological preconditions of political democracy, therefore, constitutes the subject matter of political sociology.

In the nineteenth century India, the importance of these preconditions was vaguely realised. That government must rest on a social bond of mutual give and take between rulers and ruled was rarely appreciated by the people in the country. The participation of individuals and groups in political process, the development of representative institutions, extension of suffrage, naturally remained thin and tenuous. It was Rammohan,

a keen student of Montesquieu, Blackstone, Bentham, who by his actions and reflections, laid the foundation of political sociology in India.[23] In the contemporary period political apathy and political alienation was supreme. People had no conception of civic rights and civic redress. Channels of communication or political socialization they hardly had any. With his awareness of the deterrent nature of social institutions in the development of a right relationship between the ruler and the ruled Rammohan declared *jihad* against each one of them.

On March 31, 1824, Rammohan submitted a memorial to the Supreme Court in Calcutta against the ordinance (The Press Act) of Mr. Adam, the Governor-General of India. This memorial was the first of its kind emanating from a native in India. It was a great 'charter of rights' written against the encroachment by the foreign rulers. With this, Rammohan not only wrote "the Aeropagitica of Indian History",[24] but also laid the foundation of political socialization in the country. And this is how he became "the father of constitutional agitation"[25] in India. We get very able comments on Rammohan's efforts on political socialization in the writings of Bhola Nath Chunder—'His practice lessons in political duties and political reforms were altogether novel training. Nothing approaching to them was ever known in India or in all Asia. Politics had never engaged the attention of his countrymen. It was Rammohan Roy who originated the knowledge of the construction of a civil policy, by unity, laid down the programme for its conduct by collective action, and began the cycle of progress. He had sowed the seed of public spirit which later on moved people to found public schools, colleges, public associations, raise public meetings, spread public opinions and enter upon public agitations".[26] He established *Dharma Sabha* and *Atmiya Sabha*—associations offering forums of free discussion on subjects affecting life and society. Questions relating to "the absurdity of the prevailing rules respecting the intercourse of several castes with each other, and of the restrictions on diet, the necessity of an infant widow passing her life in a state of celibacy, the practice of polygamy and of suffering widows to burn with the corpse of their husbands, superstitious ceremonies" and many

others were discussed, criticized and condemned Robertson, Gibbon, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Newton, Davy, Hume, Thomas, Paine, Locke, Reid, Stewart and Brown were freely quoted.[27]

Rammohan was the first Indian to assess the importance of a media of communication, freedom of free expression as the primary pre-requisite of political socialization. At the time of Rammohan, he had the reason to feel that expression was being smothered by authorities in power. The plea was that "a free press is a fit associate and necessary appendage of a representative constitution". India, with no such institutional framework, can hardly aspire for a free press.

Rammohan was aware that India's socio-political, economic salvation could only be realised through criticism and self-criticism. And this requires a free press. He was thoroughly convinced that resolution of conflict and achievement of consensus cannot be effected by keeping people in ignorance. "Every good ruler who is convinced of the interpretation of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the World, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire, and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed."[28]

Nowhere were his ideas about the right relationship between individual and the state more explicit than in an article which he wrote in his Persian weekly *Mirat-ool-Ukhbar* in April, 1822. On the Principles of the English constitution wrote Rammohan, "How is it possible that the lives and properties of hundreds of thousands of the sons Adam should be made dependent on the will of one man, and ready to be sacrificed to the caprices of a single individual ! It is equivalent to bringing upon themselves the nature and condition of brute animals. For the best of men are not supposed to be free from passion, and immoderate desires which very often overcome the dictates of reason ; or exempted from those errors and vices which belong to human

nature. And. consequently, in the case of an absolute monarchy, from the wrath or mistake of a single individual may proceed the destruction of an extensive country and ruin of great nation." Again, "the unlimited influence of a great body of men out of a people, in the Government of a country, produces discontent and degradation in the rest; and occassions disunion in the nation." And he says that in democracy where, "every individual of a nation may have an actual share in the executive Government," many persons in a community would be totally ignorant of the rules and principles of government and that many would try to seek their private interest at the sacrifice of general welfare.

The problem of rural sociology, particularly with reference to the problem of the agricultural class was well apprehended by Rammohan. The First Tenancy Act came into operation in 1859. But much earlier than that, Rammohan was painfully aware that "legal protection of the cultivators is not at all-such as could be desired."[29] There is in practice no fixed standard to afford security to the cultivators for the rate of amount of rent demandable from them."[30] In the evidence submitted by Rammohan in connection with the discussions leading to the revision of the East India Company's Charter in 1833 we find him saying "such is the melancholy condition of the agricultural labourers, that it always gives me the greatest pain to allude to it".[31] In the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, we get 13 queries and answers respecting the condition of India.[32] These queries and answers constitute the ablest example of empirical factfinding done by an Indian in that early period. These thirteen queries are :

Q. 1. Will you state any remarks which you may have to offer upon the physical condition of the Indian peasantry?

Q. 2. Will you state your general views with respect to the moral condition of the people?

Q. 3. What is the rate of wages generally allowed to the peasantry and labourers?

Q. 4. On what sort of provisions do they subsist?

Q. 5. What sort of houses do they inhabit?

Q. 6. How are they clothed?

Q. 7. Can you state the rate of increase in the population

Q. 8. What is the character of their industry?

Q. 9. What capability of improvement do they possess

Q. 10. What degree of intelligence exists among the nativ inhabitants?

Q. 11. How are the people in regard to education?

Q. 12. What influence has superstition over the condu of the people?

Q. 13. What is the prevailing opinion of the native in habitants regarding the existing form of government, and i administrators, native and European?

Questions were exhaustive, so also were the answers. The queries and answers constitute the most trustworthy document c contemporary socio-economic condition of the people of Indi The sociological value of such a document can be overlooked on to our great disadvantage. Indian public opinion was n however, slow in acknowledging debt to Rammohan on th count : We read in the Bengal Spectator (July 1842), "It is to hi that we are in great measure indebted for the concession regard to the privileges of natives contained in the la Charter 1833".[33]

Modernity of Rammohan is evinced in his "out-door mind He refused to be a 'closed cistern, letting not a drop escap of the past traditions and ideas. 'There will be no frontiers'- the truth of this apocalyptic saying of Romain Rolland wa early revealed to Rammohan. In empathy and understandin he would extend his support to the struggle of liberation of me in any part of the world. The freedom fighters of Cadiz Spain against the French, the Carbonaris in Italy, and the Ab litionsits in America found a true champion in Rammohan. I no uncertain voice uttered this 'internationalist', "I consider th cause of the Neopolitans as mine".[34] Negroes in the U.S.A were becoming vocal about their position. They held conve tions, beginning in 1831. In one such conventions one of th speakers concluded his address saying. "In closing this addres

allow me to assume the name of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living though not a white man—Rammohan Roy". The Irish question was so much predominant in his mind that he would rather stop his journal *Mirat-Ul-Ukhbar* than face censor from the British authorities for publishing his article on Ireland there. (Mirat-ool-Ukhbar, 11.10.1822) : And his appreciation for the French Revolution is too known to be mentioned anew. On his world outlook Brajendra nath Seal has the words of most unstinted encomium—

"He was the peer of the Voltaires, and the Volneys, the Diderots and the Herders across the seas ; and he had seen and travelled beyond them all, a modern Ulysses, voyaging in the land of the setting sun, and descending—not once, not twice but many times,—into the dark underworld, to bring messages from the old prophets in the night of Ages."[35]

Rammohan's sincere devotion to international causes won him the admiration of Jeremy Bentham. To Bentham, Rammohan and Del Valę, the revolutionary of Guatemala were 'kindred souls'. Interested as he was in the lot of the common man, Rammohan felt very much attracted to the socialistic principles of Robert Owen, the utopian socialist. But Rammohan could not accept his ideas as they were *sans* religion. Nevertheless, he was in correspondence with Owen and his son, Robert Dale Owen. With his thoroughbred international outlook Rammohan anticipated much of what in modern sociological parlance known as the Sociology of International Reations. Liberty, peace and conflict resoution were the keynote of Rammohan's world-view. This is exactly the demand of the modern sociologist of international relations too.

Although Rammohan cannot be called a sociologist in the modern technical connotation of the term, his writings definitely evince his positivistic bent of mind, his sense of objectivity and his awareness of social realities. There was. indeed, no preemptive definition of sociology at his time, no common way of proceeding too. Research and studies were undertaken to inform and hopefully to direct public policy or to draw atten-

tion to a specific ill. "If, as Paul Halmos has observed," all social science is 'action research' no matter how etherealized",[36] we may also hopefully characterise the unremitting constructive concern for society of Rammohan as sociological and him 'the father of sociology of modern India'.

In the period of Rammohan, a period characterised by "freedom of thought' and 'spirit of enquiry', social awareness ran high among the conservatives too. Through their polemical writings they were accepting, accommodating, rejecting and discarding new developments in the contemporary society. In the process of his dialectics of acceptance and rejection, they gave expression to some most profound ideas on men and things. They made an empathic overview of social institutions and passed judgement on them. Included among them were Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan, Ramchandra Vidyavagish, Gourmohan Vidyalankar and others. They were the orthodox pandits of Bengal, but not wholly impervious to the ideas of social change. Rammohan's writings on *Sati* and his vindication of the rights of women have already had a compelling effect on society.[37] Contemporaneously, the Female Juvenile Society for the Establishment and Support of Bengalee Female School (1819) was also very active in ameliorating the condition of women in Bengal.[38] Radhakanta Dev, otherwise conservative, took special interest in the cause of women, their education, in particular. The publication of *Stri Siksha Vidhayaka* by Pandit Gourmohan Vidyalankar in 1822 was very opportune indeed! It contained "evidence in favour of Hindu females, from the examples of illustrious women both ancient and modern".[39] The book is replete with irrefutable arguments in favour of education for women in India and in the preparation of the book Radhakanta Dev supplied the author with literary materials. The book is not just a reader of interesting pieces. It took care to look deep into the pre-dispositions and capabilities of men and women for receiving education.[40] The book had several editions. What is extremely significant is that it had a Hindi edition too, published in 1823. This Hindi edition was published several times from Calcutta, Agra and other important places of India. This has been mentioned by the

famous French scholar, Garcin De Tassy in his *Histoire De La Litterature Hindoni et Hindoustani,* Tome I.[41]

No doubt, Rammohan and Radhakanta supplied the leaven to the social ferment in their period. There was at the same time an increasing consciousness in the country for a change. The period was of an immense transition in the World history too; the impact of the French Revolution and industrial Revolution was too palpable. Guided by the new *Weltanschauung* a group of enlightened Indians sought to infuse a new light in science, politics, and religion of the country. Society as a whole became their concern.

II

In the post-Rammohan period, Akshay Kumar Dutta (1820-1886) was foremost of them whose human inquiries have slowly established a new discipline with a scientific procedure and an intellectual independence of its own. In the rational interpretation of men and things he had no equal. To him, sacred texts even were not infallible guides. Akshay Kumar started his social inquiry with his motto "Pure rationalism is our teacher, our Scripture" and the highest authority rests with reason and reason alone.[42] He was so thoroughly taken up with rationalism and scientific attitude that he once tried to prove, with the help of an equation, the futility of supra-mundane exercises in increasing the worth and efficiency of mundane activities. The equation runs as follows.

$$\text{Labour} = \text{Crop}$$
$$\text{Prayer} + \text{Labour} = \text{Crop}$$
$$\therefore \text{Prayer} = 0$$

This very oft-quoted and oft-repeated equation is not, however, without its relevance for constructing the history of the development of sociological thinking in India. Here, in the equation, Akshay Kumar put all emphasis on the natural law and natural law alone. Since everything is performed according to the natural law, prayer has no special effect.

"প্রাকৃতিক নিয়মই ঈশ্বরের প্রতিষ্ঠিত নিয়ম। মানুষ তাহার বিরুদ্ধে

প্রার্থনা করিলে অভিপ্রেত ফলপ্রাপ্তির সম্ভাবনা নাই। সুতরাং প্রাকৃতিক নিয়ম বলে যাহা সংঘটিত হয়, তাহার জন্য প্রার্থনা করার প্রয়োজন নাই।"[43]

Moreover, to serve humanity is to serve God— "মানবকুলের হিতসাধন করাই পরমেশ্বরের যথার্থ উপাসনা" In here, we find a streak of Positivism in Akshay Kumar. Was it not also the same in Comte's definition of Positivism, "Man's true unity consists in living for others" ?[44] Moreover, 'a disinclination to use natural science as the paradigm of social knowledge, is not disernible either, in the endeavours of Akshay Kumar.

Akshay Kumar early and clearly realised that man is always to be found existing in social relationships with others. He emphasised that this fact must be admitted 'as the foundation of all our reasoning relative to man'.

"সমাজবদ্ধ হইয়া বসতি করাতে আমারদের অনেকানেক মনোবৃত্তি সম্যক চরিতার্থ হইয়া অশেষ সুখ সঞ্চার করে।... ...মনুষ্যের এই বৃত্তি থাকাতে স্বভাবতই অন্য সংসর্গে প্রবৃত্তি হয়"।[45]

Social instinct being natural, society is natural too. It is independent of any divine decree or revelation. It is independent of any contract or human contrivance too. We get an echo of Adam Fergusson, the Scottish philosopher here. Like Montesquence, he studied the influence of the geographical factors, climate, soil etc, on the social life, and social institutions.

He set his reasonings on society and man in terms of the interdependence of social institutions and the interconnection of mind and society. Through a number of analogies Ashkay Kumar tries to establish his logic. As highly sophisticated concepts and examples are not easily put over to general audience, he takes the very simple and unsophisticated example of the life of the bee in their corporate existence.

পরস্পর মিলিত হইয়া কার্য করা মধুমক্ষিকার স্বভাব। যদি এক একটি মধুমক্ষিকা এক একটি প্রশস্ত পুষ্পোদ্যানে স্থাপিত হয়, সুতরাং পরস্পর

সাক্ষাৎকার ও একত্র সহবাস করিতে না পারে, তাহা হইলে অপর্য্যাপ্ত আহার-দ্রব্য প্রাপ্ত হইতে পারে, কিন্তু তাহাদিগের স্বভাবসিদ্ধ শক্তিসহকারে সমবেত যত্ন দ্বারা যেরূপ সুখ সম্ভোগ ও কার্য সম্পাদন করিবার সামর্থ্য আছে, তাহা সাধন করিতে না পারিয়া অবশ্যই অসুখে কালযাপন করিবে তাহার সন্দেহ নাই।

মনুষ্যের বিষয়ও অবিকল সেইরূপ.........সমাজবদ্ধ হইয়া গ্রাম ও নগর মধ্যে একত্র বাস করাই মনুষ্যের পক্ষে শ্রেয়ঃকল্প, সংসারাশ্রম পরিত্যাগপূর্বক স্বতন্ত্র অবস্থিতি করা কোন মতেই উচিত নহে।[46]

Again, he employs the analogy of a watch to show the interdependence of man in society and of the different social institutions. In a watch, different parts are distinct from one another. They are, nevertheless, related most closely with each other. So also is the lot of an individual in society. He is to move in the twin processes of individuality and sociality.

"যেমন ঘড়ির বিভিন্ন অংশের নিজ নিজ কাজ ও গঠন বৈচিত্র্য আছে এবং সেগুলির সমন্বয়ে ঘড়ি স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণভাবে চলে থাকে, তেমনি মানুষও আত্মস্বতন্ত্র্য বিশিষ্ট হওয়া সত্ত্বেও অঙ্গস্বরূপ সমাজের মধ্যে সে সুসংবদ্ধ।[47]

Society was to Akshay Kumar a beautiful mechanism indeed!

Crucially aware of the interdependence of individual and society as he was, he took care to look into institutions of marriage and family in both the eugenic and dysgenic aspects. As family is the basic social institution, he raised warning that it did not lose harmony with the larger society. Deviance in family practices which has its base in selfish self-interest and not in the enlightened interest of the society, is to be scrupulously avoided. He went to suggest even, that the State should accept the painful necessity of declaring a marriage null and void, if deviances like polygyny, illicit sex-relations, cruelty, misdemeanour, occurred. Much earlier than Tilak's Bill on the Age of Consent in the Indian legislature (1891), Akshay Kumar held the brief for raising the age of marriage of girls; eugenically, he olaimed, the age of marriage for a man should be fixed at not earlier than twentyfive, and that of a woman, eighteen. As marriage was no sacrament to him, he spoke also in favour of

divorce. When he spoke of raising the age of marriage of boys and girls, he drew inspiration from the *Sashtras* and *Sashtras* alone. Western society was not his 'reference group' on this point. All these prescriptions of Akshay Kumar are to be found in his two books, *Vahyavastur Sahit Manab Prakritir Sambandha Vichar,* Pt I & Pt II and *Dharmaneeti.*[48] The essential characteristic of Akshay Kumar Datta's work was its accordance with the canons of scientific inquiry. He was quite at home with the comparative method which is now employed extensively in socio-historical researches. His *Bharatvarshiya Upasak Sampradaya* (The Religious Sects of India Pt. I 1870, Pt. II 1883) is a document of the application of comparative method *par excellence.* He made extensive travels throughout India to get to know about different religious sects. He asked new questions about their creed and the morphology of religion while maintaining objectivity in a most original way. By examining simultaneously similarities and differences in the religious sects all over India, Akshay Kumar used, well in advance, one of the most sophisticated tools of modern sociology. His study of the religious sects in India is also a pioneering study in the sociology of religion.

Extensive was indeed Akshay Kumar's contribution to sociology. His was a pioneering effort to study the 'sociology of deviance' in this country. Problems of crime and punishment in India attracted his attention when he, possibly, first went through the Report of the Prison Discipline Commission in 1838. As early as 1855, he published a series of articles in the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* with his exposition and analysis of the causes of crime. In these, he endorsed a sociological view of the causation of crime. He came to the conclusion that society rather than individual should be blamed for crimes committed in society; that crime and criminality are products of the same social conditions and processes that produce other kinds of social behaviour.[49] When Akshay Kumar was writing on crime and punishment, works of Beccaria, Lacassagne, Prins, Liszt and others have not arrived in India. Beccaria's *Dei delitti et delle pene* (Of Crimes and Punishment) though written

in 1764 was not available in English translation (*Crimes and Punishment* with an introduction by James Anson Farrer) till 1880. Naturally, Akshay Kumar could not have been influenced by Becarria's very important and radical book, *Crimes and Punishment*. It was not before 1885 that A. Lacassagne at the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology at Rome pronounced his famous dictum : "......*les socie'te's ont les criminels qu'elles me'ritent*". And, "*Le milieu social est le bouillon de culture de la criminalite'* ; (Society has the criminal it deserves ; In social milieu one finds the bubbles of criminal culture).[50] Adolph Prins of Belgium, Franz von Liszt of Germany with their sociological theories of crime appeared on the scene contemporaneously with Lacassagne. In a vein similar to that of Lacassagne, Prins wrote "*Il n'existe pas un type abstrait de l'homme moral et un type abstrait du coupable ; le crime n'est pas un phenomene individuel, mais un phenomene social*". (Abstract type of moral man or criminal man does not exist. Crime is not an individual phenomenon ; it is a social one)[51] Akshay Kumar, by his way of looking at crime, as the product of society much much earlier than the European thinkers, became the pioneering figure in criminology, not only in India, but Europe as well. This pioneering position of Akshay Kumar had not been properly assessed yet.

As in criminology, in penology too Akshay Kumar evinces the same pioneering zeal. With a sustained interest in the problems of the lowly and depraved, he went through all reports and memoranda connected with the treatment of criminals. In 1852 he came to know of cases where prisoners had died from flogging with a rattan.[52] In 1856-57, Dr. Mouat found the jails in Bengal extremely overcrowded, without the minimum ventilation, and many of them being placed at sites utterly insusceptible of drainage. The non-separation of the sick and insane from the healthy, and an extremely high death-rate were the two most wretched evils. Akshay Kumar carefully went through the Report of Dr. Mouat (The Report of the Jails in Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency 1855-56, Mount 1857) and felt drawn to these 'miserable pestilential places' or 'splendid sepulchres'. He found to his great dismay that crimes were

not on the wane, very harsh deterrents notwithstanding. This induced him to make a depth-study into the problems of crime and penology. He could not find any rationale in increasing the 'quotient of pain' in scalling crime and criminal activities down. He exhor ed of the government and other social service agencies that, instead of making symptomatic treatments of crime they must go beyond the symptoms and try their best to weed out the very roots of crime in society. We have to live with the criminals rather than leave them out.

Akshay Kumar was very much against hanging and transportation of the criminals, even the homicidal ones. To him, capital punishment was no right deterrent. He held no brief with Bentham, Mill and their followers that 'if the results of an action are painful, the individual will refrain from committing it'. He had no support for the transportation of homicidal criminals even. Despite Jeremy Bentham's powerful plea against the system, transportation was then much in vogue in contemporary Europe.[53] Unlike the European authorities on penology, Akshay Kumar thought that the transported criminals might cause serious problem at the receiving end. They might import with them some of the heinous things from their own country, and pass it on to the criminals in the new atmosphere. Akshay Kumar have overdrawn his argument here, but the fact remains that his was a more 'modernised' attitude towards criminals than what his European contemporaries used to hold for the deviants. He put emphasis on the reclamatory aspect of penology instead. To him, criminals are never beyond redemption. He spoke in favour of what goes by the name of 'Approved Schools', today. Moreover, he wanted that the prison authorities see to the education and instruction of the inmates so that they might be gainfully employed and rehabilitated in society after their prison term. The best way to deal with them was to help them learn to adjust themselves with the demands of society. He never thought in terms of mono-causality of crime, nor was he a supporter of biological theory of crime. To him, crime is multi-causal and, therefore, he prescribed a multi-dimentional approach and many-pronged attack to the problem. He was an outright positivist in his treatment of crime and

criminology. He focussed his attention not on crime but on the criminal and on society. Like Montesquieu Akshay Kumar might also be called "Vater der kriminal politik" in India.

Akshay Kumar's contributions to sociology of education are of no mean importance if we take into considera ion his time and age. He endorsed fully to the view that 'education is induction into the learner's culture'. As the school plays a very important role in the formal socialization of the child, Akshay Kumar placed the highest emphasis on education and educational institutions. He categorically demanded of the authorities to see to the compulsory educa ion of all children up to the age of fifteen. Education should not be the preserve of the children of the higher stratum of the society. It should reach all. Even the children from the lowest stratum were to be included into the scheme of education of Akshay Kumar. While Akshay Kumar raised the issue of the free and compulsory education in this country in the middle of the last century, it was only in 1902 had it been possible for every child to be guaranteed some sort of free education in England.[54] This was unique indeed! More unique was, however, his plea for providing finance for education at the governmental level. He preferred his appeal to the government to refrain from unnecessary wars and to divert the fund, so released, for the purpose of education. This advocacy on his part for changing swords into educational ploughshares may, rightly assign him a permanent place not only in the field of sociology of education, but also in the arena of sociology of peace. No one before him in India, nay in the whole world, thought of such a radical measure.

In his all-inclusive scheme of education he put great emphasis on schools as 'the agency through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles'. According to his view, children should be sent to school at the very tender age of two. "These schools should be of such a type as to make the children believe and accept them as play-grounds. Here, by practical demonstrations, the children are to be taught cleanliness and other elementary laws of health. Also, the principles of co-

operative living. In this, he echoed Froebel, the German educationist who had his first kindergarten established in Germany in 1840. It is not possible that Akshay Kumar was influenced by Froebel's book *Pedagogics of the Kindergarten*: it came out in English translation in 1906.

On all probability, Akshay Kumar might have been influenced by Rousseau's *Emile* in his conceptualisation of a new vogue in education. His was a versatile intellectual interests and he used to read avidly on subjects of humanities and science alike. If he failed to read Froebel, Pestalozzi and Maria Montessori, he took his lead from *Emile* and the rest was due to his own forward-looking intellect.

In his schools, if any child manifests in his behaviour any kind of baseness, he or she should not go unpunished. But the punishment is not to be corporal and must not be meted out by the teacher alone. The teacher is to convene a court of all the children with him as its president. Such courts proved both disciplinary and exemplary. These courts, "Comradely Courts" as they are called, are to be found in the socialist countries today. It was really extraordinary of Akshay Kumar to think of "comradely courts" when no one had even an inkling of the concept.

In this type of school object lessons and arithmetic are to be given greater importance than mere spelling and other purely mechanical things.

"The next type of schools are meant for children from the age of six or seven to fourteen or fiften. The school compound should contain shady trees, bowers, and various plants, amidst which some seats are to be provided. In the bye-paths of the groves and bowers, statues of great men should be placed."

He thoroughly disavowed the idea of glorifying the deeds of war-generals and such like great men. In stead, he held that "character of such conquerors are to be depicted in such a way as to create an aversion to war, enviousness and greediness

in the minds of the readers". It was one of the earliest attempts at the sociology of peace in this country.

"In the third type of schools only the selected few should be admitted and they should continue their studies up to the twentieth or twenty-second years of age. For the majority of of the students, technical and vocational education instead of theoretical university education, should be provided."

And "Government should establish and maintain schools of technology and agriculture".

Akshay Kumar emphasised on establishing public libraries and reading-rooms in the urban and rural areas.[55] What he advocated was more of a practical approach than a doctrinnaire theory. And every problem that he tackled was vital.

Akshay Kumar lived long to have been associated with the Bengal Social Science Association. Unfortunately, we do not find any paper presented by him at the Association. It is difficult to accept that a man of his erudition and awareness should remain indifferent and withdrawn to what was going on in that learned Society. It must have been due to his indifferent health that he spent a quiet life at Bally, far from the madding activities of the Bengal Social Science Association. However, close connection with the *Samajonnati Vidhayini Samiti* is enough to prove that he was not a withdrawn esthete or an arid intellectual.

In a number of articles in the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* Akshay Kumar tried to draw the attention of the public to the social condi.ion of the peasants, and the agrarian situation. If rural sociology has anything to do with the structural study in the rural areas, then these writings definitely carried the seeds of such a development.

We thus see that Akshay Kumar actually laid the foundation of a new sociology in this country. He created some of the most important methods of scientific study and research, and gave expression to many pioneering ideas in social understanding.

His contributions are really too extensive to lend themselves to any summary discussion. If he, as the *Hindu Patriot* remarked, 'is an ornament to the Republic of letters in Bengal', he was more so to the empire of sociology of India. A closer look at Akshay Kumar's work is needed in order to see that the attention he received here is really warranted.

III

Contemporaneously with Akshay Kumar Datta, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1841), Pyari Chand Mitra (1814-1883), Kaliprasanna Sinha (1840-1870), Bhudev Mukherjee (1827-1894), and quite a few others significantly contributed towards the development of sociological thinking through their reflections, writings and actions. Of considerable importance was also the objective and activities of the Bengal British India Society or the *Bharat Varshiya Sabha*, established in 1943. The object of this society was "the collection and dissemination of information, relating to the actual condition of the people of British India, and the laws, institutions and resources of the country; and to employ such other means of peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects".[56] This joint Indo-British venture had an overwhelming majority of native members. They mostly represented the younger generation of English educated and public-spirited men from Calcutta and the interior, and represented "the aristocracy of intelligence."[57]

Though the Society was taken up, primarily, with things 'political and administrative,' social matters received no mean inportance there. The Society conducted an open and detailed inquiry into the condition of the ryots in Lower Bengal. *A printed questionnaire was sent to responsible persons in the moffusil and the information furnished by the latter, along with the remedial measures suggested, was examined and analysed by a sub-committee of the Society before being published* (Italics added). It also investigated into the condition of teachers in Government

schools in Bengal, into the condition of ticca bearers too. In its agenda were included technical education for women. Very loud, indeed, was its voice of protest against pernicious practices in society like Kulin Polygyny, perpetual widowhood of premature girls and so on.[58] Some of the members of the Society even sought statutory laws as remedy against such malpractices.

Situation was indeed very opportune for men of conviction and action like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Pyari Chand Mitra, Kaliprasanna Sinha and their associates. Of them, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar evinced the most pioneering zeal not only in reflection, but also in action, in deeds[59] Vidyasagar based his arguments for social reforms on the Hindu Scriptures, thus freeing the reform movement from its dependence on Western thought. Child-marriage, Kulin polygyny and remarriage of the Hindu widows received his most careful attention and sympathetic consideration. Since the days of Rammohan there had been much talk about these, in the press, platforms and associations. But none did prove equal to the task of crying a serious halt to these vices. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar made a major breakthrough in the situation. He wrote protesting against child-marriage in 1850, in 1855 and in 1866 petitioned to the Government of India for the suppression of the practice of polygyny ; and in 1856 he got the Widow Remarriage bill enacted.

In his concern for the child-wives[60] he solicited intervention from the Government of India to declare consummation with a child wife an indictable offence. He wrote,

"From every point of view, the most reasonable course appears to me, to make a law declaring it penal for a man to have intercourse with his wife, before she has her first menses."

"Such a law would not only serve the interest of humanity by giving reasonable protection to child-wives, but would, so far from interfering with religious usage, enforce a rule laid down in the *Sashtras*. The punishment which, the *Sashtras* prescribe for violation of the rule, is of a spiritual character and is liable to be disregarded. The religious prohibition would be much more effective, if it is embodied in a penal law. I may be per-

mitted to press this consideration most earnestly on the attention of the Government."[61]

During the years 1865-1871, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar kept himself busy preparing a 'statistical account' of the polygynous Kulins in Bengal. Efforts have, however, been made before him to get into the problem. The young Bengal was *au fait* with it. In fact, they took pains to publish in 1836, through *Jnananeswan,* one of their mouthpiece, a list of the cases of polygyny. *The Samajonnati Vidhayini Suhrid Samti* (1854) of Kishori Chand Mitra took up the issue of Kulin polygyny in right earnest. With Akshay Kumar Datta as his *aidē,* Kishori Chand Mitra started his reformation crusade. In this respect, the lead was, however, given by Akshay Kumar Datta as early as 1842. It was the year of the publiiation of the *Vidyadarshan* under the joint editorship of Akshay Kumar and Prasanna Chandra Sinha. In the second issue of the journal a direct appeal was made to the Kulins to stop this nefarious practice. There were suggestions for legal interference too. So strong was the invective against Kulin Polygyny in press and platform that Ramnarayan Tarkaratna felt an imperative to write his satire *Kulin Kula Sarbasswa.* It depicted the poignance, pathos and horror of the institution. His *Nabanatak,* chastising polygyny, came out in 1866. However much the 'significant minority' might have tried to fight against such social customs, the majority of the people remained just could-n't-care-less. Iswar Chandra now entered the arena with his empathy, erudition and energy to fight unto the last for his cause. In his two pamphlets on the abolition of Kulin polygyny (published later on in 1871 and 1872 respectively) Iswar Chandra analysed, with reason and emotion, the evils attached to the institution. To him, it was not a single problem, rather a number of problems touching different aspects of life, including prostitution. In fact, the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta reported in 1853 that the town with its 416,000 people supported 12,412 women of ill-fame. Of them, more than 10,000 were from Hindu caste including quite a lot from Kulin Brahmin women. Iswar Chandra, naturally, felt inclined toward a statutory abolition of the practice.[62] In his time, this amounted to a serious encroachment into the rights

of the Hindus. Nevertheless, we hear his solitary yet triumphant voice of dissent at the Inquiry Committe set up by the Bengal Government in 8 August, 1866, under the instruction of the Government of India : Spoke he, "I do not concur in the conclusion, come to by the other gentlemen of the Committee. I am of opinion that a Declaratory Law might be passed without interfering with the liberty which the Hindoos now by law possess in the matter of marriage."[63] The practice of polygyny came to a stop in 1872.

But nothing was more dearer to him than the problem of the remarriage of the Hindu widows.[64] He staked everything for it. There had been a continuity in the agitation in favour of the remarriage of the Hindu Widow for some time past. In the columns of the *Jnananeswan, Bengal Harkaru,* The Courier, the Englishman, the Reformer, the *Samachar Darpan,* the Friend of India, the Bengal Spectator appeared appeals to remove this distress of the Hindu Widows. A correspondent wrote in the Bengal Spectator of April 1842.

"We are well aware that the idea of aiming at such an improvement can hardly meet with the full concurrence of the bigoted portion of our countrymen but, if they will make an attentive reference to our few books, they will find that the practice of marrying widows obtained in ancient times. It is needless to dwell on the mischievous consequences produced by the denial of an option of remarriage to Hindu widows, or to have recourse to any facts or arguments in order to prove that such a restriction is calculated to perpetuate their degraded condition. Our own countrymen will themselves admit, that placing our women on an equal footing with men in this respect, will remove the cause of much disgrace about half the Hindu population."

In the July issue of *The Bengal Spectator* (1842) we read :

"এক্ষণে হিন্দুস্থানীয় বিধবার বিবাহ পুনঃস্থাপনের অন্য শাস্ত্রীয় প্রতিবন্ধক দৃষ্ট হইতেছে না। উক্ত নিষেধ স্মৃতিশাস্ত্রের বিপরীত। ....আর আমাদের বোধ হয় যে কতিপয় হিন্দুব্যক্তিরা যদ্যপি পুনভূ´বিবাহ করিয়া পথ দেখান তবে ইহার প্রতি লোকের যে দ্বেষ

আছে তাহাও ক্রমে ক্রমে হ্রাস হইয়া পরে সর্বসম্মতরূপে প্রচলিত হইতে পারিবে"।

Akshay Kumar Datta, editor of *The Tattwabodhini Patrika*, while allowing Iswar Chandra to vent his views in the journal, himself wrote closely reasoned articles in support of the movement.[65] Intellectual and moral sympathy for the movement was also expressed by Grish Chandra Ghosh, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, Digambar Mitra and Pyari Charan Sarker.

Intellectual support for the cause of widow remarriage was not enough for Iswar Chandra. He wanted legal recognition of the same. *The Bengal Spectator* (April, 1842), incidentally, streng hened his hands by submitting an independent memorial to the Government in support of the widow remarriage. The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act XV, July 1856 came into effect. In India, where 'Mother Grundy' reigns supreme, it was indeed a Himalayan task for Iswar Chandra to make people take to the idea of widow remarriage. Paradox of the situation, however, was that he lived long to witness the failure of the movement too.

Iswar Chandra's concern for the education of women is too well-known to be considered here. It will not be irrelevant, however, to mention here that much earlier than the spread of education among women in Western countries,[66] Iswar Chandra established, between November 1857 to May 1858, a large number of schools for girls in Lower Bengal. Responses to them were more than what could be expected in the contemporary society.

Iswar Chandra's Hindu Family Annuity Fund (15 June, 1872)—a social security measure—clearly and cogently assigns him a pioneering place in the history of Social security movement in the world. In his Hindu Family Annuity Fund he sought to provide a sort of insurance benefit for the Hindoo widows. He was well aware of the neglected position of them and the financial crisis they face on the death of their husbands. This measure was first of its kind in India, nay in the whole world. The

movement for social security measures might be said to have began in 1883 in Germany with the passing of the first compulsory Accident Insurance Act. This was followed by other enactments covering old age, sickness etc. France has, however, an earlier history of state-managed insurance from 1850. Italy had its own scheme from 1883. But developments in these places were closely linked up with the growth of industries and industrial works.[67] There was no replica of the Hindu Family Annuity there in that early period, and the motivating principle was also missing there.

It is clearly evident from what has been stated above that by selecting and re-interpreting traditions found in the ancient Scriptures, Iswar Chandra could establish his own logic. His selection and re-interpretations were neither eclectic nor based on a predilection for either Western or indigenous traditions. They were guided, on the contrary, by the application of reason to the problem of increasing the enlightenment and well-being of the members of his society. This is also a proof of secular solution of social matters, and many of the issues raised by Iswar Chandra remained vital till to a much later period.

In 1866, a Widow Marriage Association was started in Bombay. Vishnu Sashtri, Bal Mangesh Wagle, K. T. Telang, M. G. Ranade, J. S. Gadgil, G. Rao Hari Deshmukh, Balaji Pandurang, Santaram Narayana, and many other educationists greatly advanced the cause of the remarriage of the Hindu Widow.[68] In 1877 some Young members of the Brahmo Samaj started in Calcutta something like a secret league and took a vow as "never to encourage marriage between young men below 21 and girls below 16."[69] B. M. Malabari, the great Parsee reformer, started from 1884 an agitation against infant marriage. Public opinion was highly stimulated. In the Fourth Session of the All India National Social Conference (1890) meeting at Calcutta, the following resolution was adopted.

"That this Conference is of opinion that well-being of the community demands that the practice of child marriage be discouraged by public sentiment, and that within the sphere of

the various castes and communities, strenuous efforts be made to postpone the celebration of marriage rites till 12 in the case of girls and 18 in the case of boys, and the consummation of the marriage till after they attain the age of 14 and 20, respectively, and that the members of the various Social Reform Associations in the country should pledge themselves to see that these limits of age are realised in actual practice and public opinion educated to advance these limits still higher."[70]

Iswar Chandra, as is learnt from the Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, was closely connected with it. We can ignore the claim of Iswar Chandra to the sociology in India only to our great disconcert: It is not for nothing that Vivekananda exclaimed. "There is not a man of my age in Northern India on whom his (Vidyasagar's) shadow has not fallen."[71]

Pyari Chandra Mitra, and Kali Prasanna Sinha tried in a limited way, through their *Samajonnati Vidhayini Samiti* and *Vidyotsahini Sabha* to pursue measures of social amelioration. Through regular meetings in these associations they tried to make people think of society and take interest in social matters. Bhudev Mukherjee, on the other hand, was more of a man of reflection than action. He was a colleague of Iswar Chandra and "a man of wide culture, familiar with all the main developments of European thought and holding liberal views in many social subjects."[72]

His concern for social matters did not, however, find expression in ameliorative efforts like that of Iswar Chandra. He found rationale in what Iswar Chandra tried meticulously to do away with. But to brand him antediluvian or obscurantist will be the greatest mistake indeed. Bhudev can be called the very type of the of the classical Hindu, but his Hinduism was a living Hinduism. He regarded it as the fitting expression of what is truly good and rational, and his Hinduism was a peculiar synthesis of the East and the West; the Western spirit of science and reason finding its home in the custom and rites of the East.

The thoughts and aspirations which animated his life can be known from his works *Paribarik Prabandha, Achara Prabandha,* and *Samajik Prabandha.* In the first two books he discussed the minutiae of all the duties of the householder, his spell of rites and duties, do's and don'ts in daily living, interpersonal behaviour patterns of the members of the household, and such like subjects. The meticulous details of do's and don'ts make the modern reader of this book wary. He seems to be lost in the twilight world of *sashtric* rituals and practices. But to Bhudev, believing not "in a linear progress through Spencerian evolution" but "in the arduous realisation of self", *Samskaras* (sacraments) were important as promoting purity. He encouraged *Vratas* (Votive rites) as developing power of self-contorl ; and *sashtric* rules, as tending to the longivity of life.

If *Achara Prabandha* and *Paribarik Prabandha* fail to satisfy us with their sociological content, we seem to be amply compensated by the *Samajik Prabandha.* It is rewarding to go through it, without doubt. Here he tries to understand the character of Hindu Society by an application of the method of comparative sociology. His ideas on society, marriage, property, social stratification, social change, religion, social problems, (caste system, social integration, communal harmony, intercaste marriage) have been very ably spelled out. Sir Charles Elliot, in his Presidential Address at the Asiatic Society in 1893 waxed almost lyrical of the book that "no single volume in India contains so much wisdom and none shows such extensive reading."[73]

The *Samajik Prabandha,* the result, of Bhudev's life-long study and observations on history geography, anthropology, sociology, religion and linguistics of the different countries of the world, is composed of six long chapters, rather six essays. Interwoven all through are the concepts of society, origin of marriage, property and others.

As a true sociologist, he invests society with supreme importance. To him, society combines in itself all the different functions of father, mother, brother, friend and preceptor. There cannot be any existence outside the society.

Bhudev rejected the Spencerian view of the organismic nature of society, that is, the identification, for certain purposes, of society with a biological organism. The organic analogy was formulated by Spencer like this, "so completely is society organised on the same system as an individual being that we may percieve something more than analogy between them ; the same definition of life applies to both. Only when one sees that the transformation passed through during the growth, maturity, and decay of a society, conforms to the same principles as do the transformations passed through by aggregates of all orders, inorganic and organic, is there reached the concept of sociology as a science."[74] Herbert Spencer had already made his place in the intellectual world in Bengal. *The Tattwabodhini Patrika* published articles on Specerian philosophy on society as early as 1849. Bhudev declined to be held by the Spencerian organismic theory. He considered this kind of analogy mechanical. He accepts on the contrary, Vatell's categorization that "Society is a moral individual essentially different from a physical individual." Society does not have to pass through the same processes of birth, maturity and decay as an organism. In fact, the idea of decay is absolutely inapplicable to society. It maintains itself, as it were, through a kind of homeostatis.

Regarding the origin of social institutions, Bhudev spoke in a very modern voice. Institutions, or 'organs that perform societies' function develop, according to Bhudev, in different societies differently. This realisation promp'ed him to make a comparative study of social institutions in almost all the countries of the world. His discourse on the growth and development of property is very important. *Samajik Probandha* was published in 1892. By that time, it seems unlikely that he might have been in the know of Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877). He does not accept the idea of primitive communism in property. By a careful study of the institution of property in Asian and European countries he arrives at the conclusion that communal, joint and individual property had always existed simultaneously in societies, ancient and modern. This is exactly what social anthropologists of Western countries think today.

His writings on the origin and development of marriage are equally competent. He did not need and Westermarc or Fraser or Crawley to develop his own sociology of family and marriage. As we come to discuss the emergent problems in the family, we find Bhudev offering unique prescriptions for them. Bhudev did not accept inter-caste marriage, and the rationale of his logic he sought in the fact that as the different castes of India represent different races, inter-caste marriage will be dysgenic and will lead to degeneration. He justified early marriage. The reasoning he adduced was an ingenious one. With the help of statistics he proved that in India the average marriageable age bears the same ratio to average life of the people, just as it does in European countries. As the average life of the people in India is lower than in Europe, the marriageable age is also lower. This is, Bhudev thinks, a natural and at the same time, scientific arrangement. While Akshay Kumar, Iswar Chandra and others wanted to raise the age of marriage, Bhudev's arguments in favour of early marriage appear interesting. But he has comparative demography to support his logic. Moreover, Bhudev disliked widow-remarriage, but he disliked widower remarriage too.

Ideas of social change adumbrated by him are extremly important. He firmly believed that there must not be any change in society just for change's sake. Society is an on-going process and it changes as it moves on. 'Induced' changes or artificial changes might do more harm than good. He would allow such social change as would be conducive to the well-being of the society. He equally condemned any kind of deterministic explanation of social institutions. He described how an English gentleman tried to explain the presence of many hands in the images of gods and goddesses in India by a geographical reasoning that they are like so many tributaries of the rivers in India. Bhudev simply ignored this kind of monocausal, deterministic explanation and gave the gentleman a mild, but a firm rebuff. "Indeed! the images of Greek gods and goddesses all have two hands. Are there no tributaries to rivers in Greece?"[75]

It is not that he wanted to write a treatise on General Sociology. Far from it. His deep concern for people and

society of his own country prompted him to find out basic tenets of social living. And his spirit was essentially rational and scientific.

IV

Away from Bengal, in the sixties of the last century, Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1823-1871) in Maharashtra might also claim the honour of being one of the founding fathers of social sciences, rather sociology in India. He is better known as Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari.

In 1859 Vishnu Bawa published his *Vedoktā Dharma Prakash* and in 1867 *Sukha Dāyaka Rājya Prakarani Nibandha*. Both of them are in Marathi language. The latter tract was translated into English in 1869 under the title "An Essay on the Welfare State". In this small but radical treatise Vishnu Bawa voiced his claim, possibly for the first time in this country, for socialism. According to him, "All people are to be considered as one family, and all land-wealth to be of common proprietorship. Whatever is produced is to belong to all in common. If political organisation is based on these principles, all people would get all enjoyments, all good things to eat, plenty of clothes to wear, and other luxuries and ornaments ; all would be able to see dance, dramas, gatherings, all would get good conveyance to ride."[76] Food which is the chief wealth should, according to him, be common and all other necessaries of life, too, are to be held in common. Said he, "if the government is not organised on this principle, all people would commit crimes on one another, cheat one another, kill one another and abuse God."[77]

Vishnu Bawa had an all-powerful state in view. Such a state will regulate all the details of life including marriage, family, education and what not. "Marriage should be arranged and performed by the matrimonial department of the government. It will also control divorce and re-marriage. Children above five years of age are to be brought under the supervision and

control of the government. Government will decide the education they merit and deserve."[78]

In international politics too, Vishnu Bawa had his own say. To him, the rulers of all states in the world are responsible not only for wars but also for the common moral depravity (crime, misery etc.). Had their "system of government and policy been based on right principles"[79] there would have been no war at all.

Vishnu Bawa distributed copies of his *An Essay in the Welfare State* free to the members of the British Parliament. The book might smack of Platonic views. But Vishnu Bawa did not read any language other than his own. Direct influence of Plato seems rather remote. If he had not had any such influence it is then really exceptional of him to have mooted such radical ideas on society and government in his time. Even the concept of 'Welfare State' is a pioneer one.

From the writings of all the founding fathers mentioned here, it might be seen that they contributed, unwittingly though, to the development of scientific sociological thinking in this country. Fortunately there were no utopian ideas and movements, as in Europe, in the contemporary India. About the development of Sociology in Europe we have a very clear analysis by Nisbet. In his *The Sociological Tradition* the author writes,

"The fundamental ideas of European sociology are best understood as responses to the problem of order created at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the collapse of the old regime under the blows of industrialism and revolutionary democracy. The break up of the old order in Europe—an order that had rested on kinship, land, social class, religion, local community, and monarchy—set free, as it were the varied elements of power, wealth, and status that had been consolidated, however precariously, ever since the Middle Ages. Dislocated by revolution, scrambled by industrialism and the forces of democracy, these elements can be seen tumbling across the political landscape of Europe throughout the nineteenth century in search of new and more viable contexts.

What were the aspects of the Industrial Revolution that were to prove most evocative of sociological response, most directive in the formation of sociological problem and concept? Five were crucial—the condition of labour, the industrial city, the transformation of proper y, technology and the factory system. A great deal of sociology can be seen as response to the challenge of these conditions".[80]

This was not the situation in India. Philosophical thought about society as a whole and an attempt to carry out secular solution of social problem characterised the early precursors of sociology in India.

Paragraph Epigraph,—Quoted in *The Founding Fathers of Social Science* (Penguin 1969) p. 9.

1. Chunder, B. N.—'Rammohan Ray', *Calcutta University Magazine* Feb. 1896, p. 19ff.
2. Inkeles, Alex—'The OM Scale : A Comparative Socio-psychological Measure of Individual Modernity' *Sociometry*, vol. 29, 1966 pp. 353-77.

   The following extract from the Diary of Crabb Robinson— he friend and associate of Lamb, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and a whole host of other shinning lights of the time-may be relevant here :

   Describing a dinner party given in honour of Rammohan Ray on October 17, 1831 Crabb Robinson wrote in his diary.

   "......He talked English very well—better than most foreigners......Unfortunately, when I saw him, he talked on European politics, and gave expression to no Oriental sentiment or opinion. Not a word was said by him that might not have been said by a European. This rather disappointed me ; so after dinner I played whist, of which I was ashamed afterwards".
3. "He was not the only rationalist or Hindu revivalist of his day, but he was essentially a scholastic, whose method consisted chiefly of an attempt to establish everything by argumentation and polemic". *Bengali Literature in the* 19th c by S. K. De, Second Edition, Cal. 1962, p. 550.
4 In 1907 Durkheim wrote : 'it was only in 1895 that I had a clear understanding of the capital role played by religion in social life. It was in that year that, for the first time, I found the means of approaching the study of religion sociologically. It was a revelation to me. The course of 1895 marks a demarcation in the development of my thought ; so much so that all previous researches had to be taken up again with

renewed efforts in order to be placed in harmony with these new views'. Quoted by Alpert, H. *Emile Durkheim and his Sociology*, (N. Y. 1939), p. 67, 215.

5. English Works
6. Sandford, Arnot—'Original Papers', *Athenaeum*, Oct. 5, 1833, p. 668.
7. English Works—pp. 147-48.
8. Monier-Williams, M,—*Religious Thought and Life in India* (London 1883) Pt. I, p. 479.
9. Referred to in a paper on Rammohan Ray by Ajit Roy at the Oriental Conference at Canberra, Australia, January 1971.
10. Rammohan has been called 'a religious Benthamite' who estimated the different creeds existing in the world 'not according to his notion of truth and falsehood, but his notion of their utility to promote the maximisation of human happiness and minimisation of human misery'. *The Calcutta Review*, 1845, vol. iv, July-Dec. p. 388.

    Sanford Arnot called Rammohan 'a religious utilitatarian'. *The Asiatic Journal*, 1833, Sep.-Dec. p. 210.
11. Chaudhri, Pramatha,—'Rammohan' *Sabuj Patra,* 1327 B. S. (1920) pp. 346-48.

    "The most prominent feature of his (Rammohan's) career was the spirit of protestation. Whenever he realised an evil, he testified against it, and did all that lay in his power to eradicate it from the country." *Indian Messenger*, quoted in *The Indian Social Reformer*, Oct. 17, 1874.
12. Quoted by Panikkar, K. M.,—in *Asia and Western Dominance* (London 1955) p. 327.
13. Bose, N. K.,—*Selections from Gandhi* (Navajiban, Ahmedabad 1957) p. 265.
14. English Works, Pt. IV, pp. 95-96.
15. Bandyapadhyaya, B.—*Rammohan* (Sahitya Sadhak Chartmala Series), p. 113.
16. English Works, Pt. II, Introduction to the *Translation of the Moonduk Upanishad*.

    But, 'the Raja's movement could hardly be called a

movement of religious and social revolt........He tried really to reconcile individual reason with ancient scriptures and individual conscience with social authority'. Bepin Chandra Pal. *The Brahmo Samaj and the Battle of Swaraj in India.* p. 17.

17. Seal, B. N.,—'*Rammohan, the Universal Man* in S. C. Chakravarti. (ed) The Father of Modern India (Cal. 1935).
18. English Works, Pt. II, *loc cit.*
19. Rammohan Ray,—*Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachment on the Ancient Rights of Females According to the Hindu Law of Inheritance.* (1822) *passim.*
20. Woodruff, P.,—*The Founders of India,* p. 253.
21. *Sambad Kaumudi* No. VI, 1821.
22. English Works, pp. 411-12.
23. Banerjee, A. C.,—'Political Consciousness before 1857' *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* (1958) p. 139.
24. Collet, S. D.,—*Raja Rammohan Ray* (eds) D. K. Biswas & P. C. Ganguli (Calcutta 1962) pp. 177-180, 423-429.
25. Banerjee, S. N.,—*A Nation in the Making* (O. U. P. 1925)
26. Chunder, B. N.,—*loc cit.*
27. *The Calcutta Journal,* May 18, 1819.
28. Appeal to the King-in-Council, pp. 31-33.
29. Quoted in *Rammohan Ray on Indian Economy* (ed) Susobhan chandra Sarkar, Calcutta 1965, Introduction.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid,* pp. 62-68.
33. Also in *Samachar Darpan,* 'should he be instrumental in securing these advantages to the country, not only the present but every future age will justly consider him a benefactor of the country'. *Samachar Darpan,* March 24, 1832.
34. Collet, S. D. *Op cit.,* p. 131.

In a letter to Mrs. Doodford, April 1831, Rammohan wrote : "The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between oppression and liberty throughout the world". *Ibid* p. 333.

35. Seal, B. N. *loc cit.*
36. Myrdal, Gunnar,—*Asian Drama* (Penguin) Vol. I, p. 33 n.
37. In spite of the vehement opposition of the orthodox section in Bengal, Rammohan had his way to putting an end to *Sati*'. About the impact of the abolition of *Suttee* private correspondence of William Bentinck is extremely revealing. In his le ter dated February 23, 1830 to Astell Bentinck wr tes,

    "I made enquiry everywhere on my route and particularly at Benares, if the abolition of *Suttee* had excited any unpleasant sensation. I was pleased to find that no mob feeling was known to exist."

    On December 11, 1832 Bentinck wrote to Ravenshaw,

    "*Suttee* is happily ended. It had always been a bugbear. The petitioners themselves cared nothing about it and merely tried for object to gain a name."
38. Sharp, H. & J. A. Richey (eds),—*Selection from Educational Records of the Government of India*, Vol. II, p. 35.
39. Bethune College Centenary Volume 1949, Calcutta 1949; p. 4.
40. *Stri Siksha Vidhyaka*,—(Calcutta 1824) p. 22.
41. Saha, Dr. Mahadeb,—'A Note on the Hindi Version of Stri Siksha Vidhayaka' in Jogesh Chandra Bagal, *Women's Education in Eastern India*, (Calcu ta 1956) pp. 124-25.
42. Zaehner, R. C.,—*Hinduism*, (London 1962) pp. 200-20-
Bhattacharyya, A. K. ,—"Akshay Dutt : Pioneer of Indian Rationalism" *The Rationalist Annual* (London 1962)
43. Datta Akshay Kumar,—*Bharatvarshiya Upasak Sampradaya*, 2nd Ed., 1907, Vol. II, Introduction.
44. Congreve, R.—*The Catechism of Positive Religion*, (London 1858) p. 271.
45. Datta Akshay Kumar,—*Vahyavastur sahit Manab Prakritir Sambandha Vichar*, Vol. II, pp. 28-29.
46. *Dharmaneeti*, pp. 59-60.
47. *Ibid*, p. 58.
48. About *Dharmaneeti* it was remarked in the *Hindoo Patriot* April 1, 1872.

"It is a treatise on the elements of morality, it discusses with great ability questions which are of the most vital importance to society, its teachings are clear and simple, and founded upon the highest principles of ethics, and the precepts it inculcates in respect of our duties towards ourselves, our families and our fellow-creatures are laid down not as mere *ipse dixit* but elaborated by a process of reasoning level to ordinary understanding. It deals with so many important things relating to our society that it is on that account peculiarly adapted to the want of our rising generation."

49. Datta, Akshay Kumar,—*Vahyavastur Sahit Manab Prakritir Sambandha Vichar* Vol. II, Chap. VII, p. 127.
50. Quoted by Leon Radzinowicz in *Ideology and Crime* (London 1966) p. 45.
51. *Ibid, loc cit.*
52. Judicial Letter from Bengal, Sep. 30, 1852.
53. Bentham, Jeremy,—*The Rationale of Punishment* (London 1830) pp. 327-51.
54. Hammond, B. & J. L.,—*The Bleak Age* (Penguin 1947) *passim.*
55. Datta Akshay Kumar,—*Dharma Neeti, Sikshavishayak Prastab, passim.*
56. Thompson, G.,—*Addresses Delivered at the Meetings of the Native Community of Calcutta and Other Essays.* (Calcutta 1895) p. 138.
57. Chunder, B. N.,—*Raja Digambar Mitra—His Life and Career* (Calcutta 1893) p. 36.
58. W. Theobald of the Supreme Court of Calcutta and President of the Society in his presidential address of the Society on May 5, 1845, referred to the aspects of interest of the Society in social matters other than purely political. *The Friend of India* dated 15th May, 1845, referring to the speech of the president writes :

"Native polygamy was one of them. With equal propriety, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows had engaged attention of the Society. With still greater satisfaction he referred to what the Society had done on the subject of Hindoo Female Education".

59. Ghosh, Benoy.,—"Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar", *Studies in Bengal Renaissance*. pp. 47-55.

60. Iswar Chandra wrote a very strong article enti led "Valya Vivaher Dosh" in *Sarbasubhakari Patrika* in 1850 :

"মনের ঐক্যই প্রণয়ের মূল। অস্মাদ্দেশীয় বালদম্পতিরা পরস্পরের আশয় জানিতে পারিল না, অভিপ্রায়ে অবগাহন করিতে অবকাশ পাইল না, অবস্থার তত্ত্বানুসন্ধান পাইল না, আলাপ পরিচয় দ্বারা ইতরেতরের চরিত্র-পরিচয়ের কথা দূরে থাকুক, একবার অন্যোন্য নয়ন-সঙ্কটনও হইল না, কেবল একজন উদাসীন বাচাল ঘটকের প্রবৃত্তিজনক বৃথা বচনে প্রত্যয় করিয়া পিতামাতার যেমন অভিরুচি হয়, কন্যাপুত্রের সেই বিধিই বিধিনিয়োগবৎ সুখ দুঃখের অনুল্লঙ্ঘনীয় সীমা হইয়া রহিল। এই জন্যই অস্মদেশে দাম্পত্য নিবন্ধন অকপট প্রণয় প্রায় দৃষ্ট হয় না। কেবল প্রণয়ী ভর্ত্তাস্বরূপ এবং প্রণয়িনী গৃহপরিচারিকা স্বরূপ হইয়া সংসারযাত্রা নির্বাহ করে।"

(Collected Works Vol. I, p. 249)

We get a very able criticism also of the Hindu family system here.

61. Quoted in *Vidyasagar* (Bengali Text) by Chandi Charan Bandyapadhyaya, (Calcutta 1929) pp. 343-44.

62. Quoted in *The Calcutta Review*. Vol. XLVII, No. 93, pp. 142-143.

Another source of prostitution was the Hindu widows. It was reported in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (quarterly series) March 11, 1869, that about 90 per cent of the prostitutes of Bengal were widows. Iswar Chandra was painfully aware of the situation and this might have been an added incentive t ohis efforts.

Bandyopadhyaya, B. N.,—*Sisir Kumar Ghosh* in "Sahitya Sadhak Charit Mala Series", p. 39.

Ghosh, J. N.,—*Social Evils in Calcutta and Methods of Treatment* (Calcutta 1923) *passim*.

63. Quoted in *Bangla Sahitye Vidyasagar* (Bengali Text) by Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyaya, (Calcut.a 1970) p. 209.

64. "বিধবা বিবাহের প্রবর্তন আমার জীবনের সর্বপ্রধান সৎকর্ম, জন্মে ইহার অপেক্ষা অধিক আর কোন সৎকর্ম করিতে পারিব তাহার সম্ভাবনা নাই ; এ বিষয়ের জন্য সর্বস্বান্ত করিয়াছি, এবং আবশ্যক হইলে প্রাণান্ত স্বীকারেও পরাঙ্মুখ নহি।" Excerpt from Iswar Chandro Vidyasagars's letter to his brother.

LetterQuoted in *Vidyasagar* (Bengali Text) by Viharilal Sarkar, p. 430.

It has also been reported in *The Hindu Patriot* July 1, 1867 that Vidyasagar's debt incurred to help widow remarriage mounted to Rs. 82,000/-.

65. Ghosh, B.,—*Sambad Patre Banglar Samaj Chitra*, 5 vols, Vol. II pp. 141-162.
66. Cole, G. D. H. & Raymond Postage,—*The Common People* (University Paperback 1957) p. 308.
67. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Article on 'Social Security'.
68. Chintamoni, C. Y. (ed)—*Indian Social Reforms* (Bombay 1901) pp. 294-311.
69. Sashtri, Sivanath,—*History of the Brahmo Samaj* pp. 251-271.
70. Karkaria, R. P.,—*India : forty Years of Progress and Reform* (London 1896) pp. 125-130.
71. Sister Nivedita,—*Notes on Some Wanderings with Swami Vivekanand in the Himalayas.* (Udbodhan, Calcutta 1957) p. 31.
72. Remarks by Alfred Croft, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Quoted in *Bengal Under the Lt. Governors* by C. E. Buckland, (Calcutta 1901) Vol. II, pp. 1046-47.
73. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, 1894.
74. Spencer, Herbert.,—*Social Statics*, Quoted by N. S. Teemasheef in *Sociological Theory : Its Nature and Growth* (N. Y. 1957) pp. 35-36.
75. Bhudev Rachanāvali (Bengali works of Bhudev Chandra Mukhopadhyaya) (Calcutta 1957) *passim*.

76. Quoted by Majumdar B. B.,—'Political Thought in India in the Nineteenth Century', *The Quarterly Journal of Historical Studies,* vol VII, No. 4, 1967-68, p. 258.

77. Majumdar, *loc cit* p. 259.

78. Majumdar, *loc cit* p. 259.

79. Majumdar, *loc cit* p. 259.

80. Nisbet, R.,—*The Sociological Tradition* (London 1967) pp. 23-24.

undesirable social institutions and practices. Novels, satires, plays and burlesques on crucial issues came out spontaneously. A study of the development of sociology in India can hardly ignore this storehouse of accumulated wisdom of the people.

Sociological importance of literature has been recognised even by the most committed supporters of empirical social researches. Sidney and Beatrice Webb's flair for empirical social research is too well-known. Beatrice Webb was, in fact, one of the pioneers of social investigation. But she too, became bored with the limitations of psychological research because it was necessary to simplify human relations so that experiment could be carried out in controlled conditions ; these results seem to her to have very little to do with the variety and mixture in human motive. She claimed that she learnt much more about the individual in his environment, social institutions etc., from novelists like Fielding, Flaubert, Balzac, Thackeray, Dickens and others.[4]

Even today, there is the same importance of literature as providing the source material for sociology. In society, there are some situations which are unsuitable for social investigation. Also, there are disturbed and maladjusted people who regard attempts to understand their difficulties (through empirical investigations) as gross interference. In such situations, literature can be of great help. Very recently, Michael Schofield, a British sociologist, found that the television play *Cathy come Home* did much more for the homeless than the earlier sociological reports calling attention to their plight. Also, the novel *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (proscribed under the Obscene Publication Act) "contained sociological material quite beyond the reach of a sociological researcher".[5] This intimate relationship between sociology and literature has also been endorsed by other Eur-American sociologists. According to a keen student of sociology through literature,

> "the sociologist who ignores literature is bound to be not merely a much impoverished man, but a worse social scientist. Nothing human ought to be alien to

social scientist : if a novel, a play, or a poem is personal and direct impression of social life, the sociologist should respond to it with the same openness and willingness to learn that he displays when he interviews a respondent, observes a community or classifies and analyses survey data".[6]

In making a retrospective map of sociology in India in the nineteenth century it becomes, practically speaking, an imperative on us to take an account of the literary sources available in the period.

The most important source material in that period is the travel account of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, a retired dignitary at the Court of the Nawabs of Murshidabad. He was the first Indian to set foot in Europe ; he went there in 1799 and stayed till 1803. His travel accounts, more precisely, his *journal, Moashir-e-Talibi*[7] (Persian Text) was translated into English by Charles Stewart in 1810. Concurrently, it was rendered into French as well as German. Except as an amusing intellectual travelogue of the first Indian in Europe, no serious notice has yet been taken of the work. A close study of the book is sure to bring to surface its very rich sociological materials. Truly speaking, this is the first-ever treatise on conparative social institutions, European and Indian, to be written as early, by an Indian.

In course of giving a detailed account of the places of travel, the author took special care at describing and critically discussing the social institutions of Europe. Mode in which the Europeans spend their time, their mode of living, division of employment between sexes, regulations regarding women, liberty of common people, liberty of the higher classes, mode of education of children, child-rearing practices, ethnocentrism and prejudice of Europeans—all these have been discussed with precision, balance, and with an eye for comparison.[8]

The most important feature of Abu Taleb's book is the Appendix entitled 'Vindication of the Liberties of the Asiatic

Women'. The reason for writing the Appendix can best be understood in his own words :

> "One day, in a certain company, the conversation turned upon Liberty, in respect of which the English consider their own customs the most perfect in the world. An English lady, addressing herself to me, observed, that the women of Asia have no liberty at all, but live like slaves, without honour and authority, in the houses of their husbands ; and she censured the men for their unkindness, and the women, also, for submitting to be so undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, (and in truth, said I, the case is exactly the reverse, it is the European women who do not possess so much power,) yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She however began to waver in her own opinion ; and falling into doubt, requested of me to write something on the subject, the purport of which she might comprehend in one view, and be enabled to distinguish the truth from falsehood.
>
> Since the same wrong opinion is deeply rooted in the minds of all other Europeans and has been frequently before this held forth, I considered it necessary to write a few lines concerning the privileges of the female sex, as established, both by law and custom, in Asia and in Europe ; omitting whatever was common to both, and noteing what is principally peculiar to each, in the manner of comparison, that the distinction may be more easily made, and the real state of the case become evident to those capable of discenrment".[9]

Hardly will any serious student of the history of Sociology in India ignore Mirza Abu Taleb's book.

With the Fort William College in Calcutta there followed a sort of literary revival and linguistic modernization. In the

urgent need of having oriental materials basic to the curriculum of the college, a number of vernacular texts had been written and published. Of these, *Kathopokathan* or *Dialogues* (1801) by William Carey deserves special mention for its rich literary value and sociological content. It is, practically speaking, a very important document depicting the various castes and classes of eighteenth century rural Bengal. The ethno-linguistic content of the book is also extremely fascinating. In it the idiomatic language, manners and customs of merchants, fishermen, women, beggars, day labourers, and other common folk received the most "minute and sympathetic observation". In this much-too-authentic portrayal of rural social life, *Kathapokathan* might have the honour of being the first treatise on cultural anthropolgy in India. The book is also one of the earliest attempts at Rural Sociology in India as Carey sought to depict a Bengali folk tradition that existed away from the influence of the metropolitan city of Calcutta. "Though the book was intended to give the students of the Fort William College an idea of colloquial Bengali and domestic economy of the country, yet it reveals the author's intimate knowledge and sympathy for the struggling life of the ordinary peasant folk".[10]

From 1823 onwards, society with its manifold problems came to be focussed in essays, novels, plays, satires, burlesques, comics and humorical writings. In all these, different social institutions were criticised, challenged, and also their *raison d'etre* questioned. Pure reason and secular calculation were the guide lines. Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, "Colossus of literature" as he was called, and Kashinath Tarkapanchanan, both associated with the Fort William College, were pioneer upholders of the current iconoclastic attitude. "I regard a woman's burning herself as an unworthy act"[12] this is how Mrityunjay Vidyalankar set himself against the custom of *Sati,* practised in all sanctity in his time. His *Probodh Chandrika* is a *magnum opus,* dealing with the total social structure of the Hindus. Kashinath Tarkapanchanan, another pandit attached to the Fort William College, showed his extraordinary talents in the objective analysis of hieratic texts. His *Padartha Kaumudi* is nothing but an attempt at explaining *Shastras* with the help of the laws of

physical sciences. His rationalistic *elan* has been expressed, more or less, in his *Pashanda Peeran* and *Sadhu Santoshini*. In *Pashanda Peeran* he went even to the extent of saying that the voice of the people is the voice of God.[13] Later on, *Kalikata Kamalalaya, Nababablu Bilas, Nababibi Bilas*, by Bhabani Charan Bandapadhyaya, *Alaler Gharer Dulal* by Tekchand Tagore or Pyari Chand Mitra, *Hutom Penchar Naksha* by Kaliprasanna Sinha, *Nildarpan, Sadhabar Ekadoshi, Jamai Barik, Biye Pagla Buro* by Dinabondhu Mitra, *Ekei ki bale Sabhyata, Buro Salikher Ghare Roa* by Michael Madhusudan Dutt, *Lok Rahasya, Samya, Kamalakanter Daptar, Bangadesher Krishak* by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, *The Bengal Ryots* by Sanjib Chandra Chattopadhyaya, *Govind Samanta, the Bengal Peasant Life* by the Rev. Lalbehari Day and many others expressed concern over happenings in society, and incidentally suggested directives for change in the desired direction. Not a single institution escaped attention of these *litterateurs*.

While William Carey concentrated on rural life, on folk tradition, there emerged authors who turned their back to everything villagey and took up city as their focus of study. The city of Calcutta was having its emergent development. In that early period, migrations not prompted by the "dual spur of specialisation and co-operation of labour"[14] were swelling the population of Calcutta. It was rather due to the continued economic and health hazards that beset the rural areas in Bengal in the close of the 18th century. And, "those who could afford it sought refuge in the growing city of Calcutta".[15] As early as 1823, Bhabani Charan Bandopadhyaya, editor of the *Samachar Chandrika*, published his *Kaliakata Kamalalaya*. It may very well be taken as an original sociological work describing the life and manners of the city-dwellers of Calcutta.

The book purported to explain how the city-dwellers differed from the village-dwellers in their manners, habits and speeches. The author uses the term *Nagarbasi* for a townsman and *Palligrambashi* for a villager and gives a clear idea of the distinction of the society and community in that early period. In this, he was definitely a forerunner of Toennies, the German

sociologist. To denote the new phenomenon of the metropolitan Calcutta, the author uses the concept *Mahanagar*, or great city. Lewis Mumford's concept of 'metropolis', Patrick Geddes' 'conurbation' and Jean Gottman's 'megalopolis' are all later developments.[16] Not only does the author describe the structural change in the human settlement in Calcutta, he is also very much conscious of the cash-nexus in the wake of the development of *Mahanagar*. In here, the centripetal migration from the country continues unabated. To him, *Mahanagar* is a bottomless ocean of wealth attracting thousands in search of fortune and with the unbounded opportunities of accumulating worldly goods ; there is also seen the malign ascendancy of the new dealers, e.g., speculators in land, in property etc. This aspect of the social process in the city has been very ably depicted in his *Nabababu Bilas*. *Kalikata Kamalaya* and *Nabababu Bilas* may be taken as complementary treatises of this author.

এই কলিকাতা নামক মহানগর আধুনিক কাল্পনিক বাবুদিগের পিতা কিংবা জ্যেষ্ঠ ভ্রাতা আসিয়া স্বর্ণকার বর্ণকার চর্মকার চটকার পটকার মঠকার বেতনোপভূক হইয়া কিংবা রাজের সাজের কাঠের খাটের মঠের ইটের সরদারি চৌকিদারি জুয়াচুরি পোদ্দারি করিয়া অথবা অগম্যগমন মিথ্যাবচন পরকীয়-রমণী সংঘটনকামী ভাঁড়ামি ও রাস্তাবন্দ দাস্য দৌত্য গীতবাদ্যতৎপর হইয়া কিংবা পৌরহিত্য ভিক্ষাপুত্র গুরুশিষ্য ভাবে কিঞ্চিং অর্থসঙ্গতি করিয়া কোম্পানির কাগজ কিংবা জমিদারি ক্রয়াধীন বহুতর দিবসাবসানে অধিকতর ধনাঢ্য হইয়াছেন"।[17] (নববাবুবিলাস)

The concept of the elite was also broached by the author in these two books. According to him, a new class developed in the contemporary society. This he divided into intelligentsia and absentee gentry, the latter, after having accumulated some wealth, is likely to invest in land. This new class differed not only from the rural elite but also from the more traditional members of the literati in Calcutta. This urban-based new class of Babus evinced modern and cultivated tastes. They also showed infinite capacity of receiving new knowledge, new ideas and new values. And their concern for 'status symbols' has not escaped the notice of this incisive author. In *Kalikata Kamalalaya*, we

read how the accumulation of books like the accumulation of wealth, became a fetish with the new Babus. It is not that they would always read the books, but they must have a very well-kept library as a symbol of their status and culture.

"বাবুসকল নানা জাতীয় ভাষায় উত্তম উত্তম গ্রন্থ অর্থাৎ পার্সি ইংরাজি আরবি কেতাব ক্রয় করিয়া কেহ এক কেহ বা দুই গেলাসওয়ালা আলমারির মধ্যে সুন্দর শ্রেণীপূর্বক এমত সাজাইয়া রাখেন যে দোকানদারের বাপেও এমত সোনার হল করিয়া কেতাব সাজাইয়া রাখিতে পারে না আর তাহাতে এমন যত্ন করেন এক শত বৎসরেও কেহ বোধ করিতে পারেন না যে এই কেতাবে কাহার স্পর্শ হইয়াছে অন্য পরের হস্ত দেওয়া দূরে থাকুক জেলদগর ভিন্ন বাবুও স্বয়ং কখন হস্ত দেন নাই এবং কোন কালেও দিবেন এমত কথাও শুনা যায় না,.........কেতাব লইয়া আন্দোলন (নাড়াচাড়া B.D.G.) করিলে সরস্বতী বিরক্ত হয়েন তৎপ্রযুক্ত হস্তস্পর্শ করেন না"।[18]

(কলিকাতা কমলালয়)

We get here a very incipient development of the concept of 'embourgeoisment' as hinted by Zweig, Porter and others in recent sociological literatures in Europe and America[19]. By writing about the metropolis, the rural-urban dichotomy in lay-out and living, and of the new elite, Bhabani Charan Bandopadhyaya did really contribute a pioneering work in the fields of urban sociology and sociology of the elite as early as 1823. *Kalikata Kamalalaya* and *Nababahu Bilash* were radical treatises for their time not only in India but in Eur-America as well. In these two pioneer books on 'sociology' the modern accusations of anomie, alienation and anonymity against the metropolis have also been echoed by the author. About *Nababahu Bilash*, a comment in the contemporary press is extremely illuminating :

> "It is a satirical view of the education and habits of the rich, and more specially of those families which have very recently acquired wealth and risen into notice. The character of the work, as well as its allusions and similles, are purely native, and this imparts a value to it superior to that which could be attached to a similar representation from a European. The knowledge of the author respecting the

subject he handles, must necessarily be more correct than that which a foreigner could acquire, and his description may therefore be received with great confidence. Though the work is highly satirical, and though some of its strokes of ridicule may be too deeply touched, we cannot venture to pronounce it a caricature.

..........with all its defects, it is a valuable document ; it illustrates the habits and economy of rich native families, and affords us a glance behind the scenes."[20]

The weakening of rural ties and the effects of urbanisation were frequent subjects of discussion in journalistic literatures. The *Somprokash* (Aswin, 1287 B.S. or October 1880) presents an interesting analysis of the effects of urbanisation in the country. The analysis is so closely reasoned, incisive and correct that it seems to have emanated from the pen of an urban sociologists today. The concept of social 'demonstration effect' has not even been overlooked here. *The Sadharani* (Kartick 1288 B.S. or November 1881) in its editorial "Palli-Samaj" or Rural Society, dwells on the gradual decline of the community life in the village. *The Hindoo Patriot* (19.2.1857) describes how nearness to the city centre has a compelling effect on the socio-psychological and economic pattern of human living.

Hutom Penchar Nakshā of Kaliprasanna Sinha is another unique study of the contemporary society in Calcutta, in tradition and modernity. The author writes searchingly on whatever is going on in society ; on the conflict between old and new ideas, speech habit of the new rich, alcoholic fad of the people, pseudo-religious leaders, Christian missionaries, Railway Station-master and so on.

Sadhabar Ekadoshi of Dinabandhu Mitra is an excellent satire on the alcoholic obsession of the new rich and the modernised section of the Bengalee society. Condemnation of anomic alcoholism in the context of the Bengalee society is writ large

in the book. So strong was the author's word of denunciation of and abhorrence for the practice that Peary Charan Sarkar, the founder of the Temperance Society in Calcutta remarked to the author "your book has proved our Society redundant." It is not simply waxing lyrical by the commentator. It is something more.

Ekei-Ki-Bale Sabhyatā, Buro Sālikher Ghāre Roā of Michael Madhusudan Dutta, *Kamalākāanter Daptar, Loka Rahasya* of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya also reflect the contemporary society. The plays *Kulin Kula Sarbaswa* and *Nava Natak* of Ramnarayan Tarkaratna equally need mention. Nowhere else social indignation against the vile and inhuman practices of polygyny and Kulinism has been so poignantly expressed as in the two works of Ramnarayan. When put on stage at Chinsura in 1854, *Kulin Kula Sarbaswa* created a sensation because it held up the custom of Kulin polygyny to ridicule and contempt.

Taking an overview it can be affirmed that in every work of the above authors society is there—a great uncast presence, baleful or benign, to which all the characters are necessarily in an intimate relationship. All the characters are moved by something more than the urge to defend, or improve or gratify or assault the society which they inhabit. All are moved by a longing to be something more.

The study of the rural economy and rural sociology was not ignored by the nineteenth century *litterateurs*. On the contrary, much empathy was evoked by the economic ruin on the rural areas following the ruthless exploitation of the ryots by the indigo planters. *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* of Pyari Chand Mitra, while rendering a holistic view of society, is a more realistic than an emotive account of the economic condition of the Bengal peasants. The book also deals with the existing system of education, contains remarks on self-formations and religious culture. The book is, in a way, illustrative of the conditions of Hindu society, manners and customs. It is also a study on socio-linguistics in the contemporary period. *Nil*

Darpan of Dinabandhu Mitra depicts the rural society suffering from the oppression of the indigo planters. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya was not really exaggerating when he declaimed that *Nildarpan* had rendered the same service in Bengal as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the U.S.A. *The Bengal Ryots* by Sanjib Chandra Chattapadhyaya is another inportant handbook on rural sociology. It was written after an original empirical investigation into the condition of the rural people, particularly the agriculturists in Bengal. It was left to Bankim Chandra, his younger brother to complete the task he started. *Vanga Desher Krishak* (1872), of Bankim Chandra might be called a sequel to *The Bengal Ryots*. *Vanga Desher Krishak* is a sincere and lucid exposition of the condition of the ryots in Bengal.

In preparing the book, Bankim Chandra used all possible source materials, governmental and non-governmental, and powerfully pleaded in favour of the ryots. The condition of the ryots was extremely precarious and it was going from bad to worse despite governmental attempts at amelioration. In the *Zamindari Settlement of Bengal* by Hollingsberry we get...... "that the period from 1793 until near 1859 may be characterised as a period of lawlessness of Zamindar, who corrupted, kept in their pay, or controlled the police ; harboured dacoits and employed club-men who kept ryots in terror ;......All this was not done personally by the zamindar ; the greater part was done by middlemen and subordinates ; but the result was the reduction of the ryots into absolute subjection to zamindar. Act X of 1859 was then passed with the view of protecting the ryot ; but it required from him proofs of right which could have survived this period of lawlessness only by a miracle."[21] *Vanga Desher Krishak* is written in the backdrop of this most critical and uncharitable condition of the ryots in Bengal. It not only championed the cause of the economically oppressed and down-trodden class in our society, it also paved the way for the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885. The book, both informatory and reformatory, has remained till today one of the seminal works on rural sociology in India.

The Bengal Peasant Life (1872) or *Govinda Samanta*

(1874) by the Rev. Lal Behari Day is an important accession to Indian rural sociology in the third quarter of the last century. Written in the technique of biography of a real ryot, the book comes close to being a study of Kanchanpur, a Bengal village, and gives a detailed interwoven picture of the culture and problems of the rural Bengal known by the author. The descriptive information in Day's account was so comprehensive that it encouraged later re-assessments of the book.[22] And it evoked appreciation of no less a person than Charles Darwin ; in a letter dated 18.4.1881 to the publisher of *Govinda Samanta* (Macmillan) he wrote, "I shall be glad if you would tell him with my compliments how much pleasure and instruction I derived from reading a few years ago *Govinda Samanta*".[23]

The Bengal Peasant Life or *Govinda Samanta* does not, however, satisfy the requirements of a highly sophisticated models of rural sociology of today. "It was not a quantitative study at all, but there is much to commend in the method of describing social and domestic life of a people in this way. The business of life with its network of relationships of a complex social structure is, perhaps, more intelligibly understood through such biographical studies. They perhaps give us more insight in the understanding of the intimate human attitudes, values and problems that arise in a complex living situation than collecting and heaping up of data on the basis of questionnaire and schedules".[24] This need of breathing life and relevance to studies, instead of being guided by 'quantimania', is being accepted today in the scientific world. In his 'The Social Life of a Modern Community'—a critical review of the Warner-Lunt "Yankee City" social stratification study, C. Wright Mills indicates his impatience with data so classified and quantified as to lose meaning.[25] Hayek's polite but firm caveat against 'quantimania' is worth quoting here : "The blind transfer of the striving for quantitative measurements to a field in which the specific conditions are not present which give it its basic importance in natural sciences is the result of an entirely unfounded prejudice. It is probably responsible for the worst aberrations and absurdities produced by scientism in the social sciences".[26]

Two other books, not emanating from *litterateurs,* also deserve mention here for their objective outlook and empirical underpinning. On the same year of the publication of *Govinda Samanta* was published *The Peasantry of Bengal* by Romesh Chandra Dutt.[27] The book has a sub-title which is self-explanatory—'A view of Their condition under the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the English Rule, and a consideration of the Means calculated to improve Their future prospects'. In the Chapter IV of the book we get a dependable account of the rural peasants of Bengal—their dress, material culture, religion, distinction between Hindu villages and Muslim villages and differences in their ways of life, spatial distribution of castes, social grading and social ranking.

A picture of the ranking of the villagers according to their economic status and also according to the foci of power is to be found, for the first time, in this book. "First of all come in the Gomastha and his myrmidons who form the head of the village in power, prestige and importance. Scarcely less important is the village Mahajan with his *golas* of *dhan* (stock of paddy) all the year round. He lends them money to pay the Zemindar's rent, and he also helps them to buy clothing, utensils and other simple necessaries of village life, and to employ labourers in their fields in the weeding seasons. And the whole annual harvest. Next come in the village notables, the few Mandals who know how to read and write and to whom the villagers look up as the men of learning,—the Putwari if there is any such in the village,—the Chowkidar who keeps watch in the village by strolling through it in the night with loud cries to intimidate thieves and give assurance to honest people ; and the village smith and carpenter to whom every body comes to have their ploughs made. Next to these come in the respectable villagers who hold land more or less in quantity in the fields surrounding the villages, and who have all their accounts with the Mahajan. Last come in the labourers who have no lands of their own, but help the other villagers in the field in the sowing and reaping seasons, help them in building up huts or excavating pools, and in the winter season crowd to the *bada* (low lands) to reap the superb harvest of that part of the country. Generally speaking, they get no loan of the

Mahajans, but get *dhan* (paddy) or money from those who employ them, and thus live by their daily labour".[28]

Chapter on village industry (Chapter VI) is also extremely illuminating as it gives a detailed account of the establishments and also of the interrelationship between the economy and society.

The other notable book is *The Indian Ryot* etc. (1881) by Abhaya Charan Das.[29] It is basically an exposition on the economic condition of the ryots (peasants) in this country. In course of making an inventory of obnoxious taxes imposed on the peasants the author, incidentally, pleads the causes of this class. The author remarked :

> "Is it possible for men to hold up their hands......and thus pave the way to starvation, when we see the lower animals form combinations among themselves to withstand the attack of the enemies ?"[30]

Not only that. The author makes a study in comparative agrarian situation in European countries and in India. Drawing materials from the socio-economic situation during the French Revolution, the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and also from the Irish peasant movements, Abhaya Charan Das argues his case for the recognition of peasant proprietorship in this country. He, at the same time, speaks in favour of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement even if it is detrimental to the interests of the landlords. To him,

> "Let the injury be admitted, and there is at most a case for compensation, none for perpetuating the wrong.... ...And the amount of compensation which may be justly claimed, not by landlords alone, but likewise......by the great body of non-landholders who have been oppressed all these years by disproportionate taxation".[31]

The Indian Ryot by Abhaya Charan Das is also important as a pioneering study in comparative agrarian economics and rural social institution. Contemporaneously, one of the very important works on this subject was written by Maxim Maximovich Kovalyevski, the Professor of Law at the University of Moscow during 1877-1887. In the Chapter VII of his book *Obschinnoye Zyemlevaladyenie : Prichini, Khod i Posled'stviya evo Razlozyeniya* (Communal Landholding : The Causes, Course and the Results of its Disintegration), Moscow 1879, the author discusses comparatively on the agrarian situation in India and Russia and traces the deleterious effects of the British agrarian policy in East India. The book, extremely important though, has not been translated into English to date. That Abhaya Charan Das had been, in any way, influenced by Kovalyevski's book is thus automatically ruled out. Abhaya Charan's book still serves as an astute guide to a comparative study of agrarian situations as well as to the rural sociology in India. Daniel Thorner is keenly aware of the work even if he has not used Abhaya Charan's book in his study of agriculture and agriculturists of India. Unfortunately, seminal treatises of the kind of *Govinda Samanta, The Peasantry of Bengal* and *The Indian Ryot* have not received the the attention they deserve in the volumes of Rural Sociology in India.

Activities of the *litterateurs* apart, valuable source materials were also furnished by government records, statistical accounts, reports of special commissions and writings by specialists in other branches of studies having sociological implications. There had been administrative surveys in this country from a very early period of the British administration. These were conducted on a small, regional scale, more often, in response to situations emerging from flood, famine, pestilence and poverty. The purpose of most of these surveys was to find out what the material and moral condition of the people was. Great was the uses of Indian statistics in the early period of the British administration in this country. Reports, Blue-books, etc., issued by the different department of the government supplied extremely valuable data to be used by specialists and reformers alike. Doing a survey was both an administrative necessity and a plea for reform. Social

research was carried on by a reform impulse. A distinctive interest discerned within social research was the collection of moral statistics. In the efforts of 'mapping depravity', empirical surveys on crime, prison condition, prison reform, alcoholism, *begari* or forced labour, public health, suicide, education, family condition etc. were taken up.

Among legion reports and documents relevant to the present study are, "Census of the—population of the city of Murshidabad in 1829" by H. Hawthorn[32]; "Census of the population of the city of Benares" by James Prinsep[33]; "Abstract statement of 412 villages in Zilla Bareilly" by H. S. Boulderson[34]; "Table of Mortality for Ages from Birth to Twenty years framed from the Lower Orphan School, Calcutta" by H. T. Princep[35]; Report on the Jails of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency by F. J. Mouat; Report on the Lunatic Asylums in he Bengal Presidency 1855; "Selection from Records of the Government for the years 1748-1767 (inclusive) relating mainly to the social condition of Bengal" 1869 by Rev. J. Long; Report of the Trade Associations 1830-50; Sir John Lambert's Report of the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its suburbs for 1894; D. W. D. Comin's Administrative Report on the Jails of Bengal 1895; Report of the Hunter Commission on Education in India 1882.

In the nineteenth century, literary and quasi-scientific societies and associations were also contributing significantly towards the 'build-up' of empirical social research in different parts of India.

In Madras, the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, organ of the Madras branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain, was being published under the able editorship of Gustav Opert since 1835. Ethnographic studies on different castes, tribes, religions, sects used to be published in the journal. Detailed accounts of city surveys were not wanting either. Some of the significant inquiries include: "An Account of the customs and Practices of the Murderers called Thugs"[36]; "An Account of the Tribe of Mahadeo Kolies"[37]; Statement of the Popula-

tion of the Hill Villages in the Dindigul District[38] "Essay on the creed, Customs and Literature of the Jangams"[39]; "An Account of the Basava Purana—the Principal Book used as a Religious Code by the Jangams"[40]: The Jangams constitute the only Saivite Sect who deviate from Brahminical usages. Dr. Francis Buchanan, Abbe Dubois and Colonel Wilks have given only short notices regarding the Jangams. Their information is far from being sufficient. The essays on the Jangams in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* constitute the most authentic and exhaustive account of the non-conformist Saivite sect. The statistical account of the city of Aurangabad in the same journal is one of the early attempts at studying urban social structure and organisation. The statistical account of Aurangabad includes an account of the physical lay out, material cultures, manufacturing industries, trades and occupations. The most important feature of the survey is that it includes a chart showing customs duties payable on goods imported into and exported from the city of Aurangabad from May 1846 to April 1847. "Castes of Malabar" is also an important contribution made by an Indian researcher.[42]

In Maharashtra and Gujrat, the Literary Society of Bombay 1820, the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay 1850, the Vernacular Society of Gujrat 1849, and the Dekkan Vernacular Society 1850 were making significant contributions towards empirical social studies. In the *Transaction of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1823 we get a very detailed account of an empirical survey of a small township, called Lon.[43] The paper was read before the Society on 29th February 1820. One cannot but wonder at the comprehensiveness of the survey undertaken even that early. In the account are included details regarding (a) Quality of the soil, (b) Climate (c) Demographic structure (d) Institutions (e) Hereditary Castes (f) Cultivators, Their Physical and Moral Character (g) Food, Cookery and Time of Meals of the Kunbis (cultivators) (h) Dress and Clothing of the cultivators (i) Furniture and necessaries of the cultivator's family (j) Religion, Rites and Superstition of the Kunbis (k) Sports, Amusements and Holidays of the Cultivators (l) Condition of the Cultivators, debt etc. (m) Condition, Manners, Amusements,

and Dresses of their women (n) Brahmins, (o) Shopkeepers (p) Mahomedans (q) Hired Servants (r) Slaves (s) Classes of Cultivators and Description of Tenures within the Township (t) Diseases of the Cultivators, and their knowledge of medicine (u) Agriculture, Implements of Husbandry, Agricultural Stock etc., (v) Nature of the Produce, Summer crop, Winter crop and crop of the rainy season (w) Revenues. Today, research workers, with their sophisticated tools of research methodology, will hardly excel their nineteenth century predecessors. "A Statistical Account of the Pergunnah of Jumboosur",[44] published in the same Transaction is an identical survey. Both the surveys are able and they serve as base-line work on rural/urban sociology in the nineteenth century. A study was also published on the Institution, Ceremonies of the Hindu Festival of the Duserah,[45] in the same Transaction. In the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine* was published writings on the 'Customs of the Hindus in Guzrat regarding marriage'. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay were very much enthusiastic about empirical social studies. A medical statistics of the Bombay Presidency was published by the Medical and Physical Society in 1851-52. All these writings served as handy foundation-stones on which to build up theories later on. They were, to all practical purposes, the fore-runners of the decennial census which started in India from 1872.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay made extremely important and significant contributions on social problems.[46] Also, there are significant sociological studies in the *Asiatic Researches*.[47]

Side by side with the Governmental efforts in using law and administrative structure as the tools of social improvement, voluntary organisations, meliorative and academic, grew apace. They collaborated with one another ; they pooled their energies and they prevailed upon the Government to improve social condition. Writings on social structure, social organisation, social progress were produced without number. What was important about these associations is that they were concerned with society as a whole, voiced a united denunciation of the

social ills and spoke in one voice for 'effective philanthropy'. From this was articulated a new conception of social science and it came to be embodied in the Bethune Society first and in the Bengal Social Science Association, a little later on. Piecemeal sociological reasoning there had been a lot, as the articles in different journals and transactions would show. With the Bethune Society, however, began the actual institutionalisation of sociology in India.

II

In the nineteenth century, the Bethune Society was a great landmark in the development of Sociology in India. The first significant step at institutionalization of Sociology in this country was made in this Society. On December 11, 1851 Dr. Mowatt established the Bethune Society (as a mark of respect to John Eliot Drinkwater Bethune) "to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits and encourage a freer intellectual intercourse than can be accomplished by other means in the existing state of the native society." During the early year of its existence, the Society discussed various problems scientific, literary, and social. In the third annual meeting of the Society laudatory praise was showered upon it that it led to the increase of scientifically-oriented individuals in the country.

Indeed, the number of those 'who are eager in the search after knowledge and truth' was steadily on the increase. In view of the growing consciousness among its members about things 'social' as the list of papers read at the Society will show, the Society underwent some important changes during 1858-59. The activities of the Society came to be divided into six sections, each being in charge of one subject. They included (i) General education, (ii) Literature and philosophy, (iii) Science and Art, (iv) Medical and Sanitary Improvement, (v) Sociology and (vi) Female Education. Rev. James Long was the president of the sociology sections. In 1859, a Section on Sociology "recently elevated to the rank of a Science and

replete with practical benefits to man" was appended to the Bethune Society.

On April 26, 1861 the Reverend James Long read his '500 Questions on the Subjects Requiring Investigation in the Social Condition of the Natives' in the Bethune Society.* The subject of Sociology was introduced by him at this meeting and 'the credit of calling public attention to the empirical investigation on social questions in India, is justly attributable to the Rev. Long.

While introducing his paper the Rev. Long wrote, "The *Science of Sociology* to promote whose objects we are met this evening, is one of modern origin, in fact so modern that there are many educated persons who know not what the word means. It is not then economical, ethical, legal or political science, though it borders on all these—it is not on the one hand the Socialism of Fourier and Robert Owen, which regards material comfort attained through man's industry as the highest end or *paramartha,* thus ignoring a future life and sinking humanity into the mire of materialism ;—nor is it on the other hand Political Economy, which relates principally to the production and distribution of wealth ;—nor is it Statistics ; —nor is it merely Ethics, which refers to man's welfare as a moral being. Sociology is distinct from Politics or the Science of Government, though its enquiries form the basis of all good government, as the Commissions on various subjects of social enquiry in England and Lord Shaftesbury's labours shew."

Sociology pre-emiently aims at what Pope recommends : "The proper study of mankind is man,"—by it we gain the real or esoteric history of a people, of the masses, and not of what history chiefly dwells on, Priests, Kings and Warriors, their controversies, battles and intrigues—as is specially the case with the modern history of India. Sir J. MacIntosh referring to the value of works which illustrate national character observes,— "Manner is the constant and insensible transpiration of character ; in the thousand nameless acts which compose manner, the mind betrays its habitual bent."

---

* Vide Appendix III

"The English in England, so pre-eminent for their efforts to relieve the poor and helpless in foreign lands, have had their attention gradually directed to various social evils in their own land, and one way to remedy them was found, to make investigation into their nature and extent,—hence the origin of the Social Science Association, which enrols more than 2000 members, some of whom are Ladies, who have written papers and organised Ladies' Associations to co-operate with its objects. Lord Brougham, Lord J. Russel, and the Earl of Shaftesbury have given opening addresses at the early meetings. France has entered with great zest into the subject, and even in Russia the working of the Association has been watched with great interest, while full accounts of the proceedings of the sections have been given most fully even in the St. Petersburg Journals." In the 60's of the last century there was a Russian Social Science Association and the International Social Science Association was established in 1862.

"The field in this country is very wide, and while it is rather difficult, on account of sociology bordering so closely on other branches of moral science, to give a precise definition of the word, it will be best explained perhaps by pointing out the scope of its objects in this country. Sociology teaches one lesson which is much needed every where, and is not without its use even in England—that a people's prosperity mainly depends on themselves : the Government may aid, but the impulsive movement for its success must arise from the people. Well has a great Statesman, Monsieur Guizot, characterised as a "gross delusion the belief in the sovereign power of political machinery" ; to this many of the social evils of France are attributable. The French thought they could first reform society without reforming themselves, thus illustrating Sir J. MacIntosh's remark "Constitution cannot be made, they must grow." Paper constitutions won't do : there must be a root in the social condition of the people. Lord Shaftesbury in his addresses at the Social Science Meeting observes that this is one of the good effects of social science, "It is no small succes to have taught the people to see that to cry out, A law a law, on all occasions of an evil felt, or an evil detected, is to check private individual

and combined exertion, and to keep men from the wholesome conviction, that in many matters they must be a law unto themselves. Anything that will detach men from the pursuit of 'splendid phantoms' must be of great value."

"The study of Sociology then is of special importance to educated natives, as tending to draw their attention to what lies at the basis of all good government—the social condition of the people : Utopia may be a fine theory, but what is in practice ? The study of Sociology will also tend to remedy a great defect in this country—the awful chasm which exists between the educated and uneducated native : it will do in this department what natural history does in another, bring different classes together on common ground, and so lessen prejudice. We have heard many Europeans declare that the sports of the field were the first things that impressed them favourably towards natives, as thereby they came in contact with the common people and learned to know their good qualities and social condition. Depend on this, if the educated class will ignore the masses, the masses will not ignore them, but will be a drag and a chain on them. The educated native must not imitate the philosopher who being disturbed in his study by the servant informing him that part of his house was on fire replied, "Tell your mistress ; you know I don't attend to household concerns."

"One of these reasons why so little in the way of writing has hitherto been contributed to Sociology by educated native and others, may have been the system of education that has prevailed and is prevailing, which cultivates memory to exclusion of almost every other faculty and particularly the necessary one of observation, which in schools the study of natural history in the upper classes and of object lessons in the lower classes is too generally ignored, hence the young man comes from college looking too often on the objects around him "with a brute unconscious gaze." *Without the practice of close observation little progress can be made in sociology, which is to be prosecuted not from books but from personal observation of men and things.* (Italics added). As no man will gain much knowledge of plants in a jungle without a Botanical eye, so

neither will much progress be made in the knowledge of the various ramifications of society, unless the attention be directed to them by preparatory studies : this neither Mathematics nor History, excellent though they be in themselves, can effect. The learned education of former days has led the Hindu mind to study the quidities of Metaphysics, rather than external objects, which were held in contempt, they applied to scholastic Metaphysics and not to Mental Philosophy on the Baconian method of induction."

"The time is very favourable for sociological investigation as an Educated class of natives is rapidly rising, qualified not only to investigate, but also to write the results of their investigations."

"Railways opening out will enable persons hitherto pent up within the Marhatta Ditch, to travel in the Mofussil. The East India Railway gives them the opportunity to proceed cheaply and quickly to the districts of Birbhum, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Hugly, Purnea, Malda, Rangpur, hitherto almost *terrae incognitae*—the Mutla Railway will soon afford them facilities for visiting neighbourhoods once the seat of a flourishing civilisation ; the Eastern Bengal Railway will bring Rajshahi, Pubna, Nuddea close to view. All those districts contain abundance of matter for enquiry relating to the rural population and the social relics of former dynasties—particularly the Musalman.—Danvers in his Railway Report has well remarked on this subject, that, as one result of the Railway in India, 'the facilities for personal intercourse, and the spread of intelligence afforded thereby will not fail to improve the social condition of the country."

"As debating societies among Hindus and Englishmen are rapidly springing up, it would be well to have their aims of a more practical nature, directed to points whose consideration would have a useful effect on the mind, I must confess I have been often pained in attending some of those meeting, and I have gone to many, to hear, read an essay merely an abridgement of a book, or perhaps some semi-political paper, only

calculated to excite a discontented spirit. What a field for discussion and essays would sociology open, and one hitherto so little gleaned."

"Natives can do this. Europeans cannot penetrate into the *Antapur*, or unravel the intricate web of native society ; in various cases where they have attempted to write about it, it was in the spirit of the Marquis de Custine, who, after a few months' residence in Russia, wrote several works about every thing in it,—boasting "that he saw nothing but guessed everything." European travellers in India have consequently from the *andaj* (guess) nature of their data, made most glaring mistakes. Even Ward in that useful and laboured work "The Manners of the Hindus", though he bestowed 20 years on the researches and took native guidance, often confounds examples with exceptions. It is no cause for surprise then, if Europeans travelling through the country with the speed of a Cossack, seeing only a few cities and anglicised natives, should make great blunders. What La Place said of astronomy is applicable to social science. "We have principles and science in abundance, give us more facts." An American writer, to shew the difficulty of foreigners understanding natives easily, mentions he was 25 years in Scotland and fancied he understood the English—but after 25 years in England also he began to think he understood neither the Scot nor the English !"

In submitting this annual Report of the Sociological Section of the Bethune Society, Rev. Long stated that being quite a new subject in this country, *much time was spent in mapping out the field of action,* (Italic added) for though various men were found willing to work, they wanted to have the sphere pointed out. Hence at one of the early meetings of the Section held in December 1859 it was stated that :

> "To the student in sociology, India offers a vast and inexhaustible field of investigation and research, and the natives themselves are in the most favourable position to furnish correct information on the social system of the Hindus, as foreigners have little opportunity of acquainting themselves with the internal workings of native society."

At a meeting earlier than the one held in December 1859, the procedural matters were finalised. There it was considered desirable that each of the members should propose a subject or subjects for investigation, and that a selection be made from them for the contribution of papers by the members. It was further recommended to the members to prosecute the study of sociology, *and also of French and German writings on India, in order to enable them to bring the light thus obtained to bear upon the topics selected for the papers.* (Italics added)

In the year 1861, the following subjects were proposed in the section of Sociology at the Bethune Society :

1. Manu's scheme of Hindu society, how far its principles harmonize with the laws of nature, and are compatible with the progress and well-being of the community ;
2. The existing organization of Hindu society in Bengal with reference to the 36 hereditary castes or *Varnas*, of which it is composed ;
3. The modifying influence of Mahomedan and English conquests on Hindu society ;
4. How far natural causes have operated to overturn the scheme of Manu ?
5. The influence of Buddhism on the condition of Hindu society ;
6. The social influences of the existing Educational Institutions of Bengal ;
7. What ultimate influence are Railways likely to exercise on Hindu society ?
8. The state of Hindu society in Orissa, compared with that in Bengal ;
9. A critical analysis of Mr. Ward's work (*Accounts of the Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindus* 4, vols, Serampore 1811) on the Hindus, as respects their social condition, together with a sketch of the improvements that have taken place in the social condition of the natives within the last 50 years ;
10. A History of the Old Hindu Families in Calcutta ;

11. Under what circumstances is the adoption by the natives of foreign manners and dress desirable, and to what extent has it been carried?
12. The nature and extent of accommodation in native houses and to what degree susceptible of improvement?
13. The topics of conversation in general in Hindu society of the present day, as contrasted with that of the former times ;"

In response, essays were sent in to the Sociology section on the following aspects :

A. Topics of Conversation in Hindu Society.

This paper, the production of an acute observer, treats of the various subjects of conversation among the different classes of natives,—and is to be specially commended, because the writer is not a copyer of books but has drawn fresh from observation.

B. Social Influences of the Educational Institutions of Bengal.

Written by the worthy Secretary (Kaylas Chandra Bose 1827-88) and chiefly from his own observation, he points out education in its effects on an expiring state of society—education begun at 5 years of age,—schools introduce better clothes, cleanliness, a demand for various manufactured things, promote order,—are against caste, bring the various classes of society together,—the pupils become in after life socially elevated—the Medical College,—schools for agriculture,—moral training,—Bengalis not a mere race of talkers—paid lecturers needed,—debating societies short-lived, the Phrenological Society.

C. The Marriage System of the Bengalis.

The author treats of—the origin of the sexes and marriage according to the Shastras—the marrying a brother's widow—plurality of husbands—eight ancient forms of marriage—Kulin marriages,—Marriage ceremonies,—marriage among different castes.

The essay evinces a considerable amount of research in books.

D. An Account of the Sunderbans.

Relates more to the land tenure than to the people.

E. Criticism on Ward on the Hindus.

Treats of mistakes made by Mr Ward on the social condition of the natives. This shows considerable investigation."

In 1861 Rev. James Long also submitted his paper embodying a series of questions and subjects on various branches of social enquiry ("Five Hundred Questions etc.") at the Bethune Society. One of the main reasons that led him to frame these Questions and subjects on Sociology was not "merely the novelty of the subject, but the utter usefulness of asking the natives or even Europeans a question in this form, "Tell me all you know about it":—the result is, as Long observes, "you either get information you possess already, or information on points you do not require :—you must aim point-blank, if you wish for a result ; you must make grooves or channels for thought. It was the conviction of this necessity that led the Calcutta School Book Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and other bodies to begin their operations, by framing of series of questions and desiderata."

"These questions" Rev. Long further observed "I constructed from notes I had taken in reading or from observations made in the Muffasil at various periods or from points suggested by natives. I have spared no pains in searching for suggestive enquiries in the Bengali, Sanskrit, French and German languages".[48]

Even a cursory glance at the paper of the Rev. J. Long at the Bethune Society is enough to convince one of the wide range of subjects chosen and the depth-analysis they called for. There can hardly be any doubt about the remark that "the man who might be capable of answering all of them will be able to write a complete history of the domestic life of the Indian people". Dr. Rev. A. Duff, President of the Bethune Society also, hopefully remarked in one of his addresses at the Society that "And were full and sensible answers returned to only half the questions, from them a volume might be framed, exceeding

in real interest and usefulness, any that had of late years been added to the stores of our Oriental Literature".

Rev. J. Long's illustrious paper apart, the Bethune Society can also boast of a number of very important papers read during its life-time, 1851-1869. To name a few important titles of these papers : 'On the Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta' by Dr. S. G. Chuckerburty ; 'On the Bengali viewed with reference to his physical, social, intellectual and moral habits, past and present' by Issur Chunder Mitter ; 'On the Education and Training of Children in Bengal' by Peary Churn Sircar ; 'On the Comparative Merits of the Law of Primogeniture and Equal Succession Economy and their Influence on the Morals of a Nation' by Mohendralall Shome ; 'On Bengali Life & Society' by Hurro Chunder Dutt ; 'On Vernacular Education in Bengal' by Rev. Lal Behari Day; 'On English Education in Bengal' by Rev. L. B. Day; 'On the Laws of Public Health as applicable to the People of India' by Norman Chevers ; 'The Rise and Progress of Native Education' by Rev, A. Duff ; 'Hindu Women and their connection with the Improvement of the Country' by Kissory Chand Mitra ; 'A Visit to Madras and Bombay with notes of the differences between their customs and those of Bengal' by Keshub Chunder Sen ; 'Lacordaire and his Career in France in connection with the Press and Freedom of Thought' by J. Harrison ; The Objects and Advantages of a Periodical Census' by Moulvi Abdool Lutif Khan Bahadur ; 'Employment of Women in Religious and Charitable Works' by Lord Bishop Cotton ; 'The Reformatory School System and its Influence on Female Criminals' by Mary Carpenter ; 'Primary Education in Bengal' by Rev. L. B. Day ;[49] each of these papers is marked with logic, empirical understanding and social awareness. Secular, and not sacred solution is what they aimed at. An excerpt from 'Social Forces' by Kalli Churn Banerjee will evince beyond any shred of doubt how clear was the understanding of the basic principles of theoretical sociology in India more than hundred years back. The author writes,

> "Social Forces admits of a twofold sense. It may be employed to denote those forces which contribute to the

organization of society, or it may be understood to refer to those forces which an organized society brings to bear upon its membership. There is, however, a mutuality between these two species of forces. Society, too, may be regarded in a twofold light. There is what may be called the typical ideal of the social system, and there are the various concrete forms of social organization approximating to it as their goal. Social Forces, then, are those forces which serve to realize and sustain a social organism of the normal type".[50]

The Bethune Society was reorganised again in 1867-68. Instead of six sections, five sections came to stay now. There were some changes in the office-bearers too.

1. Education Section	:	Henry Woodrow—President Rajendra nath Mitra—Secretary.
2. Literature & Philosophy Section	:	Rev. K. M. Banerji—President Grish Chunder Ghosh—Secretary.
3. Health & Sanitation Section	:	Dr. Ewart—President Dr. Kanailal Dey—Secretary
4. Sociology Section	:	Rev. James Long—President Rev. Lal Behari Day—Secretary.
5. Improvement & Amelioration of Women Section	:	Justice Dwarkanath Mitra—President Harasankar Das—Secretary.

It is important to note here that Justice Dwarkanath Mitra figured as a great Positivist in later years. He also became a member of the Positivist Society in England and was in regular

correspondence with Dr. Congreve of London. The Bethune Society ceased funtioning from 1870. The 'Renaissance' contribution of the Bethune Society was unique. No other organization could effect such intellectual awakening and activities as the Bethune Society did. In the third Annual Meeting of the Society (1855) Goodwin most eloquently remarked,

> "I congratulate the Society on its increase of wealth, not of silver and gold, for of that we have small portion enough, but in the acquisities of many valuables and intellectually-minded members, a proof that sound uttered in this room were transmitted through space to the ears of many who, sympathising in our endeavours to raise the standard of our body, adding to the number who are eager in the search after knowledge and truth".[51]

III

Contemporaneously with the Bethune Society, the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha (1863) and the Burrabazar Family Literary Club (1857) proved greatly useful in the discussion of social questions peculiar to the country, and in the diffusion of sound and enlightened views among the educated portion of the Native. "The objects of the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha, as the Report of the same for the year 1863-64 shows, "were rather mixed." Its members wanted to provide means of education for the poor, to ameliorate their conditions of living, to give medical relief to the indigent sick, to support poor widows and orphans, and to work for the improvement of the social, intellectual conditions of the members themselves and of their fellow inhabitants. As in the Bethune Society, in the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha too, there were different sections for the cultivation of particular aspects of liberal and useful study, to make it possible for each members to effectively contribute "to the general stock of information which the Sabha designed to possess." With this end in view, lectures were arranged on various subjects, social, political, economic, religious and also scientific. 'Female Education,' 'Marriage,' 'Morality and Civilisation in India, how

to be improved,' 'Newton and his predecessors, 'The English in India,' 'The Origin of the Hindu Caste,' 'Importance of Female Education,' 'The Press,' 'Railways,' 'History,' 'Effects of English Education,' 'Religious Education in Bengal,' are some of the important topics of lectures delivered at the Hitakari Sabha.[52] Miss Mary Carpenter who was very much connected with the movement for a Social Science Association in India, paid a visit to the Hitakari Sabha at the end of 1866 and expressed satisfaction on what was being pursued there.[53]

Away from Calcutta, the epicentre of intellectual ferment and social activities, the Benares Institute similar in its object to the Bethune Society, 'was perhaps one of the most hopeful native institutions that have ever arisen in the country.[54] It was founded in 1861, at Benares, by Babu Ramkali Choudhury. Originally it was known as the Benares Debating Society. In its early stage it did not hold out much promise, but in 1864 when the rule precluding the admission of European was cancelled, a new beginning was made. Under the able management of the Rev. M. A. Sherring, the usefulness and popularity of the Society rapidly increased. As many as thirtyseven papers were received during the first year after the change. The section on 'Social Progress' was particularly popular, and "contained no less than thirtyseven members of whom eighteen contributed essays on as many important subjects connected with civilization and human progress."[55] Social-anthropological contributions include *Hindu Tribes and Castes in Benares* (1872) by Sherring, 'Female Infanticide,'[56]. 'The Aborigines of India' and others. Sir Brian H. Hodgson was effectively associated with the Benares Institute.

The Oudh Scientific Society in Lucknow is not to be overlooked. Its concern for things 'social' and its 'with it' tendency is manifest in "Sociology for India", a paper read by Syed Shurrafoodin before the Society in 1867. Syed Shurrafoodin was a brilliant scholar and he was selected for a States Scholarship to study in England. The leading natives of Lucknow also established a Reform Club for the discussion of General Politics, Law, Social Ethics, Arts and Science.[57]

In 1869 a Society for sociological studies was established in Jaipur (Rajasthan, India) under the careful patronage of the native ruler there.[58]

All these show that the Bethune Society in Calcutta did really herald a new dawn in institutionalisation of the science of man and society in our country. Its influence did not remain confined to Calcutta, the place of its birth. Rather, there was a radiation of its heat and light far and wide, with a 'multiplier effect' so to say. So strong was the social awareness and a general demand for social science study that native papers became articulate enough to highlight the need of a Social Science Association in India on the British model. The *Somprokash* demanded,

"যেরূপ রাজনীতি সম্বন্ধে হইতেছে, সমাজেরও সেইরূপ জাতি সাধারণ্যে উন্নতিসাধন চেষ্টা করা আবশ্যক। আমাদিগের উদ্দেশ্য এই দেশের প্রধান প্রধান লোকেরা ইংলণ্ডের সামাজিক বিজ্ঞান সভার (সোসিয়াল সায়েন্স কংগ্রেস) ন্যায় এক সভা করুন। মধ্যে মধ্যে দেশের স্থানে স্থানে সভায় অধিবেশন হউক।......সভ্যগণ সমাজের অবস্থা ও উন্নতির প্রস্তাব ও তৎসম্পাদন চেষ্টা করুন। ইংলণ্ডীয় "সামাজিক বিজ্ঞান সভা" অনেক কাজ করিতেছেন, এ দেশেও সে প্রকার না হইবে কেন ?"[৫৯]

The *Somprokash* was also in favour of an objective analysis and secular solution of social problems. It discouraged any attempts at bringing in religion on problems of social issue. In the editorial of the *Somprokash* of 25 May 1870 we get a categorical 'no' to bringing in metaphysics in social matters :

"আমাদিপের বক্তব্য এই, যুবকেরা লেখাপড়া জলাঞ্জলি দিয়া ধর্ম ধর্ম করিয়া ক্ষেপিয়া না বেড়ান। যাহাতে বিদ্যার অধিকতর অনুশীলন হয়, তাহা করুন। কতকগুলি লোক বিজ্ঞান সভা করিয়া উহার চর্চা করুন। কেহ কেহ সাহিত্য সভা, কেহ কেহ বার্তা শাস্ত্রাদির আলোচনা সভা, এই প্রকার নানা সভা করিয়া দেশ উজ্জ্বল করিয়া তুলুন। এ সকল কর্মের অনুষ্ঠান না করিলে তাঁহারা দেশের কোন কাজেই লাগিবেন না"।[৬০]

And the Bengal Social Science Association which was modelled on the British Social Science Association, was timed to fit in with the growing consciousness of the social problems in this country. The Bengal Social Science Association exerted considerable influence upon the social science movement not only in Bengal, but in India as a whole.

Notes :

Paragraph Epigraph: Trevelyan, G. M.—'History and Literature' *Yale Review* 1924 pp. 109-125.

1. Report on Sociology, U. G. C. New Delhi, 1966, pp. 5-6.
2. Report on the Administration of Bengal 1874-75 Statistical Returns, p. C XXXVII.
   Ditto Bombay Presidency 1874-75 p. 289
   Ditto N.W.P. pp. 197-98.
   Ditto Punjab 1874-75 p. 130
   Ditto Oudh 1874-75 pp. 91-92.
   Ditto C. P. Statistical Instruction C 2.
   Ditto Madras Presidency Appendix pp. CC XXIV-CCXXXI
3. Digby, W.—'The Native Newspapers of India and Ceylon' *The Calcutta Review*, 1877 pp. 356 ff.
4. Schofield, M.—*Social Research* (Heineman, London 1969) p. 25.
5. Ibid p. 26.
6. Coser, L. A.—*Sociology Through Literature* (Prentic Hall 1963).
   Albrecht, M.,—"The Relationship of Literature and Society" *American Journal of Sociology* 5 : 5 (1954) pp. 425-36.
7. Stewart, Charles (Tr)—*The Travel Accounts of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (Longman, London* 1810)
   Charles Stewart was Professor of Oriental Languages in the Hon'ble East India Company's College, Hertfordshire.
8. *Ibid* vol II Chap. XIV.
9. *Ibid* vol II pp. 401-2.
10. Bose, N. S.—'Social Attitude as Reflected in Bengali Literature 1800-1857' *Studies in Social History* (ed) O. P. Bhatnagar, Allahabad 1964 pp. 283-298.
11. Marshman, J. C.—*The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* etc. (London 1859) vol I p. 180.

12. *The Friend of India, October* 1819
Sahitya Sadhak Charitmala vol. I No. 3.

13. Bandapadhyaya, A.—*Unabimsa Satabdir Prathamardha O Bangla Sahitya* (Bengali Text) Cal. 1965 pp. 136-37.

14. Blumenfeld, Hans.—'The Modern Metropolis' *Cities*, (Penguin 1967) p. 51.

15. Bose, N. K.—'Calcutta, a Pre-mature Metropolis,' *Ibid* p 76.

16. Mumford, L.—*The City in History* (New York 1961).
The Culture of Cities (New York 1938).
Possibly the word 'Metropolis' was first used by Southey in 1807 : "London is now so often visited, that the manners of the metropolis are to be found in every country gentleman's house". Espriella's Letter I p. 291.

17. Bandapadhyaya, B. N.—*Naba Babu Bilash* (Rare Book Series) (ed) S. K. Das Calcutta.

18. Ditto *Kalikata Kamalalaya* (Rare Book Series) (ed) S. K. Das ; Calcutta.

19. Zweig, F.—*The Worker in an Affluent Society* (London 1961). The 'embourgeoisment' idea has also been adumbrated by John Porter in his *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto 1965).

20. *The Friend of India* (Quarterly Series) October 1825, p. 289.

21. Hollingsberry, R. H.—*Zemindari Settlement in Bengal* Vol. I p. 60 ff.

22. Basu T. K.—*Lal Behari Day's Kanchanpur Revisited*. (Orient Longmans, Bombay 1958).
Ali, Amir *et al*—*Then and Now* (Indian Statistical Institute) 1952.

23. Quoted in *Govinda Samanta* (Bengali Text) (Tr & ed) Debipada Bhattacharyya, Calcutta 1970.

24. Basu, T. K.—*The Bengal Peasant From Time to Time*, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, 1962, Introduction.

25. C. W. Mills—'The Social Life of a Modern Community *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, p. 263.

26. Hayek, F. A.—*The Counter-revolution of Science* : Free Press (Glencoe) 1952, p. 51.

27. Dutt, R. C.—*The Peasantry of Bengal* Calcutta 1874.

28. Dutta, R. C.—*Ibid* pp. 69-70. The views R. C. Dutt expressed irritated the Zamindars. Kristodas Pal, in a scathing criticism of the book in *The Hindu Patriot*, dubbed him as a radicalist and revolutionary.
Majumdar, R. C.,—"Romesh Chunder Dutt," *The Journal of Indian History* 1970, April, p. 2.

29. Das, A. C.—*The Indian Ryot, Land Tax, Permanent Settlement and the Famine*, (Calcutta 1881).

30. Das A. C.—*Ibid* Vol. II, p. 582.

31. *Ibid*, p. 640.

32. *The Journal of the Asiatic Society* 1833 pp. 567-569.

33. *The Asiatic Researches* 1832, pp. 470-498.

34. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain* 1834 p. 475.

35. *The Journal of the Asiatic Society* 1838, pp. 818-828.

36. Reynolds, P. A.—in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 1836, pp. 85-99.

37. MacIntosh, A. Capt.—*Ibid*, 1837 pp. 71-112, 238-279.

38. Blackburne, J.—*Ibid* p. 433.

39. Brown, C. P.—*Ibid*, 1840, pp. 143-177.
Also, Prof. Wilson's Essay on Sects in *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. XVII.

40. *Ibid*, pp. 271-291.

41. Dr. Walker, A.—*Ibid*, 1850 pp. 1-32.

42. K. P. Sankara Menon,—*Ibid*, 1879 pp. 172-187.

43. Coats, Thomas,—*The Transactions of the Literary Society*, Bombay 1823, Vol. III.

44. Marshall, T.—*Ibid*.

45. Malcolm, John Sir,—*Ibid*.

46. Patel Bomarji Byramji,—'Suicide among the Parsees in Bombay 1895', *The Journal of Anthropoligical Society Bombay* 1895-99, pp. 14-22.

Rehatsek, E.—'Statistics of Suicide Committed in the City of Bombay during the year 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890', *Ibid* Vol. I pp. 330—40, pp. 442-48; Vol. II pp. 65-71, 255-60, 294-300.

47. *Transactions of the Bethune Society* (1859-1868), *passim* Quotations of Rev. Long are from the Annual Report of the Sociology Section at the Bethune Society submitted in 1861.

48. *Transactions of the Bethune Society.*

49. Quoted in *Bengal Harkaru* and the *India Gazettee* 19.1.1855.

50. Referred in Mukherjee, N.—*Bengal Past and Present,* July-December 1970.

51. Carpenter, M.—*Six Months in India,* Vol. I, p. 242.

52. 'Social Science in India', *The Calcutta Review,* February 1867, pp. 424-442.

53. *loc cit.*

54. 'Female Infanticide in the Doab' *The Benares Magazine,* Aug. 1851, June 1852.

55. Notice in *The Bengalee* dated May 22, 1869.

56. *Somprakash* 5 Agrahayana 1873 B.S. or November 1866.

57. *The Hindu Patriot* April 24, 1868.

58. *The Bengalee* May 22, 1869.

59. *Somprakash* (Jaistha 10, 1277 or May 25, 1870).

60. *Ibid* („)

CHAPTER V

THE BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

(1867-1878)

I

Rev. James Long, an early initiate in sociological studies found it most opportune to bring in social sciences in the country in the late sixties of the last century. Since his assignment to India by the Church Missionary Society in 1840 he had divided his time between bringing vernacular education to the villages and stimulating social consciousness among the Bengali youth in Calcutta. After his return from England to Calcutta in 1866 he delivered his lecture "Social Science—its utility for India" on 27.4.1866 at the Burrabazar Literary Club. Long's lecture generated an unbounded enthusiasm for the study of social sciences and also for a Social Science Association. Local press was also very much enthusiastic as it has been noted before. When, towards the end of 1866, Miss Mary Carpenter arrived in Calcutta, it became possible, perhaps, for the natives to press their claim for a Social Science Association forward. A meeting was accordingly held in the rooms of the Asiatic Society on the 17th December 1866, at which His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and a large number of Indian and European gentlemen were present. After an address from Miss Carpenter the following resolutions were passed :

1. That this meeting is of opinion that it is in every way desirable to consider carefully the practicability of forming a Branch Society, to be affiliated to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in Great Britain, for the purpose of pursuing similar investigations, so far as they have any relation to the people and circumstances of this country.

2. That a Provisional Committee (with power to add to their number), be formed to consult further with Miss Carpenter on the subject, and to take such ultimate steps as may appear desirable, in pursuance of the conclusion arrived at by the first resolution.

The Provisional Committee included The Hon'ble Justices Norman Phear, Seton-Kerr, E. C. Bayley, Dr. T. Farquhar, Rev. J. Long, A. Mackenzie, Babus Khetro Mohun Chatterjee, Peary Chand Mittra, Ram Chundra Mittra, Keshub Chander Sen, Monmohan Ghosh, Debendranath Tagore, Rajendralal Mitra, and Pundit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar.

The Committee thus appointed proceeded to their labours without delay. The Hon'ble Justice L.S. Jackson & Messrs. Beverley and Blanford were added to their number, and a Sub-Committee composed of Mr. Justice Seton-Kerr, Rev. J. Long and Babu Peary Chand Mittra, was requested to draft a scheme for the constitution and organization of the proposed Society. The report of the Sub-Committee, as finally adopted, was as follows :—

1. The Provisional Committee are of opinion that the proposed Society should be an independent Society and not affliated to the Society of England, in as much as the results of inquiry into many questions cannot be equally interesting to persons in England, nor can sufficient interest in the proposed Society be kept up in India, if its papers be only transmitted to the London Society, and be not published and discussed here without loss of time.

2. The Provisional Committee are further of opinion that the labours of the proposed Society should be extended to the whole of the Presidency of Bengal.

3. The Association shall be called the Bengal Social Science Association. All pesons subscribing not less than Rs. 12 *per annum* shall be eligible as members of the Society.

4. The business of the Society shall be at first entrusted

to a Council of not less than thirteen members, one of whom shall be the President, and two shall be Vice-Presidents. All vacancies may be filled up by the Council. There may be Sub-Committees of the Council, and special standing Committees appointed from among members.

5. There shall be two Honorary Secretaries, who shall appoint a responsible staff at the expense of the Society.

6. There shall be an annual meeting in January, at which an annual report shall be read and office-bearers elected.

7. The Council shall draw up a code of rules for the management of affairs of the Society.

8. The Council shall endeavour to collect, arrange, and classify series of facts bearing on the social, intellectual and moral condition of the people in Bengal. It will endeavour by the aid of such facts, and by clear and readable papers on interesting questions, to aid in the promotion of measures for the good of the country.

9. With a view to promote these objects, quarterly meetings shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers, besides the annual meeting.

These proceedings of the Provisional Committee were confirmed at a general meeting of the members held at the Metcalfe Hall on the 22nd January 1867.

The object of the Association was "to collect, arrange and classify series of facts bearing upon the social, moral and intellectual conditions of the people of Bengal, and by such means to assist in the promotion of measures for the good of the country." The Association is practical and scientific rather than literary; its objects not confined to the good of its immediate members, but in a catholic and cosmopolitan spirit it sought the amelioration of all classes throughout the country. *The most express object of the Association was to promote the development of social science in the Presidency of Bengal.* (Italics added).

To secure these objectives, the Association was divided into four Departments, which were assigned to different Sections of the Council; I Jurisprudence and Law, II Education, III Health, IV Economy and Trade. Each Section will ordinarily call for information by the issue of circular questions; it will invite papers, either in English or in the Verancular, on given subjects, which after approval by the Sectional Committee, will be read and discussed at periodical meetings in Calcutta. A selection of these papers, or of English translations from those in the vernacular, will be annually published in the Transactions of the Association.

The Department of *Jurisprudence* & *Law* will, for the most part, be confined to the consideration of questions connected with causes, prevention and repression of crime. It is not intended that the Association shall take any direct action tending to the enactment or the amendment of legislative measures but it is believed that, without trenching upon the functions of the Government and without constituting itself into a political body, there are many points on which the Association may usefully collect and place at the disposal of the public, statistics, trustworthy information, and valuable facts and details.

The Department of *Education* opens a wide field. Besides the important consideration of the higher class of education in its social influences, the Association will in this branch also direct its attention to the vernacular education of the masses and to the state and extent of indigenous literature. Female education, and the best means of disseminating it with a due regard to the customs and institutions of the Native community, will also claim its share of attention.

The *Public Health* is a department in which it is believed that the Association may effect much good. As in the other Departments the subject will be considered mainly in its relation to the poorer classes. Recognising, as the Association does, the extreme importance of the statistics of life and death, it will endeavour to acquire a fund of information on this head. It will further collect facts which bear on the general health,

comfort, and convenience of the masses in populous Native towns and in agricultural villages, and it will ascertain the best means of diminishing mortality, either by improving the skill of the ordinary Native practitioners, or of drawing attention to the defects in ventilation and conservancy, or by pointing out the evil effects of the indiscriminate sale of poisons, or the adulteration of food, or the want of purity in the drinking water of the population.

In the Department of *Economy and Trade,* the Association will take up the consideration of the wide class of miscellaneous questions which relate to labour. Improvements in agriculture and the mechanical arts will naturally receive attention in this Department. The Association will also endeavour to acquire accurate local statistics regarding the various trades of the country and the castes and classes by which they are followed, as well as regarding banking operations, and generally whatever may affect the industry and social condition on the working and middle classes.

At the meeting on the 22nd January, 1867 at the Metcalfe Hall at Calcutta, a Council the strength of which was fixed at twenty members, was constituted with Hon'ble W. S. Seton-Kerr, C. S. as the President. Other members of the Council were as follows :

Vice-Presidents :	Hon'ble J. P. Norman, Babu Romanath Tagore,
Council Members :	Hon'ble J. B. Phear, W. S. Atkinson Esq, Major F. B. Norman A. Mackenzie Esq, C. S. Rev. J. Long, Manokjee Rustumjee, Esq. Babu Kishory Chand Mittra, Babu Rajendra lal Mittra, Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur, H. Beverley, Esq. C. S.,
Secretaries :	Babu Pearychand Mittra.

The first duty which devolved upon the newly elected Council was to draw up the scheme of work. The Council divided itself into four sections or departments, in each of which a circular was prepared and issued in the form of a syllabus, indicating certain subjects on which the Council believed that enquiries might be instituted and information collected with advantage.

The following were the *desiderata* or heads of enquiry :

1. JURISPRUDENCE & LAW

Civil Law

The existing Hindu and Mahomedan law as to perpetuities and charitable trusts—its effects—is it desirable and, if desirable is it possible to limit them in any way ?

The *benamee* system in all its branches. The custom of pre-emption-does it exist among other than Mohamedans ? if so, where ?

Testamentary law. The forms and sanctions of wills—nuncupative wills—is it desirable to retain them, with special reference to the law of adoption ? Compulsory registration of wills transferring immovable property—is it desirable to extend any parts of the Indian succession Act to Hindus, Mahomedans or Buddhists ?

Transferability of ryottee tenures in different districts with and without the zemindar's consent.

The law of master and servant—are breaches of contract as frequent between Natives, as they are said to be when one of the parties is European ?

The panchayet system—its nature and extent—arbitration.

The present law of execution and distress—its effect, operation, and abuses.

Bribery in Courts of Justice—its extent, causes and and remedy—the popular belief in its effect upon the administration of justice.

Criminal Law

Statistics of crime—is the commission of crime the professed or main occupation of any particular classes ? if so, what are the habits of such classes

The chief causes of crime-poverty-intoxication-class influence.

Suicide—its causes—how far capable of influenced by legislation ?

Jail System—its efficiency as a reformatory or deterrent agent. Jail education, industrial or other, of both sexes—its effects upon the after-life of discharged convicts.

The Jury System—its operation—is its extension desirable ?

II. EDUCATION

Progress of education in Bengal during the last half century —its effects on the domestic and social habits of the Hindus and Mahomedans—the causes by which it is retarded among Mahomedans in lower Bengal—are similar causes in operation in the learned Oriental languages as contrasted with education through the medium of English literature.

Statistics of education in particular districts among the different classes—the geographical distribution of the various causes which affect them—state of education among the cultivators of the soil—among artisans—among domestic servants.

The best means of promoting agriculture through the educational institutions of the country.

Establishment and maintenance of schools—funds for the purpose—the expediency or otherwise of an educational cess—compulsory education.

Female education—among Hindus and Mahomedans respectively, its present condition—the obstacles to its progress—and the means of overcoming them.

Jail schools and reformatories—nature of the discipline and training best adapted to them.

Indigenous literature, English as well as Vernacular—the proverbs and legends of the country.

Extent to which an art-feeling is exhibited among the artisan and other labouring classes, as regards form, colour, or taste for ornament—decoration of Native houses—art-culture through the educational institutions of the country.

The cultivation of music among all classes—the character of the songs current in particular districts, and the relation which these songs bear to the occupation or other circumstances of the classes in which they prevail—popular ballads.

III. HEALTH

Inquiries Relating to Diet

At what hours of the day do the people take their meals distinguishing between the upper, middle, and lower classes, according to their caste, creed, and occupation?

State how much an adult consumes at each ordinary meal, with the proportion of each article of diet.

Enumerate these articles under the different heads of (1) animal, (2) vegetable, and (3) mineral, and state their average prices in the bazar, and whether products of the district or not.

What varieties of food are peculiar to different seasons of the year?

What substitutes are employed by the hungry for their usual food in times of famine or scarcity?

What beverages, stimulants, narcotics, and nervines are used by the people, and state their effects?

What is the history of the feeding of infants during the first two years of their lives? Note the effect on the death rate and physique of children.

Mention any facts connected with particular articles of food that you have observed to affect the health.

As far as your observation goes do the people of temperate climate eat more or less while residing in a tropical country?

Have particular diets any special influence in having power to resist cold or to endure heat?

Do the consumers of flesh in India enjoy better health than those who live on farinaceous food, with or without milk? What class suffers most from dyspepsia, stone, wasting of the teeth, etc?

Enumerate the fruits, spices, condiments, pickles etc used by the people.

Are sweetmeats greatly indulged in by the adult population?

What inert substances are intentionally used to mix with the food to increase its bulk.

What articles of diet are used by men, in training, for severe bodily exertion; at what hours do they eat, and what quantities do they consume at each diet?

What adulterations are practised in the districts or bazar?

Enumerate the piosonous vegetable productions which are rendered innocuous by cooking.

Mention the custom of the observance of fasts; how do they affect the health?

Is river water, tank, or rain water used for drinking? Is it stored or is it obtained daily? If stored, at what seasons? What means are used for its purification and preservation, either by animals, vegetables or minerals, and are any diseases fairly attributed to its use?

Are any springs in your district supposed to possess medicinal properties? Give the constituents if possible, and the diseases benefited.

IV. ECONOMY AND TRADE

Banking & Currency

Banking and monetary centres—castes, classes, or races in which Native bankers are chiefly found—the names by which their calling is described as shroffs, mahajuns, bunneas, koteewallas,—antiquity of Native banking houses and the number of their branches—their political influence in Native states—character of their transaction—interest allowed on deposits—interest charged on loans—allowances on land or produce, mode of repayment—discounts, exchange operations—modes of remitting specie, bullion—insurance rates—*hoondees,* their style, usance endorsement—precautions against forgery—letters of advice—process followed when payment is refused—letters of credit—agencies—partnerships—styles of firms---book-keeping—periods for balancing accounts—how far the establishment of English banks in the Mofussil affects the business of Native banks—comparison of the two systems, English and Native, which of the two is most effective in the supply of capital for trading and agricultural purposes? Periodical flow and ebb of silver at the leading centres of trade, and the causes.

Currency—Coins in use and their intrinsic values—tokens, currency notes.—hoarding and melting coin.

Between different provinces—grain, oil seeds, cotton, sugar, indigo, hides, timber, salt, cattle, sheep, European manufactures and metals,—modes and cost of transit by road, river, railway,

pack bullocks, camels, horses or other animals—Native *saudagars* or merchants as distinguished from bankers and zeminders —Native shop-keepers—pedlars, box-wallahs—street criers—roadside stalls—skilled artisans, as weavers, their castes, unions, strikes.

Native manufactures, cotton, silk, woollens, pottery paper, hardware.

Bazars, hats, melas, markets—export trade from sea-ports —Arab and other vessels owned by Natives—export trade with countries beyond the frontier in the interior—barter of all kinds —Government contracts for grain, etc—weights and measures, their variety, evils arising from the absence of fixed standards.

Labour

Different systems of service, by coolies paid daily for work, by contract, by conditions in connection with occupancy of land—the ryot—the village system for supply of ploughs, carts, boats to the zemindar—castes of labourers, the relation between caste and occupation, and the causes which modify it—migration of labourers from country to towns—rates of remuneration in different districts, past and present, as compared with each other and with prices of food—remuneration paid in the cultivation of opium, grain, sugar, tobacco etc. contrasted—wages paid in kind—Native boatmen—fishermen—professional beggars.

Migration of labourers from one province to another emigration to the Mauritius. to West Indies, to French colonies, the number of those who return, and the savings they bring, their social status in their villages on return—the system of recruiting for emigration.

AGRICULTURE

Culture of the various crops—local peculiarities, rotation of crops, manuring—extent of farms—sub-division of holdings —rent, whether in money or in kind—rates for different qualities of land, mode of adjustment—zemindary accounts, *cutcherries,*

amlah—relations inter se of the Mahajans, Zemindar, ryots dundeedar, goladar, etc.—profits, on produce, how divided, what proportion actually reaches the cultivator ?—advances by money-lenders—establishment of Moffusil banks for such advances.

SOCIAL ECONOMY

The Hindu family—the Village Community—the Mahomedan family relations of different castes and classes—masters and domestic servants—present extent of slavery—amusements and social games—feasts and festivals—charities and endowments.

On the 20th February 1867 Babu Rajendralal Mittra moved the adoption of the following rule :—"That the Association as a body shall abstain from expressing its opinion on any social question that may be brought to its notice, and from taking action for the amendment of any law or custom of the country". This motion was put forward under the idea that the new institution lacked the confidence of the Native members of the community, but it did not appear to the Council that there was sufficient evidence before them of any such want of confidence as would alone justify a rule, which, on any other ground, was wholly unnecessary, and might eventually prove in a high degree embarrassing to the proper working of the Association. The proposed rule, moreover, seemed to be superfluous even with reference to the mover's purpose, as the prospectus of the Association had distinctly stated that the Society was not intended to be an agitating body. The Council, therefore, rejected Babu Rajendralal's proposition ; but on the following day the mover, supported by Babus Romanath Tagore, Digumbar Mittra, Jotindramohon Tagore, and Greesh Chandra Ghosh, addressed a letter to the Secretaries, requesting that an extra-ordinary meeting of the members of the Society might be called to take the subject into early consideration. Such a course of proceeding appeared to the majority of the Council to be entirely uncalled for at that time, nor had they any reason whatever to change the opinion which they had already expressed. It was thought that the matter might well stand over for the decision

of the whole body of this Association, until the business meeting of its members should occur in due course. They, therefore, refused to call a special meeting for the discussion of a subject on which they were themselves almost unanimous. Upon this, the requisitionists withdrew their names from the list of members, and as the Council demurred to accede to the President's desire to give a reply to their letter, so full and explanatory as he thought necessary, Mr. Seton-Kerr also resigned. This led to certain changes in the personnel of the Council and to the election of Mr. Phear as President. The work of the Society was carried on, and the number of its members received frequent accessions. The names borne on the Society's rolls in 1867, amounted to 173.

The First Session of the Association was held at the Town Hall on the evenings of the 24th, 25th and 26th July 1867. The meetings were opened by an inaugural address from the Hon'ble J. B. Phear, the President of the Association*. Ten papers were then read on various subjects. After the inaugural address of Mr. J. B. Phear, Babu Kishori chand Mitra read his paper 'On the progress of Education in Bengal'. It was a fairly long paper and full of important details. The paper still remains an important source material for students doing research on the history and sociology of education in Bengal in the nineteenth century. Babu Mahesh chandra Sarma's paper on 'The Tols of Halishahar, Bhatpara and Nuddea' is an important document on the indigenous efforts and development of education in Bengal in the contemporary period. The author was a deputy inspector of schools of the Howrah district and he could write from his personal experience and authority about these 'puny but powerful' institutions (tols) of instruction in traditional learning of the country. An empirical study of educational institutions under private initiative, was possibly the first of its kind in Bengal. In the section of Health, two important contributions were made by Dr. A. V. Best and Babu Kanai lal Dey. Babu Kanailal Dey's paper 'On the Laws of Health considered with reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of

* See Vol. II, p. 1ff.

India' highlighted the problem of food and nutrition of the Indians. The paper has been documented in the second part of the book. A perusal of the paper is sure to convince one that even after one hundred years it is not without its significance or importance.

Babu Koilash chandra Bose's paper 'On the Domestic Economy of Hindus' is one of the pioneering attempts at studying, at source, on the economic activities and family budgets in this country. Though impressionistic, the paper gave, nevertheless, some valuable insights into the ways of earning a living of the people in the country. Three more papers in section of Jurisprudence and Law were presented; in them were included, 'On Pre-emption' by Babu Shama Churn Sircar, 'Suggestions regarding the Law relating to Merchant Seamen' by Mr. J. H. A. Bransom, Bar-at-Law, and 'On Testamentary Law' by Babu Srinath Chundra. All these papers read during the three days of the first session proved beyond any shred of doubt how deep-seated was the concern of the people for objective thinking and secular solution of social problems. Papers were long, full of details, careful and meticulous. Every one was eager to contribute significantly to the Bengal Social Science Association. So unbounded was their enthusiasm that the papers presented during the three days of the first session could not be properly discussed for want of time. This led to a significant and important development of rules regarding the writing, editing and presenting the papers at the Association. It was agreed upon that

> "All papers should be composed in as clear and concise a style as possible. They should be confined, as far as practicable, to the relation of facts and observations bearing upon the question, and should avoid, as far as may be, the enunciation of general principles and of *philosophical theories and reflections*. (Italics added). It is quite true that the promotion of Social Science demands that deductions should be drawn from ascertained facts, but it is believed that the requisite data have not yet been accumulated, and

that the Association will, for the present at least, be most beneficially engaged in the collection of social statistics.' (Regulations regarding Papers, Rule 8).

And,

"With a view to preserve the object with which general meetings of the Association are held, viz., the discussion of the subjects which may be then introduced, no paper shall be read *in extenso* which will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, but in the event of the paper being longer, a *precise* or abstract shall be read instead. Such abstracts shall be submitted for the approval of the Council together with the original paper." (Rule 9).

Soon after the Bengal Social Science Association started functioning in Calcutta, a branch of the same was founded at Konnagar, about thirty miles away from the city. Babu Shiv Chandra Dev was the key-man of this branch. At the end of the first year (1867) membership of the Bengal Social Science Association, including branch associations, stood at 202. These included foreigners and Indians alike and they were all of a very high social status and prestige. During the first year, it was decided to concentrate on three problems of great social concern viz, agricultural labour, condition of the artisan class in Calcutta, and education of women. Desiderata were submitted for collection of information in respect of these problems. Questions included in the desiderata, it will be evident, very much resemble the questions in the research schedules of the presentday social science research work.

Enquiry regarding Female Education.

1. How many schools do you know of in your district, or neighbourhood, for the instruction of females? and are such schools for girls only, or for the instruction of girls and boys together.

Note :—In the replies to this question, some designation or description of the schools referred to should be given, so that in the event of the same schools being returned in different answers, they may be identified, and not counted more than once.

2. How many female scholars are there on the rolls of such schools collectively, what is the average daily attendance ?

3. Can you say whether caste has any influence upon the admission of girls in such schools ?

4. At what age do girls generally enter school, and how long do they remain ?

5. State the causes, so far as you are aware of them, of the withdrawal of female pupils from schools ?

6. What is the course of study generally pursued in the schools with which you are acquainted, and state in particular whether English or needlework is taught to them ?

7. Have you observed any difference in the progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind ?

8. State as nearly as you can the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in the schools to which you are referring, and whether any school is under female superintendence or charge solely ?

9. To what extent does it appear to you that education is continued after the girls are withdrawn from school ?

10. To what extent do you consider that female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted ?

11. Do you think Zenana education more adapted to the circumstances of the natives of this country than school education ?

12. State whether any social difficulties hinder the instruction of females in the family house, and in particular whether the Hindu family system places any peculiar difficulties in the way of young married women being educated by their husbands ?

13. What is your opinion on the subject of normal schools ?

14. Do you approve of the suggestion to select widows as teachers, or do you think the employment of married women preferable ?

15. State any opinions which you may entertain as to the best means of promoting and extending female education ?

Answers to the above questions, or any information bearing upon the subject of this paper, may be sent to either of the Secretaries of the Association (H. Beverley, Esq. C. C., or Babu Peary Chand Mittra) at the Metcalfe Hall, or to the Secretary to the Education Section, H. H. Locke Esq., Bengal Club.

Enquiries regarding Agriculture and the condition of the Agricultural classes.

1. What crops are grown in your district, and in what proportions ?

2. How many crops are produced on the same land in the year ? State what they are, distinguishing between those that are sown simultaneously and those that are sown in rotation. Is land in your district allowed to lie fallow ? If so, at what intervals, and for what period ?

3. What is the average extent of ground actually cultivated by each ryot ?

4. Do ryots to any extent (and if so, to what extent) employ *hired* labour ? Or does any practice exist under which

ryots holding *distinct* lands assist each other by the loan of labour and implements?

Is there any cultivation carried on by means of an educated class applying their own capital to the purpose and themselves directing the cultivation by hired labour?

5. To what extent do individuals or families combine in taking and cultivating land? Is there any competition in regard to the taking of land, and if not, how are rents regulated?

6. What capital does a ryot usually possess in the shape of cattle, implements, grain, or other stored-produce, buildings, or available money? How many acres is it commonly estimated that each plough will cultivate?

7. Is there any ryot in your district who has capital as above, so as to be independent of the Mahajan?

8. What shape do the Mahajan's advances usually take, and in what shape and to what extent are they repaid? Is the account between the ryot and the Mahajan annually settled and the balance discharged?

9. State the manner in which the produce of the soil, distinguishing between different crops, is disposed of? Trace it from the field to the consumer. Does the cultivator go to the buyer or to market with his produce, or does the buyers come to him? Does the sale take place by sample?

10. Give the market price of each class of produce for as many years back as you can.

11. Is marriage among the agricultural classes a matter of course at any customary age, or is it governed by any consideration of the means of living?

12. Do the ryots' children receive any education? If so, at what age are they taken from school to be employed upon the land?

Enquiries regarding the Artisan classes of Calcutta.

1. What is the nature of your business?
2. What is the number of native artisans in your employ? And how is their labour distributed?
3. Do they work on your premises or at their homes?
4. Distribute them as far as possible according to caste, age, sex, and place of birth.
5. What proportion of them live in Calcutta and in the suburbs? Do their families reside with them?
6. Have any of them been attracted to Calcutta from agricultural pursuits by the prospect of higher wages?
7. How were they trained to their occupation? Have they received it from their fathers, or is any system of apprenticeship in use amongst them?
8. What proportions are able to read and write?
9. Can you give any information as to their habits? Are they intemperate or otherwise?
10. What wages do they earn? State the maximum and minimum given by you.
11. Are wages higher than they were ten years ago, and to what extent?
12. Do all your workmen receive monthly wages, or are any of them paid by the job?
13. Are you in the habit of making advances?
14. Do the native artisans work through Sirdars?
15. Do any of them save money out of their earnings? . Would the institution of Savings Banks be likely to foster a spirit of prudential economy?
16. Are they in the habit of working at home on their own account? And do they employ others under them?

17. Do they belong to any societies, benefit or trade, or are they limited or practically controlled by caste?

18. Is the supply of labour in you branch of trade increasing or diminishing? And what is the cause?

19. Is your work performed by hand-labour or by machinery? Where machinery is in use, are the results satisfactory?

20. Do you use principally European or Native tools? Do the workmen find their own tools?

21. How does the work of Native artisans bear comparison with that of Europeans, as to skill and as to speed of execution?

Enquiries regarding Popular Education.

1. Indigenous Pathsalas

   (a) The number of indigenous *Pathsalas* (elementary schools), so far as they can be ascertained, in any district or part of a district.

   (b) Whether any recent changes have taken place in the manner of holding them, and in the nature of books and lessons taught there.

   (c) Classes of the people who resort to them.

   (d) *Gurumahashayas,* (native teachers) what kind of persons are employed in this capacity in different parts of the country.

   (e) Present opinion of the country in regard to pathsalas kept by *Gurumahashayas.*

2. Vernacular and English Schools.

   (a) Classes of the people who generally contribute to the support of these schools.

   (b) Extent to which children of field-labourers and artisans, that is, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths etc., respectively, have availed themselves of these schools.

(c) Periods for which children of different classes remain in these schools.

(d) Advantages which they generally gain, or hope to gain, by means of school education.

3. Special Schools for Agriculturists and Artisans.

Are such schools needed : and if so, what should be taught in them ?

4. Compulsory Education.

Is the compulsory education of the masses desirable or possible ?

5. Supply of Funds.

How can funds best be raised for the education of the masses ?

6. Miscellaneous Points.

(a) Effects, social, moral and economical, which the spread of education within the last ten years has produced in the country.

(b) Effect, if any of railways on popular education.

(c) Extent to which newspapers are read and appreciated by educated people of all class.

(d) Best means of extending popular education.

II

In 1868, Moulavi Abdool Luteef Khan read a paper on the 'Education of the Moslems in India' at the Bengal Social Science Association. In it, the author pleaded very emphatically the cause of education of the Mahomedans in this country. Whatever might be the reason, the Moslems of Bengal till the fifties of the last century, did not feel drawn to Western learning and culture. Naturally, during the days of the Company, Moslem education received rather scant respect from them.

The establishment on September 4, 1855 of *Anjuman-e-Islamee* or the Mahomedan Association was a great land-mark in the socio-political and intellectual development of the community.[1] The Association tried to protect and promote, in its own way, the interests and well-being of the community it represented. The question of the spread of education among the Moslems was very articulate at the Association. At its meeting held on October 28, 1855 the Association adopted a resolution of Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan (one of the founder-members of the Mahomedan Association) and pledged to suggest measures for removing the defective education of the 'Mohammedans'.[2] In the contemporary period, the Mahomedan Association exerted a booster effect in resolving the identity and confidence crisis of the community. Newspapers and journals exclusively for the Mahomedans were now coming out, though not in abundance. Ethnographic works on the community itself was not also rare. Saiyyed Abul Fazl published his *On the Mahomedans in India* from Calcutta in 1862.[3] *The Moslem Chronicle and the Muhamedan Observer* (weekly) came to be published from Calcutta in 1866. Next to come out in 1884 was the *Mussalman,* (weekly) devoted exclusively to the cause of the Mahomedans.

Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan, who in 1855 raised his voice at rectifying the defective education of the Mahomedans, placed in 1868 his well-balanced and sober analysis of the problem before an erudite audience at the Bengal Social Science Association. Later on, in 1871 Dr. W. W. (later Sir William) Hunter in his *The Indian Mussalmans* sounded a note of alarm and pointed out that the English system of secular education had failed to attract the Mahomedans to it. He attributed the general apathy shown by the Mahomedans towards Western education to three main causes (a) want of Mahomedan teachers, (b) absence of the provision of Mahomedan languages, and (c) absence of religious education. On August 7, 1871 the Government of India issued a resolution (No. 300) on Mahomedan education which was the first of a series of important measures adopted by Government for the encouragement of education among the Mahomedans. The contents of the resolu-

tion, as summarised by the Education Commission of 1882 had it (i) that further encouragement should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Moslems in all Government schools and colleges, (ii) that in avowedly English schools established in Moslem districts, the appointment of qualified Moslem English teachers might, with advantage, be encouraged, (iii) that as in vernacular schools so in avowedly English Schools, assistance might justly be given to Moslems by grant-in-aid to create schools of their own, (iv) that greater encouragement should be given to the creation of vernacular literature for the Moslems. The resolution was circulated to all Local Governments and Administrations for their opinion as to what measures should be adopted towards the more systematic encouragement of education among the Mahomedans. The credit of arousing the interest of the Government and public alike, to the education of the Mahomedans is definitely Moulavi Abdool Luteef's. But for his paper at the Bengal Social Science Association, the problem would not have received the attention it did. Hunter's books added to the enthisiasm already expressed by Moulvi Abdool Luteef.

"What is the Practical Method of Educating Hindu Women" was the second important paper on education read by Babu Chunder Nath Bose on 30th January, 1868. Education of women was being seriously considered at different quarters at that time. The 'Young Bengal' group were persistently pressing for the amelioration of the condition of women in our country. Rev. K. M. Banerjee's prize essay on 'Indian Female Education' in 1840 is highly competent. The Bengal British India Society also prepared a plan for the spread of education for women. The Mukherjee brothers, Joykissen Mukherjee and Rajkissen Mukherjee of Uttarpara were eager to carry the plan forward and execute it. They approached the Council of Education in 1845 with a scheme of opening a girls' school at Uttarpara but the Council was luke warm. In 1847, a free school for girls was started at Barasat by Peary Chand Sirkar. It was left to John Eliot Drinkwater Bethune to give a final shape to the cause of education for women by establishing the Bethune School on May 7, 1849. It was received with great enthusiasm.

Simultaneously, a band of highly educated Brahmo young-men under the leadership of Keshub Chandra Sen organised a movement called "Antahpur Strisiksha" or home education for women in 1862-63. Scholars included grown-up women. They read books according to the curriculum prepared by this body. Similar Societies for imparting home-education to women and girls were started in other parts of the then Bengal with considerable success. In the Report of the Public Instruction 1865-66 we find that the number of such Zenana agencies has been increased to 19. These agencies were also favourably mentioned in Governmental Records: In the Report on Public Instruction of 1864-65 we find the Deputy Inspector of Nudea writing in the following manner. "In a country like this, education of girls in the zenana is highly desirable and the advantages of such institutions cannot be overestimated. It is, therefore, with feelings of unfeigned satisfaction that I record the establishment of a zenana education club at Belladanga in the town of Krishnanagore. Fourteen pupils on an average age of seventeen years are thus receiving instructions through the agency of the association." In Calcutta, "Jessore Union," "Backerganj Union," "Sylhet Union", "Vikrampur Union", "Faridpur Suhrid Sabha" and a few other associations were actively engaged in spreading education of women at home.[5]

In the prevailing climate of opinion about education for women in the country, Babu Chunder Nath Bose's paper on the practicable method of educating them was most welcome. He made a critical study of the existing arrangements and gave some useful and practical suggestions to the problem. That there was a great spread of education at school and also at home is evinced by the fact that significant literary contributions were made by women from 1856 onwards. They were no longer "women with nimble fingers and vacant understandings". In 1856 Krishna Kamini Dasi published her first poem *Chittabilasini*. Kamini Sundari Dasi can have the laurel of being the first woman playwright of Bengal. Her *Urbasi* (1866) and *Usha* (1871) are two important plays. About the same time Nabinkali Devi published *Kamini Kalanka*. One "Srimati" published a musical comedy *The Unmarried Girl*. Mokshada

Devi, sister of the first president of the Indian National Congress (Mr. W. C. Bonerjee), edited the *Banga Mahila*, the first woman's fortnightly, from April 1870. The first woman's monthly, *Anathini* was published by Thakamani a little later on.[6] A very interesting collection of compositions by women came out in 1872. It was published by the Hare Prize Fund. The fund had for its special object the production of works in Bengali fitted for the instruction of women. The volume extends to 267 pages, with papers and poems written by women. The excellence of the writings was proved beyond any dispute and they also showed how education had made its way into the Zenana of the Country.*

In the different sections of the Bengal Social Science Association quite a few important papers were submitted. Indian society was the focus of their study ; as such, everything concerning interhuman relations, e.g. language and literature, customs and folkways, rites and rituals, proverbs and sayings, economic organisations of men and women, and others came to be thoroughly studied and discussed at different sections, "The Festivals of the Hindus" by Kishory Chand Mitra, "Female Occupations in Bengal" by Greesh Chunder Ghosh, and "Popular Bengali Proverbs, etc" by Rev. J. Long were three very important papers read at the Bengal Social Science Association in 1868. Greesh Chandra Ghosh's paper on "Female Occupations in Bengal" gives us an insight into the activities of women in Bengal. Enquiries regarding the economic condition of women in Bengal are extremely rare. Ethnographic notes and statistical accounts in the early nineteenth century do not give any idea about their occupational situation and economic condition. What little we know of them is gleaned from diverse sources, literary works, proverbs etc,. In the Census Report of 1872, however, some details have been given about the 'womanpower' in the country.

The poorer classes of women utilised their spare time left

* Appendix for the best poem in the selection. It was written by a lady from Dacca.

after housewifery in assisting the men in the traditional occupations—cultivation, pottery, spinning, weaving, rearing of animals, shopkeeping, basket-making etc,. The Census Report of 1872 showed that there were about 97,628 women spinners in the districts of Bengal from the middle and lower classes of society.[7] That spinning (*Katnakata*) was an important source of earning is reflected in numerous Bengali sayings and proverbs. Often, it used to supply a girl the necessary fund for getting married to a Kulin bridegroom. In the play *Kulin Kulasarbwaswa* (see supra), we read how the girl laments over her sad lot that she spent all her spinning-money for her husband, still he was not satisfied.[8]

Women in the upper classes were engaged in avocations other than domestic viz., religious cults, indigenous healing professions, copying of manuscripts etc,. The same Report showed that there were 574 'gurus' or religious preceptors, 290 Kabirajs, 215 Hekims and 6 astrologers in Bengal.[9] The Rev. J. Long has mentioned of women copy-writers in Calcutta in his *Selections from Unpublished Records* (1748-1767) *relating mainly to the Social Condition of Bengal*. These women copyists used to copy manuscripts.[10] Women factory workers were also there from the very beginning of factories in Bengal.[11]

A history on the economic situation of women in this country, before the industrial development, is yet to be written. Nothing is yet known of all the different avenues of employment of women here before 1850's, their social position, emolument, social mobility and other relevant factors. We have nothing like Ivy Pinchbeck's book on the economic situation of women in Great Britain before the Industrial Revolution. Though impressionistic, Greesh Chandra Ghosh' paper on ,'Female Occupations in Bengal", is the first attempt to probe into their economic situation. This is undoubtedly a pioneering study in the field of sociology of occupation in this country, hundred years back.

Rev. Long's paper is extremely important in as much as it tried to construct social condition from oral tradition. (The

paper has not been including in the present volume as it has already been incorporated in a book on Rev J. Long by Dr. M. P. Saha.[12] Rev. J. Long made a thorough study of not only Indian proverbs but also of foreign ones. His was the idea of introducing 'comparative proverbiology' and 'comparative sociology' in India as early as 1868. His paper on 'Village Communities in India and Russia is an example of comparative sociology *par excellence*.

At the end of 1868 there were 218 members including 10 life-members of the Bengal Social Science Association. All the ten life-members belonged to the city of Bombay. The second general meeting of the Association was held on January 7, 1869, under the chairmanship of J. B. Phear. At the scheduled quarterly sessions of the second year of the Association, some very important sociological problem were discussed. Dr. F. J. Mouat, then I. G. Prisons, Bengal read his extemely illuminating and thoughtful paper on Criminals and penal reforms. It was full of meticulous details. As we have known before, intellectuals had already been deliberating on criminological and penological problems in this country. Mouat's observations on the problem of criminals and prisons supplied the necessary incentive for a significant change in the attitude towards crime and penal measures in India, later on. The most important consideration was, however, given to the problem of education. In the quarterly sessions of the Association we find quite a number of papers dealing with education of both men and women. A questionnaire on the education of women had already been circulated. Answers in response to the same were now processed and presented at the meeting of the Association on January 20, 1869. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Sashipada Bandapadhyaya, Rev. Lal Behari Day, Chandra Nath Basu, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar and other intellectual giants took up the cause of education in right earnest. 'Downward infiltration' of education was the official plan. Deliberations of the native intellectuals, as expressed in the papers at the Association, only go to show their antipathy against official apathy for education in the country.

In the section of Economy and Trade, papers on the Moslem Community, Utility of Census, Origin of Hindu Festivals were presented. Rev. James Long's paper on the Moslem Community is one of the early, detailed enthnographic account of the Mahomedans in English language. Hunter's book *The Indian Mussalmans* was published in 1871. Beverley's paper on the 'Utility of Census' was topical and possibly, it enthused the authorities to undertake decennial Census in India from 1871. This was also the year that saw the beginning of the Statistical Survey of India under the planning, guidance and supervision of W. W. Hunter of Imperial Gazetteer of India fame. Before he submitted his paper on the Utility of Census, there had, of course, been censuses in India on a local basis, at Dacca, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Benares, Bareilly, etc. But the idea of holding a systematic all-India Census was Beverley's. Bankim Chandra Chattapadhyaya's paper on the 'Origin of Hindu Festivals' is a paleo-anthropological study of folk rites and customs. Considering the time, it was a significant landmark in socio-anthropological studies. Even in Eur-American countries, social anthropological researches were not much developed then.

At the third year of the Association, a new provision was made for the inclusion of some honorary members besides ordinary and life-members of the Association. Miss Florence Nightingale, Miss Mary Carpenter and J. B. Phear, formerly the President of the Association, were accepted as honorary members. Miss Nightingale had been keeping herself informed about conditions in India. Her attention was drawn to this country as early as 1859, when the warrant setting up the Royal Sanitary Commission on the Health of the Army in India was issued. Miss Nightengale worked with the Commission, which did not go to India but sat in London. Miss Nightengale had already discovered that no satisfactory figures and records existed and that to obtain even ordinary documents relating to India in London was a hopeless task. She decided to obtain all her information at first-hand and in consultation with Sir John McNeill and Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras, she drafted a *Circular of Enquiry* which was to be

sent to every military station in India. She also wrote to 200 larger Stations asking for copies of all regulations, including local regulations, relating to the health and sanitary administration of the Army. Finally, she wrote individually to all military and medical officers of high rank in India with whom she was acquainted, or to whom she could obtain introductions. As the reports returned from India they were sent to Miss Nightingale for perusal and processing. Literally tons of paper were involved. In 1863 were published the expected Report of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army in India.[13] In course of the preparation of the Report Miss Nightingale become thoroughly committed to Indian affairs. She kept her zeal for India burning till the last days of her life. "My interest in India can never abate" this is how she expressed herself.

In a series of letters written personally to Mr. P. K. Sen during the years 1878-1882,[14] she expressed her deep concern for Indian agrarian problems, sanitation and education. Time and again she took her pen to lash the administration which led to the development of a miserable state of social, political and economic life in India. Her article, 'The people of India' in *the Nineteenth Century* (August 1878) is a powerful exposition of the situation regarding money-lending, agricultural land and labour, irrigation etc. Her strong and genuine concern for Indian agrarian problems is more than manifest in the following letter which she wrote to the editor of the *Voice of India* in April 30, 1884 :

"Sir,

I venture to submit to you the request whether you could kindly obtain information for England, but about which Englishmen have very little accurate information, viz., the question of land tenures in Bengal.

And I preface my request by asking, not for generalizations—of these we have too many already—but for information from personal and special knowledge of single

typical villages in any of the provinces to which the Bengal Tenancy Bill is applicable.

Upon the following points accurate and authenticated facts are required, in order that the English public may be able to form a sound judgment. We want evidence from both sides in order that we may weigh it, and, if possible, come to a just conclusion :—

Zamindar or Middleman

1. Collection of Rents :—

Do you know of any, and what instances of zamindars residing on the properties, and collecting their own rents, either in person or by agents, receiving a fixed salary ?

What instances do you know of zamindars letting out their rents to contractors (middlemen or Ticcadars) ? Are such contractors paid by a commission on collections, or in what other way do they make their profits ?

2. Sub-tenures.

Is the practice of ryot sub-letting their lands common in your district ?

Do the sub-tenants hold on a temporary or a lasting tenure ? In other words, do they merely take the land as an occasional convenience, or are they settled ryots with houses of their own upon the land, and all the attributes of ryots ?

Are sub-tenants' rights saleable ? Give any instances that you personally know of in which such rights have been actually sold ; and the price that had been given for them.

3. Improvements.

By whom are improvements made on the land in your district, and of what do they generally consist?

Are rents raised upon improvements? If so, please give instances, and state whether the practice is common.

4. What is the best method of ascertaining the customary or "Pergunnah" rates of rents?

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

London Dec. 18,
1884

With her deep concern for India, it is but natural that she should feel only too happy on having been elected an honorary member of the Bengal Social Science Association. Her letter to the Association, quoted below, is full of her feelings of good-will and gratitude. Her paper entitled "On Indian Sanitation" presented to the Bengal Social Science Association is near-classic. At a later period, doctors and sanitary authorities drew much inspirations from the same regarding the causes and cure of Malaria in this country.

Letter from Miss Nightingale on her being elected an honorary member of the Bengal Social Science Association is being quoted here in full:

London, May 25th, 1870

Gentlemen,

Pray accept my warmest thanks and tender them for me to the Bengal Social Science Association for the honour you have done me in electing me an honorary member.

Believe me, it touches me the more deeply the less I am able to express it. For I am a poor woman, overwhelmed with business and illness.

For eleven years past, what little I could do for India, for the conditions on which the Eternal has made to depend the lives and healths and social happiness of men, as well Native as European, has been the constant object of my thoughts of day and my thoughts by night.

These efforts on my part have been humble indeed, but if the Almighty has blessed them in some measure, and if they are recognized by you who have done so much more in the same cause—and we in England also recognise with admiration and shame that the Native gentlemen of India have sometimes surpassed ourselves in progress in this matter—it is a source of the deepest thankfulness. May increasing success be granted!

The task before India is truly gigantic. But men have done greater things than these. What would you say, for instance, to draining and cultivating the great endemic area of cholera from the sea-board to the Himalayas where the waters of the Berhampootra, the Ganges and the Mahanuddy flow out, and from which endemic district, the great epidemics of cholera rush forth to afflict the world! But a girdle has been put round the world by the electric cable, and the day may come when you will have brought the waters of this great area under some control, when you will have drained its marshes, cultivated its rich provinses, exchanged its desolating malaria for useful production, and possibly extinguished cholera as a scourge for mankind, as well as for India. If the work is a work for heroes it is the more worthy of your ambition.

I beg to acknowledge a copy of the Society's Transactions. I may perhaps be permitted to offer the Society a few books, and as my small contribution for a membership I so much prize, shall beg to enclose Rs. 100 to your order.

Pray, believe me,
Gentlemen,
Ever your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale.

P.S. Encouraged by your kindness, I may perhaps venture to write to you again in more detail, but will not delay sending my poor thanks by this mail.

A look into the papers read at the Bengal Social Science Association will convince one of their high standard of logic, erudition and objectivity. Empiricism and objectivity became almost the keywords of the Association as it matured in age. Sir Richard Temple, in his speech at the Association on the 23rd February 1876, emphasized on the importance of statistics in studies presented at the Association. Said he,

"As regards the materials for the work of the Association I must first of all remind you that the collection of statistics is the mainstay, literally the very back-bone, of the knowledge with which the Association has to conduct its operations. There exists frequently a prejudice against statistics and the collection of dry figures, but nevertheless you may depend upon it that without the collection and collation of figures, of this kind it will be impossible for an Association of this description to work."

Sir Richard Temple's expectation was realised to some extent. We find Mr. Mcleod's paper on 'Suicide' completely fortified with statistics, even comparative statistics.

The Association during its period of existence 1867-1878 had to undergo frequent organisational changes in its infra-structure (Please see appendix). Quarterly meetings also became less frequent. There was only one quarterly meeting in the year 1872. But the most serious set-back to the Association came with departure of the Rev. J. Long. The Rev. J. Long took an active part in the foundation of the Association and had always manifested the warmest interest in its affairs. He was also the keyman of the section of Education of the Association.

By 1873 there was further shrinking of the activities of the Association. Some of the sections ceased functioning. There was no general meeting during this year. But at two quarterly meetings on 25th March and 13th September, some important papers were presented. Of them, 'Indian Coolie Emigration' by J. Geoghegan was the most important. J. Geoghegan was the Under-Secretary to Government of India,

Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. Before being incorporated in Parliamentary Papers in 1874 as Report on Coolie Emigration from India, Geoghegan's paper at the Association in 1873 drew public attention to the problem of cheap, indentured labour from India into British Colonies and Protectorates, the way they were recruited and the treatment they received at the host country. The earliest Indian labour-recruits for the British Colonies according to Geoghegan, came from South India. A Tamil exodus to the Straits Settlements began before the end of the 18th century. According to Sanderson's Report (Report of the Committee appointed on March 3, 1909 by the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies, under the chairmanship of Lord Sanderson to consider the general question of immigration from India to the Crown Colonies), 1000 emigrants left Calcutta for the Mauritius between 1834 and 1837. Geoghegan's paper at the Association thus created a stir, here and abroad.

Geoghegan's paper at the Association for the first time brought before a distinguished public the inner story of indentured labour. Voices of protest against this pernicious practice had, however, been raised in the *Bengal Spectator* in the forties of the last century and Ram Gopal Ghosh of Young Bengal repute was the leading figure in this protest. From Geoghegan's paper we get to know that as early as the late thirties, a Parliamentory Committee was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Indian emigrants. The Committee submitted its report in October 1840 over the signature of only three of its members, T. Dickenss, Rev. J. Charles and Russomay Dutt. As the Committee took a very serious view of the "very grave abuses among the predacious crew engaged in the traffic," emigration from India seemed to be threatened. But for the intervention of Sir J. P. Grant, emigration from India would have been totally stopped. Though he was not a signatory to the report, he gave a turn to the trend of developments by making an exhaustive study of the question of emigration. He recommended some safeguards while continuing the old practice of sending labour out of the country. Geoghegan's paper stimulated much arguments and discussion at the meeting. It was an important

contribution both in economic history as well as in sociology of colonialism. Sociology of Colonialism is a new branch of study being pursued today by Eur-American scholars.[16]

In 1875, Miss Mary Carpenter visited India for the fourth time. Her lecture at the Association on December 18, 1875 was on "Prison Discipline and Reformatory Schools." In European countries, the profound impact of positivist doctrine was discernible in the emergent permanent international bodies to consider the problem of criminal justice and the treatment of offenders. As a product of positivist fermentation, were established the International Penal and Penitentiary Congresses between 1872 and 1900. *Societe' Gene'rale des Prisons* was inaugurated in 1877. From 1885 a series of international Congresses devoted to criminal authropology were instituted. In 1897, Franz Van Liszt (Germany), Adolph Prins (Belgium), Van Hamel (Holland) and Emile Garcon (France) brought into being the International Union of Criminal Law, which subsequently developed into a sophisticated and dynamic source of penal thought and practice.[17] Reform on fundamental changes in social structure as well as reform of the criminal law and procedure, and of the penal system came to be seriously considered in all these newly developed organisations.

In 1872, a Prison Congress was held in London to deliberate upon the ways and means of penology, reorganisation of prisons etc. Miss Carpenter had long been associated with the problem of criminology and penology in her own country. She helped in establishing a "Ragged School" in Bristol. Mrs. Elizabeth Fry was another name to reckon with. Their was the mission to "dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain, to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt, and to compare and collate the distresses of men in all countries." Mrs. Fry, the female Howard (as she was styled) soon became a public character and was apostrophized as such by the popular poet of the day, Lord Byron,

> "Oh ! Mrs. Fry ! why go to Newgate ? Why
> Preach to poor rogues ? and wherefore not begin

With Carlton, or with other houses? Try
Your hand at hardened and imperial sin.
To mend a people's an absurdity,
A jargon, a mere philanthropic din,
Unless you make their betters better—Fy!
I thought you have more religion Mrs. Fry."

(Don Juan, Canto XI, 85.)

Nevertheless, *Frymania*[18] daily gained ground. Interior of the prisons became changed for the better. Penal reforms being in the air, the Prison Congress of 1872 in London stimulated great interest in penal measures and rehabilitation of criminals. Magistrates' Associations, Juvenile Courts, Reformatory Schools all emerged in the wake of the new ideas propagated at the Congress. Miss Mary Carpenter, might have drawn much inspiration from the Congress. Her paper "Prison Discipline and Industrial Reformatory Schools" read at the Bengal Social Science Association on December 18, 1875 bears the first flush of enthusiasm for idealogy of 'social reclamation' of criminals in this country. For the prevention of juvenile delinquency and treatment of the same, she strongly advocated for the establishment of Reformatory Schools in India. Before Miss Carpenter came forward with her concrete proposal for Reformatory Schools, Akshay Kumar had, however, approached the idea, incipiently but pioneeringly, in his writings on crime and delinquency. Miss Carpenter's paper was critical and concrete. It made Indian public reflect and act. As early as 1879, the Summary Jurisdiction Act provided alternative sentences for the first offender. Section 16 of the Act was analogous to section 562 of the Indian Penal Code and provided for conditional release on giving security. The Reformatory Schools Act in 1876 and its Amendment in 1897 paved the way for Reformatory Schools in India. The Borstal School came much later on in this country.

The next annual meeting of the Association was held in February 23, 1877, under the chairmanship Sir Richard Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. He had recently made an extensive tour all over Bengal, as the Relief Commissioner

of Famine. Condition of the peasants in Bengal had already attracted attentions of civilians and *litterateures* alike. Bankim Chandra in his *Vanga Desher Krishak* forcefully argued the case of the down-trodden, poverty-stricken peasants. Ramesh Chandra Dutta, the Civilian, under the *nom-de-plume* "Arcyde", wrote a series of powerful articles in the Bengal Magazine. His "The Peasantry of Bengal" (1874) gives a detailed and incisive description of the condition of the peasants and also attempts to consider the means calculated to improve their future prospects. Romesh Chandra Dutt stood for a radical change in the agrarian system of the country. Deeply taken up with the problem of the peasants, Sir Richard Temple suggested ways and means of improving the condition of the ryots. Preliminary to any measure of improvement, Richard Temple gave his plan of opening an economic museum to exhibit economic products (agricultural and industrial) of the land. Justice Phear's paper on "The Calcutta Economic Museum" was in response to this call of an Economic Museum, given by Sir Richard Temple.

The next annual meeting of the Association was held in July 25, 1877. It was presided over by Henry Bell. By now, the Association was showing trends of diminishing intellectual interest. This situation was greatly bemoaned by the President. In his annual speech he recalled, however, the earlier enthusiasm and fruitful activities of the Association :

"You will find, gentlemen, if you will refer to the earlier years of the proceedings of this Association, some most important and thoughtful papers upon questions affecting the Mahomedan portion of the community. I particularly allude to two papers on Mahomedan education ; one delivered in 1868 by Moulvi Abdool Luteef, and the other in 1869 by the Rev. J. Long. These papers called forth at the time considerable amount of discussion, and eventually led to those measures which Government afterwards adopted with the view of improving the system of Mahomedan education. I might also particularise another paper on Mahomedan marriage and divorce. That paper and the discussion upon it were productive of the best results ;

for they brought to the notice of the Government the necessity of re-appointing Kazis in all the districts of Bengal. I would also allude to two other very able papers which were delivered by my friend Babu Keshab Chunder Sen on the important question of female education. I have no hesitation is saying that these "two papers have treated the subject of female education in a manner in which it has seldom been treated elsewhere, and they have exercised a great influence upon the subsequent treatment of that most important subject."

At the sessions held in 1878, quite a few important papers on subjects of sociological interest were submitted and discussed. Rev. K. M. Banerjee's paper on "The Origin and Development of Caste" was extremely important from the point of view of comparative development of the institution. He drew liberally and critically on ancient Indian texts as well as texts from other countries. He tried to prove that "caste can scarcely be called an exclusive religious institution though in some respects it is religiously observed." Not only did the author make an attempt at a secular explanation of caste, he also underscored the changes in the institution in the wake of Westernisation and modernisation. "English education and intercourse with Europeans have, however, effected great changes. The contenment with which a person kept to the duties of his own class scarcely exists now. In this transition state, society is evidently very much convulsed." Consequently, the author's conviction is that "whether it be from a religious or a social point of view, the subject requires to be dealt with most delicately." Earlier in 1851, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, S. C. Datta and H. Bower published their essays on caste.[10] Possibly Rev. Banerjee and S. C. Datta were the first Indian authors to write on this subject. In 1853, B. A. Irving wrote his *The Theory and Practice of Caste, Being an Inquiry into the Effects of Caste on the Institutions and Probable Destiny of the Anglo-Indian Empire*. At times, there are flashes of penetration in the work. To him, caste is essentially a social matter. Distinctions of rank are natural and necessary and that Christian influence will modify and change the institution. It was not before the second census (1881) that caste came to be seriously studied

in this country by Indian authors and foreigners alike. Besides census data from all over India, significant contribution based on regional and local inquiries, were early made individually. Hindu Tribes and Castes in Benares (1872) by Rev. M. A. Sherring; *Miscellaneous Essays* (containing essays on Indian classes, the Jains and the Muhamedans) 1872, by H. T. Colebrooke; 'Notes on Castes in Southern India' (1872) by J. A. Boyle; 'Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency' (1874) by Rev. J. Wilson; 'Notes on Castes in the Deccan' (1876) by W. F. Sinclair; 'Castes and Tribes in Kutch (1876) by D. F. Khakhar are some of the importance accessions to caste study. The most significant one was by one German scholar. *Ost indien seine Geschichte, Kultur and Seine Bewohner* von Phillip van Mokern (1874) is not so well known as it deserves to be. In it, the distinction between the right-hand caste and the left-hand caste in Western India has been very ably studied. In the late eighties, John Murdoch published his *Caste, its supposed Origin; its History; its Effects*—(1887) and in 1896 was publised *Hindu Castes and Sects* by Jogendra Nath Bhattacharyya. It is a pioneering study in deed! Extremely penetrating too. But all these articles and books were post—Rev.. Banerjee's study on Caste.

The credit of first studying caste, a reputed religious institution, scientifically, pragmatically and secularly, belongs however, to Rev. K. M. Banerjee. It was indeed daring of him to take a secular view of caste as early as 1851. His paper at the Bengal Social Science Association in 1878 was an elaboration of argument and logic advocated earlier. At a much later period, Vivekananda took a distinctly secular view of caste. To him, caste had never been a tenet of Hinduism, neither of the *Samhitas* nor of the *Upanishads*. He viewed it as, essentially, a producat of social evolution. With this make-up of mind he criticised Rammohan and others in the most unequivocal terms. "Begining from Buddha down to Rammohan Roy, everyone made the mistake of holding caste to be a religious institution and tried to pull down religion and caste altogether, and failed."[20] This secular approach to a social institution is not Vivekananda's exclusively own. Rev. K. M. Banerjee, as we find in the docu-

ment of the Bengal Social Science Association, had already spoken in a secular tone. For any study of the institution of caste in India today, Rev. Banerjee's articles will be of immense stimulus and interest.

Another important paper read at the Bengal Social Science Association in 1878 was "On Reformatory Schools and the Proper Classes of Juvenile Criminals to be subjected to Reformatory Treatment" by H. Beverley, the Vice-President of the Association.

Consequent upon Miss Carpenter's exhortation and pleading on the subject, the Reformatory Schools Act or Act V was passed in this country in 1876. In England, in the contemporary period, we find a host of enthusiasts in the problem of juvenile crime. Treatment meted out to them at that time was far from satisfactory. Even a juvenile offender was not exempted from the application of the death sentence. Prisons were, so to say, 'simply criminal preparatory schools."[21] Recidivism was rampant. In this situation, it was with the persistent efforts of Dr. Barnado, 'the father of nobody's children', Lord Shaftesbury, Elizabeth Fry, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Thomas Buxton, Miss Mary Carpenter and many others, that a more humane view was taken of these social flotsomes. Sydney Turner formed the Society for the Reformation of Prison Discipline in 1816. And the efforts of Charles Dickens led to the Reformatory Schools Act of 1854.

In 1818, a Ragged School was started at Portsmouth by John Pound. This Ragged School was the forerunner of the modern Industrial School for juvenile delinquents. At the Ragged School, children were taught small trades, the three R's and how to smoothe their roughness of manners. The movement came to stay and gained mometum with the efforts of Dr. Guthrie in Edinburgh and Miss Carpenter at Bristol. When she visited India, she not only pleaded for one in this country but also saw to its being actually established here. With her knowledge and experience of 'newlook' to Criminology and Penology at the Prison Congress in London in 1872 she pleaded all

the more persistently for Reformatory Schools in India. The Reformatory Schools Act of 1876 was the inevitable outcome. The most gratifying part of the new Act is this that it was drafted by Mr. Heely, a member of the Bengal Social Science Association.

In the paper of H. Beverley we get a detailed working out of the scheme to be followed in this country when the new legislation came into force. As will be evident from the paper, Beverley took pains to explain in full the complete structure of the new Act as well as its operational side.

It was a strange coincidence that the swan-song of the Association will be sung with a note of 'suicide'! The last paper presented at the Association was "On the Census and Statistics of Suicide in India." Dr. Kenneth McLeod was the author of this paper. He presented a huge amount of factual data, tables and statistics from all over India as well as from abroad in his paper. It was not a bone and skeleton paper. The author added socio-economic and religious dimensions, on a comparative basis, to explain this unique social fact. Much earlier than Emile Durkheim, it was revealed to Dr. McLeod that social scientist must discover statistical rates which reflect the social facts. Statistics are, as he opined, the empirical referents for an analysis of social currents and trends. In this respect, McLeod's study of suicide is of no less sociological value than Durkheim's classic study on the subject. In fact, McLeod's study seems more important as it pre-dates Durkheim's virtually by two decades. Durkheim's treatise *Le Suicide* was published in French in 1897. It was not before 1951 that we get its English translation, *The Suicide*.

Dr. McLeod paper was factual and empirical and it elicited excited discussions among the audience. Suicide, according to the Hindu religion, is considered a sin, and any discussion on the subject is anathema. To take a secular view of the fact was thought to be highly presumptuous. In this climate of opinion, the discussion which followed Dr. McLeod's paper was something extraordinary. The native discussants showed their

absolute objectivity and a flair for scientific and secular assessment of the problem. It was no mean achievement in the contemporary society. Dr. McLeod's paper enthused later studies on the subject in the early nineties of the last century. Bomarji Byramji Patel and Rehatsek's study of suicide in the city of Bombay as well as among the Parsee Community (referred before) are valuable, ethnographically and sociologically. Interest in the problem of suicide is also evinced in a small book *Suicide as a Sociological Problem in India by C. B. Damle*. It was published from Poona in 1918.

After 1878, the Association, to all practical purposes became non-functional. Its last meeting was held in June 29, 1878.

The role of the Bengal Social Science Association, though regarded with suspicion,[22] if not with absolute disfavour in the beginning, was extremely important. It soon triumphed over public prejudices and its members were counted by a near thousand. Branch offices sprang up in cities other than Calcutta, as well as in muffasil areas. It did not start with the programme of organised benevolence as in the case of other social welfare organisations, nor for 'fashionable amusement of philanthropy'.[23] Nevertheless, some important measures of real service to the country were carried through its instrumentality. Objective and empirical in its outlook, it stood for the fact that 'conclusions are not drawn from erroneous or insufficient premises'. By its reflections and actions it gave a lead to the cause of Social Science, and sociology in particular, in India.

Notes :

1. *Hindu Intelligencer* Sep. 7, 1855.
2. Ibid.
3. There is one very good 'Ethnographical Notes on the Mahomedan Castes of Bengal' written by Abdul Wali in the Jorunal of the Anthropological Society Bombay Vol. VII, 1904.
4. Banerjee, K. M.—*The Calcutta Courier* December 3, 1840 *Native Female Education* pp. 76-77.
5. Sastri, Sivanath—'Mahatma Bethune O Bangadeshe Stri-siksha' (in Bengali) *Prabashi* (in Bengali) Vol. IV No. 5 p. 250.
6. Referred to in *Bethune School and College Centenary Volume,* Calcutta 1949 p. VI.
7. Census Report 1872 ; Bengal General Statement VI ; Population according to Occupation, pp. CL VIII-CL XIV, CL XXX-CL XXXX.
8. "কাটনা-কাটার কড়ি দিয়াও স্বামীকে সন্তুষ্ট করিতে পারিলাম না" ফুলকুমারী—in *Kulin Kulasarbwaswa* by Ramnarayan Tarkartna.

   The proverb 'বিনা কাজে কাটনা কামাই' also gives an idea of spinning as an important avocation of woman.
9. Census Report 1872, *loc cit.*
10. Rev. J. Long,—*Selections from Unpublished Records* (1748-1767) *relating mainly to the Social Condition of Bengal,* Calcutta 1869, *passim.*
11. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour. Foreign Report Vol. II pp. 141-142.

    Imperial Gazetteer, Bengal, Vol. I, 1909, pp.87-88.
12. Saha, M. P. (ed)—*Oriental Proverbs* : *Rev. J. Long* Cal. 1956.
13. Woodham-Smith, C.—*Florence Nightingale* 1820-1910 Penguin 1955 Chapter 18, pp. 311-325.
14. Sen, Priya Ranjan—*Florence Nightingale's Indian Letters* : A glimpse into the agitation for tenancy reform, Bengal 1878-82. Calcutta 1937 *passim.*
15. *Bengal Spectator*—May 1842, 3rd Issue April 10, 1843 Vol. II, 10th Issue, 35th Issue.

16. Article on Colonialism, International Social Science Encyclopaedia.
17. Radzcnowicz, L., *op cit.*
18. In an interesting collection of tales called *Experiences of a Gaol Chaplain,* a Magistrate, during a discussion respecting the election of a chaplain, is represented as saying "Mrs. FRY again ! now mark me. The principles of that woman will eventually undermine the framework of Society."
19. Banerjee, K. M., S. C. Datta, and H. Bower.—*Essays on Caste,* Cal. 1851

    A copy of the book is to be found in the British Museum (4505 aaa 16).
20. Swami Vivekananda,—Collected Works Vol. V p. 22.
21. Watson, J. A. F.—*British Juvenile Courts* (London 1947) p. 9.
22. Just after the first three meetings of the Bengal Social Science Association, the Association came to be highly criticised by the *Hindoo Patriot,* the leading newspaper in the contemporary period. In its issue dated August 5, 1867, the *Hindoo Patriot* writes.

    "We yield to none in our estimation of true reformers, but we cannot accept tinsel for gold, nor forbear to pull off the borrowed skin, when ordinary beasts try to impose upon the public with the garb of a lion. We can understand and admire the earnestness and zeal of a kind-hearted philanthropic gentleman like Mr. Justice Phear, even when he makes mistakes in the selection of his instruments, or in weighing the importance or the character of the reforms which are required for the good of the country, but we cannot too often express our thorough contempt for the imposters who desire to secure the patronage of Europeans with hollow professions of reform, and the toadies which prostitute the press by belauding their achievements. They exercise a more demoralizing influence on society than the most obnoxious custom that the people of this country have to deplore".
23. *Porcupine* 1861, quoted in Asa Briggs *The Age of Improvement,* London 1959, p. 440.

CHAPTER VI

POSITIVISM & INDIA

> "The philosophy of the eighteenth century has been critical and revolutionary that of the nineteenth century will be inventive and constructive"—
> *Saint Simon*

The Bengal Social Science Association had a recognizable movement. It had its objective, rationale too. The Association represented an awakened consciousness to study social institutions in their objective reality. Most empirical researches were undertaken to inform and hopefully to direct public policy or to draw attention to a specific social ill. But this flair for 'problem orientation' must not leave us with the reflection that theoretical aspects of the 'Science of Society' were neglected or ignored by our academics in the contemporary period. On the contrary, most of the intellectuals in Bengal at that time were preparing themselves to accept or acquiesce in the Comtean or Spencerian desire of sociology resting on a synthesis of all the sciences. Many were attracted to Positivism which was supposed to provide a coherent view of the universe and of human existence. Bengal responded to Positivism more seriously than any other part of India : And, as social science is included in the scientific hierarchy of the Comtean positivist scheme, social, sciences in general, and sociology in particular, received a most careful attention from the intellectuals in Bengal.

Positivism which combined 'a belief in progress and a passion for serving humanity' offered a rallying point of scattered speculations in an age of intense transition in Europe. It proferred

a belief that a scientific analysis of history could show the way to cure for the ills of society deriving from the political and economic revolution of the past half a century.[1] The characteristic theses of Positivism are "that science is the only valid knowledge and facts the only possible objects of knowledge ; that philosophy does not possess a method different from science ; and that the task of philosophy is to find the general principles common to all the sciences and to use these principles as guides to human conduct and as the basis of social organization."[2] Positivism thus denies the validity of such alleged ways of knowing as intuition and *a priori* reasoning. and it equally denies the possibility of having any knowledge about religion or metaphysics. By definition, they are concerned with a realm that is said to exist behind phenomena, in a world that can never be observed.[3]

Although Positivism is primarily associated with Auguste Comte, its parentage can be pushed further back. One can trace the origin of Positivism in such seventeenth century thinkers as Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, and eighteenth century thinkers as Condorcet, James Mill, Bentham and Hume. In fact, the essence of Positivism is to be traced in the whole empiricist tradition and in the eighteenth century philosophy of sensationalism, in particular. It devolved on the nineteenth century positivists to explore and expand the point that all knowledge is derived from sense perception.

The first response came from Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). Although his debt to *philosophes,* especially Condorcet, was immense, he, nevertheless, criticizes the Encyclopaedists for having destroyed the Christian outlook in the contemporary period. Saint-Simon looked forward to constructing a new system in its place. He posited his complete faith on 'a cult of Newton' and felt it imperative to extend the scientific method to encompass the study of man and human society—his 'la science de l'homme'. This new social science, he believed, will move from the merely 'conjectural' to the fully 'positive' stage. Morals, politics and philosophy, nay the whole social life can be reorganised in a rational way.

Auguste Comte came under the sway of this new philosophy. He began his career as secretary to Saint Simon. Nothing could abate Comte's enthusiasm for Positivism. He was so obssessed with the new idea that he declined to accept anything else all through his life. In fact, it is only from him that the nineteenth century Positivism received its fullest and most weighty exposition.

Comte's work can be studied under three headings : his philosophy, his religion, and his sociological ideas. The point of departure of Comte's philosophy from that of Saint-Simon is his law of three stages. The human mind in every department of thought, affirms Comte, moves in turn through three states—the theological, the metaphysical and the positive. The positive stage is that of science. "Science whence comes prediction ; prediction whence comes action" is the formula in which Comte epitomizes his theory of science.[4] In a more advanced stage of his life, however, Comte felt the need of going beyond the standpoint of the positive sciences.[5] In response to this need of his nature, he invented a 'Religion of Humanity' which should be based on science, replacing the idea of God by the conception of ideal mankind. Positivism attracted members precisely "because it tried to do the impossible."

But Positivism did not go unscathed. Its very scientific basis was questioned. It had to bear its share of criticism. T. H. Huxley went to the extent of saying, "In so far as my study of what specially characterises the Positive Philosophy has led me, I find therein little or nothing of any scientific value, and a great deal which is as thoroughly antagonistic to the very essence of science as anything in 'ultramontane Catholicism'. In fact, M. Comte's philosophy in practice might be compendiously described as Catholicism minus Christianity". And Comte's three stages as "a series of more or less contradictory statements of an imperfectly apprehended truth."[7] Herbert Spencer quipped Positivism as "retrogressive religion."[8] Nevertheless, Positivism drew a fairly large number of followers. In stead of 'Catholicism minus science", Positivism was hailed as "Catholicism plus science".[9] The ethos of the contemporary period

has been very ably expressed by Wiley in his *Nineteenth Century Studies* : "The Middle Ages had the right structure and aims, but false beliefs ; the modern world has the right beliefs but no structure or sense of direction ; the solution is, then, to unite the new truth with the old order. This is what Comte attempts to do in the *Politique,* and in the foundation of the Religion of Humanity."[10] By and large. on both sides of the Atlantic admirers of Comte grew in number.

Richard Congreve was the leader of organized Positivism in England and he also exercised a sizeable influence in the spread of this doctrine in India. Dr. Richard Congreve (1818—1899) was a tutor of Wadham College, Oxford. He was introduced to Positivism during 1845-46, most probably through J. S. Mill's *Logic*. He was highly impressed with positivist principles and went to Paris in 1849 and met Comte. The meeting was highly fruitful as can be gathered from a letter of Dr. Congreve : "My radicalism, or vehement dislike of the actual management of the world, was what I had to prepare for taking with pleasure to the solution offered by Comte—It was to me the offer of salvation."[11] He left Oxford in 1854 and his acceptance of Positivism was complete by 1855-56. Congreve accepted Positivism, in both the scientific and religious aspects. In this, he was more at home with Laffitte than with Littre', the two French disciples of Comte. Littre' and a few others accepted the scientific aspects of Positivism only, and not the Religion of Humanity. Congreve's emphasis on both the scientific and religious aspects of Positivism made him more acceptable to the positivists in India during the 1870's. Positivism made its way to the intellectuals in India through personal and literary sources. *The Positivist Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (1853) by Harriet Martineau, *Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences* (1853) by G. H. Lewes, *The Catechism of Positivist Religion* (1858) by Richard Congreve reached India in the sixties of the last century and set the pace of the movement of Positivism in the country. Decidedly, more important was the influence of *Comte and Positivism* by John Stuart Mill and *A General View of Positivism* by J. H. Bridges. Both the works were published in 1865. Mill's *System of Logic* also offered a good introduc-

tion to positivist ideas to the intellectuals in India who had already been steeped in Mill, Bentham, Bacon and Hume.[12] They evinced their empirical elan in social, political and economic matters. In the activities of the Bengal Social Science Association, this empirical disposition is more than manifest. Positivism had appeal to them as it tended to blend 'progress' with 'order', science with religion, and 'the march of mind' with the spirit of traditionalism.[13]

Positivism, offering a balance between tradition and revolution, a compromise between conservatism and radicalism, did, indeed, leaven the thoughts of the generation of the late sixties in Bengal. The decade between the late fifties and early sixties of the last century was a very significant period in India. The Sepoy Mutiny. (1857) the 'Blue Mutiny' (1860-61) and some other phenomena had just left the scene, leaving their distracting impress on the social, political, economic and moral life of the people. The situation was substantially uncertain. The enlightened section of the country looked, reasonably and optimistically, forward to a solution to this emergent uncertainty. Individual well-being and social welfare became the foci of their attention. But, how to win this twin process of individual and social felicity? Surely, not at the cost of a total change or total rejection of the existing structure; but, by a process of reconciling the past with the present. The philosophy of Comte appeared immensely acceptable to them. More so, for its strong basis for moral discipline in two ways, by bringing the personal inclinations under the control of an external power, and by awakening the instinct of sympathy to make man more wisely submit or modify the necessity which presses him all in common. Moreover, because of the fact that Positivism 'inculcates a respect for all religious beliefs honestly held, and had a beneficial effect in securing the advance of Humanity along the toilsome line of march from Fetichism to Monotheism'.[14] Indian intellectuals really fell for Positivism as it tended to provide for a system 'which can be grafted upon Hinduism, which Hindus can make their own and by espousing which they will not be obliged to sacrifice any of their national customs or traditions'.[15]

In the spread of Positivism in India, most invaluable were

It is no wonder then that, after Dwarkanath's death, Dr. Congreve should send to the editor of the *Bengalee* a letter of condolence couched in the most reverential language :

> "I regret in him the first Eastern disciple of the Religion of Humanity, his acceptance of which was complete, his persistence of which in presence of death was unshaken. 'I die a Positivist'—was his earnest, eager affirmation to Dr. Geddes."[28]

Indeed, 'I die a Positivist' was no sentimental effusion of Dwarkanath. Positivism was his faith, his conviction, and he came to it after a close and careful weighing of situations. With his intellectual height, surely, he was not drawn to it from a flush of fashion or from a 'with it' mentality.

Like Grish Chunder and Dwarkanath, quite a number of intellectuals came to accept the philosophy which had 'Order for its basis, Love for its principles and Progress for its end'. A Positivist Club was etablished in Calcutta in 1873. The Club was set up in the house of a relative of Nilmoni Kumar, a pupil of Dwarkanath, in the Taltala area. Those who regularly visited the Club and actively participated in its activities were Krishnanath Mukherjee, father of Satish Chandra Mukherjee, the founder of the *Dawn* (1897) and the Dawn Society (1902), Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, Ramkamal Bhattacharyya, Amrita Lal Roy, editor of the *Hindoo Magazine* (1891), Ramesh Chandra Mitra, Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal, Rajkrishna Mukhopadhyaya, Jogendra Chandra Ghosh,—to name only the most prominent participants of the Club. As Positivism was in the family, Satish Chandra came under the influence of Positivism "which remained an important ingredient in his moral and intellectual make-up until his spiritual initiation at the hands of Prabhupada Vijaya Krishna Goswami in 1893. An atheist was then changed into a religious devotee. But even then the influence of Positivism was not wholly renounced. His religious mind rejected only the atheistic aspect of Positivism, retaining at the same time the Positivist ideal of social service and religion of humanity."[30] Satish Chandra's articles on Positivism and

positivist explanation of Hindu social matters in the *Dawn* bear testimony to his ardent sympathy for the creed.[31] Jogendra Chandra Ghosh refers to Harish Chandra Mukherjee also as being interested in Positivism. Chandra Sekhar Mukhopadhya's writings also show his acquaintance with Positivist philosophy. It is, however, not known if these members of the Positivist Club in Calcutta were also members of the Positivist Society in England. From a letter of Dr. Congreve to Dwarkanath we, however, get to know that besides Dwarkanath, there were a few other subscribers to the Positivist Society in England.[32] They included Kissen Ghosh, Nuffer Chunder Bhutto, Uma Churn Roy and Gurudas Bandyopaddhyaya. Of them, Uma Churn Roy was a lecturer in the Hooghly College, and Gurudas Bandyopaddhyaya, then a lecturer in Berhampore College. Later on, Gurudas Bandyopaddhyaya became a Judge at the Calcutta High Court and he was conferred with the honorific of Sir by the British Government.

With the establishment of the Positivist Club in Calcutta in 1873 there was an increased demand for positivist literature in local vernacular (Bengali). A Bengali translation of the Rev. Macdonald's lecture (delivered at the Canning Institute on July 1, 1868) entitled *Dhrubabadi Auguste Comte* was published in Calcutta in 1874. Rajkrishna Mukhopaddhyaya published his article 'Comte Darshan' in Bengali in *Vangadarshan* in December, 1875. Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, then Senior Professor of Sanskrit at the Presidency College, Calcutta was contributing articles on Positivism in the *Bengalee* fairly regularly. Krishnakamal's keenness for Positivism has been vouched by himself in his memoirs "I am an atheist : I am a Positivist".[33] A letter from Samuel Lobb to Grish Chunder Ghosh also bears Krishnakamal out. As early as October 10, 1868 Lobb wrote, "I am glad Krishnakamal is going to write an article from a Comtean point of view, a task to which of course, I am myself inadequate."[34] Positivism found its most warm enthusiast in Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, a lawyer-zemindar and an essayist of considerable repute. His articles on the Hindu Joint Family[35] and the Caste System[36] represent a positivist approach to the problems. To him, the joint family system in India is basically

a Hindu experiment against improvidence. This, he affirmed, is unique, as nothing like it has been possible in Europe from the Agrarian Laws of Rome to the Irish Land Bill.[37] His article "The Views of an Eminent Hindu Positivist on Hindu Social Matters" appeared in the Dawn Society Magazine in 1903. Sir Gurudas Bandyopaddhyaya has given a proof of his acquaintance with positivist principles in his *Jnan O Karma* (Knowledge & Service) published in 1910 :[38]

> "মৃত্যুতে বিবাহবন্ধন ছিন্ন হয়। এই মত প্রায় সর্বত্র প্রচলিত কেবল পজিটিভিষ্ট সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে এবং হিন্দু শাস্ত্রানুসারে তাহা অনুমোদিত নহে"
>
> (That marriage tie is dissolved at the death of one one of the partners in accepted everywhere except by the Positivists and by the believers of the Hindu Sacred texts).

Positivism exercised its influences on the literary people also. Hem Chandra Bandyopaddhyaya's *Dasa Maha Vidya* echoes a positivist strain.[39]

Another significant development of Positivism was the emergence of an anti-colonial stance. That anti-colonialism is subsumed under the rubric of the Religion of Humanity is evident from the fact that Comte did not settle on Dr. Congreve as the leader of English Positivism until Congreve's publication of a pamphlet 'Gibraltar' in 1856. This has been vouched by Dr. Congreve himself : "I date English Positivism in the true sense, the complete sense, the religious sense from the publication of *Gibraltar*, undertaken as an act of discipleship to Auguste Comte or from the publication of Edinburgh lectures. Comte's recognition of *Gibraltar* as the work of a disciple marked "the beginning of my action as a complete Positivist."[40] These anti-colonial and anti-predatory postulations, were also highlighted in Indian dailies, weeklies and other media of communication. In the event of the Franco-Prussian War, the appeal of Dr. Congreve to the working class people in England received proper recognition in this country by being published in the *Bengalee* of October 22, 1870. The appeal reads as follows :

"The Religion of Humanity would, by its very name, have protested against this aggression of France, as it would protest against the continuance of the war by Germany in a spirit of aggression and annexation. In the name of that religion, I call on you to say loudly that in such a war there can be no triumph,—that the only feeling should be one of shame and sorrow ; nay, even, that no war in the present day can confer glory ; that the reason and feeling of mankind combine to refuse honour to any military excellence be it of the pure fighter or of the life-long student of military schemes".

Dr. Congreve's comments on the Ashanti War in the Gold Coast were also published in the same periodical during August 1873 to January 1874. Dr. Congreve in his pamphlet on the Ashanti War, which was published in the *Bengalee* of January 24, 1874, wrote, (Inspite of Burke's condemnation of geographical morality) :

"this geographical morality still rules the foreign policy of even the most civilized states in the world. Statesmen have one set of rules "for their own nation ; another set for their civilized neighbours and a third set for half-civilized and barbarous states. Positivists have always protested against this low view of political morality ; they have always maintained that what is immoral in Europe and America is immoral in Asia and Africa, and further that what is immoral between man and man is immoral between nation and nation".

The Manifesto of the American Positivists on the Franco-Prussian War, published in the *Bengalee* of December 31, 1870 will be read here with great interest. The Manifesto has an anti-predatory, humanitarian and an aesthetic appeal in it :

"Resolved, That we, American Positivists, in the name of the religion of humanity, enter our solemn protest against the war now raging on the soil of France, and we call upon the

good and wise of every creed and of all countries to join with us in forming a public opinion which will compel the rulers of the German people to end, as soon as possible, one of the most causeless and objectless and therefore one of the most criminal wars known to history."

"Resolved, That in our opinion, after the catastrophe of Sedan, with the main French armies destroyed and the elected ruler of France a prisoner in his hands, King William should have marched his armies back over the Rhine. Up to the event of Sedan he had been fighting a reactionary regime and a military organisation which has threatened the unity of the German nation ; but since then he has been waiting agaist an unoffending people and doing violence to all that is best in the civilisation of the nineteenth century. Since the capture of Napoleon every franc wasted has been robbery, and every death by violence murder."

"Resolved, That in our opinion, every gun in position against Paris today is aimed at the very heart of the civilisation of our age, for that city is not only the capital of France, it is the centre of the world's taste, art and genius ; it is the modern Mecca of all who worship the fair humanities. A bombardment of Paris, if were attempted, will be an indelible stain upon the German arms, upon the land of Goethe and Schiller, and will justify us in calling upon Germans to designate King William, as the modern Attila."

"Resolved, That it is with pain and shame we notice that so far the Christian world has no word of rebuke of King William for claiming that God has helped him 'to murder thousands of innocent people and carry pain and anguish into hundred thousands of once happy homes. We are yet to hear of one sect in all Christendom which has protested against this wicked war. The liberal Christians so called, the Universalists and Unitarians, who have recently held conventions are just as obtuse to this giant crime against humanity as the most rigid of the orthodox sects."

"Resolved, That the religion of humanity recognises no God of battles, its supreme Deity is a wise, humane Providence, which binds nations together, which advances science, promotes industry, and whose ways are ways of pleasantness and all whose paths are peace."

"Resolved, That we heartily sustain our English co-religionists, Dr. Richard Congreve. Professor Beesly and their associates in their demand for a recognition of the French Republic by Great Britain, and for an end to this war against civilisation of the age, and we hope with them, as American Republicans, as well as Positivists, that the time is not far distant when the people of the Old World will get rid of all their dynasties and for the republic of Europe......a consummation so eloquently forshadowed by the utterances of Castelar, Victor Hugo and Garibaldi."

These manifestoes and appeals from confirmed positivists from abroad served two-fold purposes. First, they furthered the cause of Positivism in India; second, they led to a sort of socialization of Indians in international politics and international relations in that early period. Dwarkanath Mitter kept himself informed of the latest developments of the Franco-Prussian War even if it had cost him quite a tidy sum. That he took his pen to write against this war is known from a letter of Samuel Lobb to Dwarkanath Mitter, "I have not mentioned your name. The article bears the heading 'A Bengalee Positivist's View of the War'."[41] In a letter to a friend Dwarkanath himself writes, "The only reason why I did not write you so long is the unfortunate War, which has completely robbed me of my peace of mind. France who has taught us everything that is good and noble in Humanity is about to be sacrificed to make a Prussian Holiday; and this is the thought which has been tormenting me like 'hell-fire' since the fatal day of Woerth. If she survives this attack, you will hear from me as often as you like."[42]

Also, the appeals and manifestoes published in the *Bengalee* brought a considerable section of the people much closer to the 'Dark Continent'. Even in that early period, India was all

concern for the African peoples under colonial subjection and oppression. During the Ashanti War in the Gold Coast, not only did India publish the manifesto of Dr. Congreve, she also raised her voice of protest against the British rule there : "We are at one with Dr. Congreve in denouncing the Ashanti War which has been undertaken for the benefit of a number of unprincipled mercantile adventurers who chain their debtors to posts and use the cat-o-ninetails for the recovery of their debts. ....The talk about "civilizing" the West Coast of Africa is cant and hypocrisy. "Demoralising" and "exterminating" would be the proper words."[13] Considering the time and place, this denunciation of the British rule on the part of India is an evidence of extraordinary courage and steadfastness. Absurdity of 'geographical morality' was brought home to her even that early. Possibly she was the only dependent country which raised its voice of protest on the occasion.

How deeply did the philosophy of Comte influence the contemporary Bengal will be evident from a letter dated January 8, 1870 to the editor of the *Bengalee*. It was signed by 'A Positivist'. The letter was prompted by some remarks of one Rev. Dr. M. Mitchell in his lecture on 'Comtism' at Bombay. His remarks ran like this, "Comtism has some influence in Calcutta ; and it is of course a most baneful influence." This slander was not taken lying low by the local positivists. They refused to admit that Comtism exercised a baneful influence on the people in Calcutta. In the letter to the editor referred to above, they expressed their indignation and resentment in a most candid and forceful way :

> "When Dr. Mitchell asserts that Comtism has produced a most baneful influence upon certain minds in Bengal, does he mean to convey to his hearers only his own personal opinion in regard to the tendencies of a system which aim at organization "irrespectively of God or King" ; or does he make a deliberate statement resting upon a well-ascertained basis of fact ? His brief but sweeping accusation leaves us quite in the dark as to the grounds upon which it was made".

> "Our own experience limited though it may be, would lead us to a conclusion very different from the one at which Dr. Mitchell has arrived ; For we have known "instances (though very few we readily admit) in which Positivism, when rightly understood, has produced the most beneficial effects, by affording a wholesome corrective for the evils which arise from that negative condition of thought which is now so prevalent in all the communities deeply penetrated by the spirit of Western Rationalism. We have never met with any instance in which a thorough knowledge of Positivism has been attended with injury, and we feel convinced that no earnest inquirer can peruse such works as the "Catechism" and the "Positive Politics" without being favourably influenced by the moral enthusiasm which pervades them, or, if his ancestral Faith has suffered a shipwreck, without acquiring convictions which will render him both a wiser and a better man".

Any study on Positivism in India will be less than complete if we fail to take into account the influence it wielded on Bankim Chandra Chattopaddhyaya (1838-1899), a novelist and intellectual of great repute.

Bankim Chandra belonged to the period when Hindu revival had started in Bengal. Study of the sacred literature of the Hindus was of special significance in this movement : Poets, authors and essayists joined in this chorus of resucitating the sacred tradition and revivifying the glorious past. Nabin Chandra Sen came up with his *Raivatak, Provash,* and *Kurukshetra*—all having themes from the epics, Romesh Chandra Dutt translated the Vedas into Bengali, Nagendranath Basu in his *Masārī Rahasya* (The Mystery of the Mosquito curtain) dealt on the superiority of Hindu social institutions over the European ones. In 1887, Satyabrata Samasrami started a Vedic magazine for popularising the messages of the Vedas in the country. A positive opposition to Christianity and its propagation in India, which started with Rammohan, found an ally in the Brahmo preacher Devendranath, reached its climax in

this revival movement. In this milieu, it is but natural that Bankim Chandra should also raise his voice of protest. It devolved on him to wield his pen to write in favour of a 'Complete religion'.

But, Bankim Chandra, throughly conversant as he was with the writings of Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hume, Laplace, Bentham, Spencer, Comte, James & John Stuart Mill,[44] never submitted, heart and soul, to the demands of the tradition of India. Nor was his a 'blind imitation of Utilitarianism, Positivism and evolutionary ideas whch had been breaking upon the Christian west like waves since the early eighteenth century'.[45] His response was serious, subtle, intellectual and pragmatic. He would scan, weigh and then accept ; and here his rationalism reigned supreme. Comte's Positivism and Bentham's Utilitarianism had their decisive impact on Bankim but he could transcend his masters. In this, he has been associated with "the dawn of a new consciousness which was not content with merely thinking in terms of imitating the West, but attempted to discover and re-interpret our own past heritage and to effect a synthesis between the East and the West, thereby providing Indian thought movement with a foundation not entirely borrowed from extraneous sources, but solid and stable on account of the roots going deep into her own forgotten but splendid past."[46]

The influence of Comte and his Positivism is very much palpable in many of the writings of Bankim Chandra. This has been corroborated by Dr. Brajendranath Seal also : "Evidently, the views on man and the universe held by thinkers like Mill, Spencer and Darwin, have vitally affected Bankim Chandra's interpretation of Hindu religion and philosophy ; but the profoundest (sic) influence of all has been that of Auguste Comte, whose *Positive Polity* and *Religion* unconsciously appear in almost everything that our author has to say on domestic, social and political ideas and institutions and the creation and conservation of national life."[47] Indeed, quite a number of writings of Bankim breathe Comtean spirit.

The cult of science which forms the most solid foundation

of Comte's Positivism had a perennial appeal for Bankim Chandra. He felt extremely disconcerted at the absence of scientific thinking and outlook in the country : "An intense theological spirit rarely leads to anything but the deductive method, and the Hindu method was almost solely and purely deductive."[48] Naturally, he felt it incumbent upon him to fill the lacuna by popularising science in this country. *Vijnan Rahasya* of Bankim contains a large number of articles on various scientific subjects. All of them were written in such way as to reach a very wide reading public, mostly non-scientists. The articles, though written in the most popular way, are not, however, wanting in scientific precision, or in facts of the latest development of science in the contemporary period. His article entitled 'Dust' gives a thorough idea of the latest developments on bacteriology ; 'Flight in the Sky' tells the story of the development of aeronautics : 'the Age of Man', 'Protoplasm' are beautiful expositions on the material basis of the world and its creation :[49]

> "জৈবনিক ভিন্ন জীবন কুত্রাপি সিদ্ধ নহে, এবং জৈবনিক জীবনের নিয়ত পূর্ববর্তী বটে। অতএব আমাদের এই চঞ্চল, সুখদুঃখবহুল, বহু স্নেহাস্পদ জীবন, কেবল জৈবনিকের ক্রিয়া, রাসায়নিক সংযোগসমবেত জড় পদার্থের ফল। নিউটনের বিজ্ঞান, কালিদাসের কবিতা, হামবোলট্ বা শঙ্করাচার্য্যের পাণ্ডিত্য—সকলই জড় পদার্থের ক্রিয়া ; শাক্যসিংহের ধর্মজ্ঞান, আকবরের শৌর্য্য, কোমতের দর্শনবিদ্যা সকলই জড়ের গতি"

There are a few more scientific essays, equally erudite and equally knowledgeable. In one of his essays, Bankim even could foretell the development of telephone.[51] In all these essays his object was to see that science could be brought to a very large section of the Bengalee ranging from the students in higher classes of schools to the women receiving up-to-date and modern education.[52]

The importance of 'invariable physical laws' was, in fact, never lost sight of by Bankim Chandra. In his 'Indian Civilisation' 'The Study of Hindu Philosophy', he expressed satisfaction at the fact that 'unflinching recognition of the sovereignty of law' reigns over the higher forms of Hindu thought, such as the

Sankhya and the *Nyaya*.[53] This 'sovereignty of law' is nothing but the 'invariable physical laws' of Comte, even if Bankim has not mentioned Comte in the article referred to above. Bankim at the same time bemoaned the situation that no body cared to interpret the 'inherent rationalism' of the Nyaya philosophy to the people of the country.[54] The article referred to above is also important in as much as it directs the attention of the reader to some pragmatic ends. He affirms that one should not study the Hindu sacred texts only for spiritual gain. They are to be perused for having an understanding of the history and culture of the country :

> "The principal value of Hindu philosophy consists in its bearings on history and sociology. As the great causes which have influenced the destiny of India, which have moulded the national character, taught the Hindu to despise the blessings of existence and to look upon inaction as the ideal of human happiness ; as causes in short to which a great deal of the characteristics of national life may well be referred, the importance of the philosophical doctrines of India cannot be overestimated."[56]

If Comte had not been mentioned earlier, he was specifically named in "Buddhism and Sankhya Philosophy". In this article, Bankim writes, "This is intelligible in Vijnan Vikshu who is a *Pauranic*, and who has spared no pains to make the Sankhya Philosophy serve as a foundation of Pauranic mythology. The very same thing was once said of Comte by one of his followers."[56]

Bankim's enthusiasm for Positivism has been most reflected in his *Dharmatattwa*, (1884-1885). In this work, he tried to give to the educated classes in Bengal a religion which will be accepted to them. In an alleged arid atmosphere of Brahmoism and quality-less God, Bankim expressed his views on the 'new religion of man'. Comte's *Religion of Humanity* influenced Bankim greatly and he took this as his ideal in his exposition of *Dharmatattwa*. In fact, *Dharmatattwa* is a compendium of

his religious principles and Srikrishna of *Krishnacharitra* is an incarnation of them. Like Comte, Bankim also believed that *dharma* (religion) consists in the harmonious development of all our physical and mental faculties, viz., Affection. Intellect and Activity. Through the mouth of Sri Krishna, Bankim affirmed 'Dharma is not to be sought in the Vedas; it is in service to mankind'.[57] But, while Comte's 'religion of humanity' eschewed God, Bankim's religion put God in the centre. He averred that he failed to understand what a quality-less, নিগু´ণ God is.[58] To him,

> "বেদান্তের নিগু´ণ ঈশ্বরে ধর্ম সম্যক ধর্ম্মত্ব প্রাপ্ত হয় না; কেন না যিনি নিগু´ণ, তিনি আমাদের আদর্শ হইতে পারেন না। অদ্বৈতবাদীদিগের "একমেবাদ্বিতীয়ম্" চৈতন্য অথবা যাহাকে হর্বর্ট স্পেন্সর "Inscrutable Power in Nature" বলিয়া ঈশ্বরস্থানে সংস্থাপিত করিয়াছেন—অর্থাৎ যিনি কেবল দার্শনিক বা বৈজ্ঞানিক ঈশ্বর, তাঁহার উপাসনায় ধর্ম্ম সম্পূর্ণ হয় না। আমাদের পুরাণেতিহাসে কথিত বা খ্রীষ্টিয়ানের ধর্ম্মপুস্তকে কথিত সগুণ ঈশ্বরের উপাসনাই ধর্ম্মের মূল। কেন না, তিনিই আমাদের আদর্শ হইতে পারেন। "যাঁহাকে Impersonal God" বলি, তাঁহার উপাসনা নিষ্ফল; যাঁহাকে "Personal God" বলি, তাঁহার উপাসনাই সফল।[59]
>
> (Religion in its fullness cannot be found in the quality-less God as propounded by the Vedanta. We cannot take him, who is quality-less, as an example. What the Monisto call একমেবাদ্বিতীয়ম্ and Herbert Spencer the 'inscrutable power in Nature' have been set up in the place of God. There can hardly be any complete religion in the worship of a philosophical or scientific God. The basis of religion is a God with qualities, as has been mentioned in our Puranas and in the Bible of the Christians. He and He only can be our model. The worship of an 'Impersonal God' is fruitless; what is of value to man is the worship of a personal God).

Bankim would accept no scientists' or philosopher's God. He

equally rejects Spencer's "Inscrutable Power in Nature" and Comte's "Humanity". But at the same time Bankim affirms that there can be no worship of God without love for humanity. This 'love for humanity' was imbued with a patriotic and nationalistic aura—'Love for the motherland is the highest of all Dharmas'. A stage was set for awakening a burning patriotism and love for the motherland among his countrymen. Indeed, "*Bandemataram,* the battle cry of the *children* (of *Anandamath*) became the war cry not only of the revolutionary societies, but of the whole nationalist Bengal".[60]

It is not my purpose here to offer a critique of *Dharmatattwa, Krishnacharitra* and such other treatises. I only tried to show that Bankim too came under the spell of Positivism of Comte and he would swear by him. The influence of Posivism, however, weared gradually thin on Bankim and he has been accused of Hindu revivalism. His strong defence of idolatry[61] in Hinduism during his controversy with Dr. Hastie, Head of the Christian Mission in Calcutta, only strengthen the hands of his opponents. Moreover, his attempts at aneclectic, synthetic Hindu religion pained Ramakrishna. There are lot of contradictions in his *Dharmatattwa* and this chafed his one-time admirers.

But this contradiction in Bankim Chandra can be rationalised in the context of the development of Positivism in itself. In his later thought Comte undoubtedly abandoned Positivism at many points : 'the social prophet replaced the social scientist'.[62] A situation of a schism arose following 'a complex combination of doctrinal convictions and personal inadequacies, misunderstandings, and incompatibilities'.[63] The disciples of Comte stood in two warring camps, those of Orthodox positivists and Radical or Dissident positivists. The former belonged to the Positivist Church of Humanity and had supporters like Laffitte, Congreve, Harrison, Beesley and others. The latter accepted the teachings of the *Cours* only but rejected Comte's later thought as being itself unfaithful to Positivism. This group was headed by Emile Littre' in France.

Positivism, after having played a none-too-insignificant role in Bengal, died a natural death. No other province of India in the contemporary period, appear as much aware of the philosophy of Comte. Bombay and Madras remained, more or less, unaffected by this new doctrine. Articles published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* and the *Transactions of the Literary Society, Bombay* in the contemporary period do not show any reference to Positivism whatsoever. Dr. Congreve MSS also do not indicate any such references.

extensive acquirements, varied learning and rapid perception, his keen discernment, his retentive memory, his clear good sense and his instinctive love of justice—all made him a most valuable colleague, and one with whom it was a real pleasure to share the labours of the Bench. Amongst his more brilliant, though less important, qualities was his surprise command of the English language ; the readiness, precision and force with which he used the language are not common even among those who speak it as their mother tongue, and were the theme of constant admiration." Dey, S. C. —op. cit., April 1911, p. 243.

25. Letter of Dwarkanath Mitter to Dr. Congreve, 1872. Quoted in *Biography of Dwarkanath Mitter* by Dinabandhu Sanyal, Calcutta 1883.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid, pp. 144-146.

28. Letter to the Editor of the *Bengalee* dated 22nd May, 1874.

29. Ramkamal Bhattacharyya published his *Elements of Geometry* in 1862. His discourses on Bacon was published earlier in 1861. Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, his younger brother, wrote a biography of Ramkamal where he included some remarks of Ramkamal about Positivism :

    Bandyapaddhyaya, B. N.—*Ramkamal Bhattacharyya* (in Bengali) 3rd Ed., Calcutta 1944, p. 51.

30. Mukherjee, H. & Uma,—*The Origins of the National Education Movement* (1905-1910) Jadavpur University Publication, 1957, p. 183.

31. "Comte's Analysis of the Institution of Caste on Egypt, Greece and Rome", *Dawn*. January 1903,

    "Caste or Corporation"? Ibid, Dec. 1903.

    "The Moral State and the Social State of a Society". Ibid, April 1903.

32. Letter of Dwarkanath to Dr. Congreve dated 18th Dec., 1872. Quoted in Sanyal, D. B. op. cit.

33. *Bharati*—(Sravan—Aswin, 1292 B.S.)

34. Ghosh, M. N.—op. cit. p. 239.

35. Ghosh, J. C.—'The Joint Family', *The Calcutta Review,* 1882.
36. Ghosh, J. C.—*Brahmanism & Sudra.*
37. Sinha, P.—op. cit. pp. 116-119.
Bhattacharyya Krishnakamal 'Dhrubadarsan Prasanga'. *Aryāvarta* (Asar. 1320 B.S.)
38. Bandyopaddhyaya Gurudas,—*Jnan O Karma,* (Calcutta 1910) p. 304.
39. Personally communicated by Pranab Ranjan Ghosh, Reader, Department of Modern Indian Languages, Calcutta University.
40. Congreve Mss, Bodleian Library, MS c 347f. 103. Quoted in Simon, W. M. op. cit. pp. 13-14.
41. Letter of Samuel Lobb to Dwarkanath Mitter dated 8th October, 1869. Quoted in Sanyal, D. B. op. cit.
42. Letter of Dwarkanath Mitter to Dinabandhu Sanyal, no date, Quoted in Sanyal D. B., op. cit.
43. *The Bengalee* dated January 24, 1874 pp. 27-28.
44. Bankim has been called 'An Apostle of Culture' by Sir Gurudas Bandyapadhyaya, *The Calcutta University Magazine,* Nov. 1897, p. 309.
"The diapason of Indian Renaissance closed full on Bankim". Banerjee, S. K.—*Bankim and his craft,* (Calcutta 1963) Introduction.
45. Tripathi, A..—*The Extremist Challenge* (Calcutta 1967) p. 3.
46. Sen Gupta, S.—*Studies in Indian Renaissance* (ed) A. Gupta p. 69.
47. Seal, B. N.—*The Calcutta Review* (1890-91)
48. Chattopadhyaya, Bankim Ch.—*Essays and Letters* (Cal. 1940) p. 78.
49. Chattopadhyaya, Bankim Ch.—*Collected Works* Vol. 2 pp. 144-151.
50. Ibid, p. 152.
51. Ibid, p. 153.
52. Ibid, Introduction X.
53. *Essays and Letters.*
54. Ibid, p. 15.
55. Ibid.

56. Ibid, p. 55.
57. *Dharmatattwa,* Collected Works Vol. 2, p. 594.
58. Ibid, p. 432.
59. Ibid, p. 593.
60. Ronaldshey, *The Heart of Aryavarta* p. 14.
61. Chattapaddhyaya, Bankim, 'The Modern St. Paul'. *The Statesman,* Oct. 6, 1882. 'European Versions of Hindoo Doctrines'. Ibid Oct. 16, 1882. 'The Intellectual Superiority of Europe'. Ibid, Oct. 18, 1882. To be found in *Essays and Letters* pp. 92-109.
62. Charlton, D. G.—op. cit., p. 51.
63. Simon, W. M.—op. cit., pp. 97-98.

Campbell, C., *Towards a Sociology of Irreligion* (London 1971) pp. 62-64.

Bryson, G., 'Early English Positivists and the Religion of Humanity' in *American Sociological Review,* June 1936, pp. 344-351.

EPILOGUE

"From the time of Plato onward, thinkers were approaching, and to a certain extent successfully formulating, the chief problems of sociology and there exists no adequate justification for refusing to go back of Comte for the sources of sociological thought"—this contention of Barnes applies fairly appropriately to the situation of the development of sociological thought in ancient and mediaeval India. Coming to the modern period we find that the introduction of European learning into India had important and far-reaching consequences. It created scholars of note, raised a conflict between the keepers of tradition and the new scientifically and technologically oriented intelligentsia. This new intelligentsia, by their intention and action, turned the nineteenth century into the most vigorous phase in the transition from the traditional to the modern world.

Empirical studies undertaken and concern about social problems as portrayed in the book prove that a considerable amount of social research was done in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Students' Literary and Scientific Society (1848), Buddhi-Vardhak Hindu Sabha (1851) in Bombay, were the pioneer organisations for the discussion of new ideas coming from the West. In Madras, during 1870 and 1880's, Viresalingam Pantulu was instrumental to introducing new ideas in the study of society and social institutions. In Calcutta, associations and societies were legion. Of them, the Bengal Social Science Association, in particular, evinced that a significant number of people had ceased to 'consider their institutions everything they ought to be' and they found plenty 'to incite thought to apply itself to social matters'. They developed a new attitude to social data and they wanted to replace ancient sterile controversies with definite facts, to 'confront the figures of speech with the figures of arithmetic'.

This enthusiasm for facts had, in fact, started with

Rammohan in his inquiry into the condition of the ryot in Bengal. Later on, different associations, viz, the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, the Bethune Society, the British India Society, the Uttarpara Hitakaree Society, the Bengal Social Science Association, to mention only a few, were concerned with society as a whole and they kept up, more or less, the tradition of objective, empirical studies of social problems to the end. A most successful lead to empirical social research came from the Rev. J. Long in his *Five Hundred Questions etc.* submitted to the Bethune Society. This was the most comprehensive and most exhaustive interrogatory in the world in the contemporary period. Karl Marx is known to have prepared an enormous questionnaire in 1880. This was meant to be distributed to the working class people to gauge their class consciousness. This enormous questionnaire even, contained no more than hundred and one entries. Some sections (X, XXXVI) of the questionnaire of the Rev. J. Long remind us of Mayhew's plea for the study of the streetfolk, peddlers, labourers, performers of London in the opening pages of his *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851). The Bengal Social Science Association also prepared questions and desiderata on numerous subjects and circulated them freely to elicit as much information as possible. The Association's concern for information and data on apparently very insignificant things has much in common with the idea in the note of Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the National Philanthropic Association, Great Britain, to the Royal Statistical Society in 1850 suggesting that "an endeavour be made to discover the quantities of horse-dung deposited daily in the streets of the Metropolis". If this 'social problem background of sociology' was common to Europe and India alike, some of the societies in India were engaged in social research much earlier than their European counterparts. It may be mentioned here that the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* which became the centre for social research in Germany, was not established before 1872.

Theoretical studies in Sociology was not neglected either. Mill, Bentham, Bacon, Spencer, Comte, the French Encyclopaedists and many others stimulated imagination and erudition of the intellectuals in India in the nineteenth century. Herbert

Spencer had an extremely important place among the intellectuals of India in the nineteenth century. S. K. Ratcliffe who was very closely associated with many 19th century Indian intellectuals, testified to the extraordinary influence of Herbert Spencer on Indians. Some of them, again, remained committed to positivist doctrines of August Comte. The genetic study of social institutions and cultural development had also been pursued by a varied groups of scholars. Following an institutional approach to the economic history, precious contributions, in the fashions of Tawney and Hammonds, were made by Abhaya Charan Das, Romesh Chandra Datta, Sanjib Chandra Chattapadhyay. Very searching and insightful thoughts were forwarded by Akshay Kumar Datta on criminology, penology and educational planning. The positive basis of social thinking in India is further evidenced in the writings and efforts of Shashipada Banerjee. He might well be called the father of organised labour movement in India. On November 1, 1866 he called an assembly of labourers in Calcutta and this meeing was the first of its kind in India. Later on, in 1873, he established a school for the working class people in Baranagar, near Calcutta. He also published a newspaper, *Bharatiya Sramajibi* for the working class people alone.

Flair for ethnological, anthropological and psychological studies and researches was evinced in numerous articles in different periodicals in Bengali language. *Vividartha Samagraha* (1850), under the editorship of Rajendralal Mitra, devoted a pretty large number of its pages to the study of comparative social institutions all over the world. Articles were published in *Vividartha Samgraha* (Vol. I, No. 9, 11 ; Vol. II, No. 18, 23 ; Vol. III, No. 36 ; Vol. IV, No. 41 ; Vol. V, No. 55) on such diverse subjects as 'Condition of Women and Marriage Customs in Afganisthan' ; 'Human Sacrifice Among the Aztecs' ; Marriage Customs of the Kiaz' ; A Comparative Study of Funeral Ceremonies and Obsequial Rites Among Different Peoples' ; Social Customs of the Tibetans' ; A Comparative Study of Greetings and Obeisances Among Different Peoples' ; Penal System in Russia'; 'Slavery', and so on. Numerous other periodicals in Bengal also published like materials. In 1875 Trailokyamohan

Sanyal published a book called *Jagater Valya Itihasa* (Early History of the World). This is an account of the primeval man and his customs and this is possibly the first of its kind to be written in any vernacular language in India. In 1876 another book *Sabhyatar Itihasa* (A History of Civilization) by Srikrishna Das came to be published from Calcutta. Next was *Manab Prakriti* (*Human Nature*) by Kshirode Roy Choudhury. Its two volumes were published from Calcutta in 1883 and 1885 respectively.

Voluminous writings in Bengal on the origin of the caste system in India and also on the respective statuses of different castes in the Varna hierarchy were pouring in right from the middle of the nineteenth century. *Kayastha Kaustubha* by Rajnarain Mitra was published from Calcutta in 1845. It dealt with the position of the Kayastha subcaste and its claim to be considered as *Kshatriya*. *Kayastha Rasāyan* (1848) by Thakurdas Basu, *Kayastha Dipikā* (1852) by Madhab Chandra Choudhury are of the same *genre*. In 1870, in *Subarna Vanik*, Balaichand Sen tried to make a genetic study of this trading community in Calcutta and its environs. *Vasuk* (1895) by Madanmohan Halder is another such study on the presentday Basak community in Bengal.

Regarding studies in psychology, mention has been made of *Chittotkarsha Vidhan*, 2 vols. (1849-50) in *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (1855) by the Rev. J. Long. *Chittotkarsha Vidhan* was the first ever treatise on psychology in this country. Interest for psychological studies in this country might have been generated by the Phrenological Society which came to be established in Calcutta on June 7, 1845. Dr. Spurzheim and Combe enthused quite a large number of young men to delve in the inner depth of man's mind. Akshay Kumar Datta was one of the enthusiasts in this field. His '*Vahyabastur Sahit Manabprakritir Sambandha Vichar* 1851-53 is a study on psychology *par excellence*. *Manatattwasar Sanghraha* (1849) by Radhaballav Das is another addition to the repertoire of psychology treatises in India in the nineteenth century. Radhaballav Das too belonged, to the Phrenological Society of India. A

still further addition was made by Radha Prasad Roy in his *Vijnan Kalpa Latika,* Vol I & II published from Calcutta in 1880.

From the eighties of the last century some significant changes came over in the field of social research in India. Survey technology which attained a unique development in the Bengal Social Science Association did not, however, become incremental or cumulative. The Bengal Social Science Association, as it has been mentioned before, died a natural death in 1879. There was hardly any other organisation which could take the place of the B. S. S. A. Also, the Rev. J. Long had left India earlier.

There were other powerful factors inhibiting the development of social research too. It may be mentioned here that the newspapers in Bengal did not take very kindly to the Bengal Social Science Association. They did not also wish the Indian National Congress, which had come into being in 1885, to bother with social reforms either. A powerful forum for social reform movement in Bombay, Madras and Northern India was in the ascendance in the period. Ranade was the chief architect of this movement and he went on repeating in different conferences, "you cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in social, economic or political spheres. This interdependence is not an accident, but is the law of our nature." In 1887, two years after the Indian National Congress was born, the Indian Social Conference came into being. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association were the two offshoots of the Indian Social Conference. *Indian Social Reformer*, the organ of the Indian Social Conference came out in 1890. The efforts of Ranade and others notwithstanding, social reformation was not considered "an indispensable condition of national unity" by a sizeable group of people here. They voiced concern for changes in government instead of concern for social improvement. Some, again,

exhorted of the Indian National Congress to emulate the ideals Mazzini, Garibaldi and Washington. It was increasingly felt that "it was a matter of great regret that the people had no hand in the framing of the laws which they had to obey and no control over the expenditure of their money". Attention was, therefore, focussed during these years on a possible change in the administration structure.

The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 and the National Education movement should also be taken into consideration here. Both the movements had "quickening of the national life of the people" and "the realization of the national destiny" as their goals. Although, the National Council of Education laid "just importance to the awakening of the powers of observation and thought by means of Object Lessons" with a view "to make education real by insisting on the learner's acquiring a knowledge of *things* and *thoughts* and not merely *words* and *sentences*", the growth of leftism in the contemporary policies had the most enveloping effect on academic study and research in the country. Later on, the Non-cooperation Movement again, posed a serious threat to the established order of education in India. It played, to all practical purposes, the role of the Pied Piper of Hamelin to draw most of the students out of the educational institutions of the country. In this situation, sociology and social research, in so far as their main task is "the discovery of new analytical truths hitherto unknown, requiring a different kind of training calculated to foster creativity, inventiveness and ingenuity' was temporarily shelved by the intellectuals here in their quest for independence of the country. From 1885 onwards, political proclivities of these people, by and large, short-circuited their desire to think as sociologist/social researcher *per se* and far less to see to the institutionalization of the discipline.

Despite governmental association with Indian in their research bodies like the Bethune Society, the B. S. S. A., the difficulty of availability of governmental facts and figures and the policy of excluding local people from Senior Scientific and Education Services also stood in the way of systematic social research on the individual level. In 1890, an application was

made to the Board of Revenue in Calcutta on behalf of Babu Gour Das Bysack, a very close friend of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, for permission to examine the old records of the Board for the purposes of his enquiries into the local history of Bengal. The application was refused straightaway and the grounds of this refusal can be known from the following letter from the Secretary of the Board :

Board of Revenue
2 Bankshall Street
Calcutta.
10th July 1890.

My Dear—,

In your letter of the 30th June, you sent me a note to you from Babu Gour Das Bysack with reference to his desire to have access to the Board's records for the purposes of the historical enquires in which he is engaged. I have therefore looked carefully into the matter and laid it before Mr. Halliday. But I am afraid that the Babu's request cannot be complied with. The papers he wants to see are very old, dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries, and are in the vernaculars. They have always been regarded as confidential in this Office and have been kept under special custody, and the Board would not feel justified in treating them otherwise. Not have they the establishment—nor have the officers the time—to superintend the Babu's proceedings, and examine minutely the extracts he purposes to make from these records. It is not the practice in offices to allow papers of a confidential character be examined by outsiders, and the Board would prefer not to introduce any innovation in this respect.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) C. E. Buckland

On the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian scholars, evidence of Sir P. C. Roy and Sir J. C. Bose before the Islington Commission in 1913 is cogent enough. Sir J. C. Bose in his evidence remarked, "Unfortunately, on account of there being

no opening for men of genius in the Educational Service, distinguished men were driven to the profession of Law".

In spite of these inhibiting factors, there was hardly any apprehension of a 'decline in sociology' in the period under study. On the contrary, a stream of awarness of the subject flowed undisturbed and it never died out. Vernacular treatises and articles scattered in vernacular (Bengali) periodicals discussed critically and with competence, problems of society, social structure, social organisation, social processes, ideas of progress, evolution, and development, social pathology and so on. Comte, Spencer, Darwin, Maine, Lubbock, Giddings and other nineteenth century European and American sociologists and anthropologists were widely quoted. Spencer's works were translated into major Indian languages so that they reached an audience larger in number than the English-educated class. About the influence of Herbert Spencer in India the editorial comment in *the Indian Social Report* (Dec. 13, 1903) is worth quoting here : "In the history of Indian social reform—when it comes to be written—the pages that will be devoted to the influence of Mr. Spencer cannot be pages of indiscriminate panegyric—his picture of the social organism—first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear—had the greatest charm to the Indian mind". Moreover, their works were on the list of prescribed texts in the M.A. Political Economy and Political Philosophy course at the University of Calcutta since 1909. Also, students were examined in two papers in Sociology in the M.A. examination of Political Economy and Political Philosophy (B) in 1911.* Questions set in the two papers in Sociology in the said examination prove beyond any shred of doubt that the study of sociology was done in the most successful way possible. Every care was taken to make a comparative study of social institutions, primitive and modern, East and West. Even the 'modernisation of politics' was not lost sight of. Surely, all this needed a few years' preparation, academic and institutional, before two full papers in Sociology could be given to examinees at the postgraduate level.

---

* Appendix VIII.

The first full-fledged Sociology Department was, however, started at the University of Bombay in 1919 by no less a person than Patrik Geddes. But it seems most unlikely that Dr. Geddes was unaware of the fact of the course of sociology at Calcutta University. Study of sociology, as subordinate subject in M.A. Political Economy Economy and Political Philosophy (B) must have started sometime in 1908. This institutionlization of the discipline could never have been possible if the stream of awareness of the subject was wanting. To this stream of awareness, the contributions of the nineteenth century thinkers, Indian and foreign, and of the associations had been seminal indeed.

If this story of the development of sociology in India in the nineteenth century does not appear to be promising enough to the critics, may I venture to narrate here a near-classic anecdote associated with Emile Durkheim, the doyen of Sociology in France. *De la division du travail social* (The Division of Labour in Society) was the doctoral thesis of Durkheim at the University of Sorbonne in 1893. When he indicated to the learned committee before whom he had to appear for the defence of his thesis that his dissertation was a treatise in sociology, one of the members exclaimed—"The man Comte who invented the term 'Sociology' was a madman, and any one who presents a thesis entitled "Sociology' is a madman too." This was the situation in the late nineteenth century France. Fortunately, in the nineteenth century, no one in our country won the appellation of a bedlam for his keenness for Sociology and social research, and sociology had indeed been able to free itself from philosophy.

[illegible] Emile Durkheim [illegible] doctorate of sociology in [illegible] 'The Division of Labour in [illegible] doctoral thesis of Durkheim at the University of [illegible] in 1893. When he indicated to the learned [illegible] before whom he had to appear for the defence of his [illegible] his dissertation was a treatise in sociology, one of the [illegible] explained: "The man Comte who invented the [illegible] was a madman, and any one who presents a thesis [illegible] 'sociology' is a madman too." This was the situation in the late nineteenth century France. Fortunately, in the [illegible] century, no one in our country won the appellation of a [illegible] for sociology and social research, and sociology [illegible] itself from philosophy.

APPENDIX I

Address to the Universal Races Congress, London, 1911

Representatives of the world's Civilisations, Old and New,

At this World Congress, this epitome and image of mankind in council, I bear the greetings of the East to the West, of Asia to Europe, of the venerable mother of races to her teeming youthful progeny. Heralding as it does the cyclical return of the Orient to the Occident, of age to youth, of memory to hope, of the Past to its heritage in the Future, in one word the first faint gleams of the return of justice and peace, of Astrea and Concordia, to these sublunar regions, the First Universal Races Congress will be remembered as a historic landmark of the completion of one cycle, and the commencement of a new. Yes, we are present today at the baptism of a new era, a new Humanity. We are assisting at a solemn function, the conferring of a new charter, the charter of modern conscience on each Race and Nation as member of the world system. And it is the *Zeit-geist*, the spirit of the Age, that presides over this World Convention. For the modern Spirit is with us here in all its formative agencies, in all its world-building forces. Science, commerce, diplomacy, legislation, the press, world literatures and world languages, International Law and those Virgin Priestesses of Humanity, International Arbitration and Universal Peace, are assembled here in their accredited organs, vehicles and instruments. But not alone the Present—Past and Future Humanity have sent their delegates to this Congress,—Shades that hover expectantly around this Council of Man, ancestral voices prophesying the cessation of War! Clouds of unseen witnesses are round us here today. The Ghosts of Universal Empires and Universal Churches in all human history, the ruined dreams of an Alexander or a Charlemagne, of an Asoka or an Akbar, prophetic and apocalyptic visions of the City of God, democratic vistas of a world federation of a Parliament of Man, sung by Vates or Poets,—all the unfilled longings, all the unrealised

potencies, of Humanity through hundreds of thousands of years, hail us from the corridors of the past, or the dawning vistas of the future. From this watch-tower of Humanity we seem to hear the measureless tread of generations behind and before, to witness the universal march and procession of Humanity at the opening of a new era, which inaugurates the Kingdom of Man.

The broad course of evolution of Races and Nationalities, of States and Polities, in the world's history, has been always making for a goal like this. In modern times, the movement of Colonial expansion in the eighteenth century, and of the consolidation of Nationalities in the nineteenth, has been the dominating factors of the political world, its centripetal and centrifugal forces; and they have brought us face to face with a situation of grave difficulty, which, unless our disciplined humanity grapples with it successfully, threatens to end in the rebarbarisiaton of the world under huge military despotism. Races, Empires, Nationalities, are in perpetual collision today as the claims of each to independent conservation as well as the world-wide expansion, claims equally primary and vital, are *Prima facie* irreconcilable. How to reconcile these seemingly irreconcilable claims is the international problem of today. And the collective wisdom, the collective charity, the collective virtue, the collective humanity, of the world assembled in Congress is no more than adequate to point the way out of this quandary. This is the Sphinx's riddle proposed to our civilisation, our science, our conscience, which they must solve or be swallowed up in barbarism and brutishness.

Some would frankly give up the nations to perpetual strife and discord, the ruthless forces of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. If Machiavelli divorced the state from the ethics of private life, his successors in our day having advanced so far as to accept national ethics, banish all this from the international arena. Others preach a universal decadence, the cult of degeneration, to which every race, the most virile, must succumb in its turn, until the chaos of a Universal *Nirvana* is attained as a devoutly wished-for con-

summation. Others believe in blood and iron, in the domination of one or a few chosen races placing the heels on the neck of a supine world of imbeciles and incapables. Other again prophesy of Federations, *Zollvereins,* multiple alliances, armed neutralities, arbitration treaties, and arbitration committees, international balances of Power, Parliaments of Man, and a hundred other projects and speculations.

Who is to be heard amidst this Babel of prophetic voices? Who or what has the first claim to be heard? The answer is clear and emphatic—the science and the philosophy of man. If modern civilisation as I put it, is distinguished from all other civilizations by its scientific basis, the problems that this civilisation presents, must be solved by the methods of Science. The evolution of Universal Humanity through the concourse and conflict of nationalities and empires, is too vast and complex for the analytical methods of Aristotelian or Machiavellian Politics, the so-called Historical schools of Montesquieu or Vico, the arbitrary standards of the Law of Nature or of Nations, or the learned decisions of international jurists. Modern Science, first directed to the conquest of Nature, must now be increasingly applied to the organization of Society. But in this process, Science is no longer in the purely physio-chemical, or even the merely biological plane, but is lifted to the sociological and historical platform, A scientific study of the constituent elements and the composition of races and peoples or their origin and development, and of the forces that govern these, will alone point the way to a settlement of inter-racial claims and conflicts on a sound progressive basis, the solution of many an administrative problem in the "Composite" United States, and the "heterogeneous" British Empire, and even the scope and methods of social legislation in every modern State.

A dispassionate examination of the anthropological and sociological data, from various points of view, has been systematically attempted in the papers published by the Congress in the volumes on inter-racial problems. Broadly speaking of the fundamental considerations bearing on these problems, three stand out as most fundament, in a scientific aspect. These are

(1) The fundamental Unity of the Races of Man.

(2) Their existing difference, bodily, and mental with an explanation of the origin, character, and extent of these differences.

(3) The possibility of indefinite development for every important ethnic division of mankind.

In this session of the Congress, which we devote to scientific issues, the discussion may be usefully confined to these main points.

The fundamental unity of the Races of Man (I do not mean a mere metaphysical unity such as may interest the philosopher in his closet) is claimed under the following heads :—

(1) The radical unity of origin :—whether the Monogenist or the Polygenist is correct, the first men were descended from one or more varieties of man-like apes.

(2) Fundamental anatomical, physiological and biological unity. A proto-human type with primitive character may be assumed as the starting point, a generalized type from which all the pure primary stocks of Man may be derived by further differentiation and specialization along different collateral lines in different environments.

(3) The essential psychological unity of the Races, as established by Comparative and Experimental Psychology, and their basal spiritual unity, as established by Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Religion.

(4) The ultimate economic, aesthetic, sociological and political unity of the Races of Man as forming one intra-dependent composite living organism. This is established by the Science and Philosophy of History, and is true as much a dynamic as in a static aspect. In other words, in spite of diverse ethnic developments, the general history of human culture and progress shows the unfolding of a single ideal plan or pattern. Human progress has one law, one direction, one movement, and the Races move towards one goal, "the

one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation move."

But the unity of Races is not homogeneity or uniformity. Universal Humanity, though present in each race,—is diversely embodied, reflected in specific modes and forms. And dynamically speaking, Universal Humanity is not to be figured as the crest of an advancing wave, occupying but one place at any moment, and leaving all behind a dead level. For Universal Humanity is immanent everywhere and at every moment.

This leads us to consider the second main point—the existing differences among the Races. Any light thrown on the origin, character and extent of these differences will help us to see what part ethnic and national divisions may be expected to play in the future development of Humanity.

These differences are, (1) bodily (2) mental (3) social, including language, religion, customs and morals.

The diversity of physical types is explained through long isolation in special environments, migration, colonisation, and miscegenation. Prof. Luschan thinks that all types are adapted to their surroundings; and of the thorough-bred types no one is inferior to another. Professor Lyde would ascribe differences to skin colour to climatic conditions, light, heat and humidity. Prof. Boas finds after careful investigation among American emigrants that the geographical and social environments influence the form of body, and the development of the central nervous system including the headform. The old idea of the absolute stability of physical types, must, he says, be given up, and with it the belief of the hereditary and immutable superiority of certain types over others. Racial, mental differences are similarly the product of adaptation to different environments;

Dr. Myer's experimental investigation leads him to the following propositions :—

(1) That the mental characteristics of the present races throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities.

(2) That such differences between them as exist are the result of differences in environment and in individual variability ; and

(3 That the relation between the organism and its environment is the ultimate cause of variation, bodily and mental. These proposition are, however, open to dispute.

Professor Fouillee points to the operation of race-consciousness and racial personality in producing a feeling of superiority and hostility, but holds that a human and social, not to say, a human and cosmic consciousness, is being generated by scientific and philosophical ideas, as well as by commerce, industrial technique and social morality and law. As for differences in language, Dr. Margoliouth points out that separate language is not essential to a separate Nationality, and that the world must be made bilingual before it is made unilingual. Like Language, Religion too, not only separates, but also consolidates :—as a creed, Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids think, 'religion may become racialized and intensify cleavage, but as an instinct deep-rooted in the heart, religion transcends the barriers of race and offers a bond of common aspiration." As for differences in customs and morals, Professor Sergi points out that under the collective action of heredity, suggestion, imitation, educability, gregariousness and sociability, the whole psychological organism of the individual assumes the character of an automatism, and acquires psychical inertia or power of resistance to change ; and that this resistance becomes much greater in a group taken collectively, varying according to the square of the mass of which the group is composed. From this acute analysis Professor Sergi draws the momentous practical conclusions :—

(1) that direct interference with the forms of social life of one people by another ought to be avoided even under the pretext of superior civilisation or superior morality, and

(2) that the customs of different peoples should be respected.

In fact, as I note elsewhere, the diverse ethnic types are all essential to the full unfolding of the plan and pattern of universal humanity, under our multiform geographical and historical conditions. The ideal of humanity is not completely unfolded in any race, for each Race potentially contains, the fullness of the idea, but actually or explicitly renders a few phases only, involving other aspects more or less implicitly. To trace the outlines of the Universal Ideal, we must collate and compare the fragmentary imperfect reflections, not at all in eclectic fashion, but as we seek to discover a real species or genus among individual variations and modes. The loss or absence of a single note in this harmony would mar it fatally :—each colour is complementary to the rest : each geographical and historical environment requires its own type for perfect adaptation. The whole system of Nature, the entire process of History, would show a gap, a discontinuity, a wound, if one such thorough-bred type were suppressed or obliterated and the recuperative processes of evolution would slowly revolve the type with proper modifications, and painfully heal the wound in the centuries to come.

And this introduces me to the third issue before us,—the possibility of indefinite development for every race, even the most backward, under favourable conditions of environment, physical and social. Dr. Myers holds that, as the relation between organism and environment is the cause of variation, bodily and mental, the possibility of the progressive development of all primitive peoples must be conceded, if only the environment can be appropriately changed. This presupposition requires an obvious qualification, namely, that Heredity sets a limit to the amount of improvement that can be effected in each single generation. In fact, Heredity secures an 'Unstable equilibrium' except where natural selection and the forces of environment and education cooperate for the improvement of the breed.

In my opening paper, I traverse the entire ground of Anthropology and plead for a new view of Race and Nationality on experimental grounds and data of biological, psychological and sociological Science. And I arrive at a new view of Race, synthetic view, which considers Race not as a statical but as

a dynamical entity, plastic, fluent, growing, with energies upon layer like the Earth, subject to the primal forces that have built up the bed-rocks in their order of sequence and distribution. This is the point of view of what I have named Genetic Anthropology. It will study Race and Racial types as developing entities, tracing the formation of physical stocks or types as radicals, their growth and transmutation into cultural units (clan, tribes, peoples) and finally the course of their evolution into historical nationalities. A study of genetic conditions and cause of the biological, psychological and sociological forces at work, which have shaped and governed the rise, growth and decadence of Races of Man, can alone enable us to guide and control the future evolution of Humanity by conscious selection in intelligent adaptation for the system and procedure of nature.

But Nationalism is only a halting stage in the onward march of Humanity. Nationalism, Imperialism, Federationalism, are world-building forces, working often unconsciously and in apparent strife, towards the one far-off divine event, a realised Universal Humanity with an organic and organised constitution, superintending as a *primum mobile* the movements of subordinate members of the world-system, each within its own sphere and orbit. Respecting each National personality and each scheme of National values and ideals, Universal Humanity will regulate the conflict of Nations, of National Ideal and Values, on the immutable foundation of Justice, which is but the conscious formulation of the fundamental bio-sociological law; that every National Personality (like every individual personality in the Nation) has a right to the realisation of its own ideal ends, satisfactions and values, within the limits imposed by the similar rights of others (individualistic Justice), and also a right to co-partnership and co-operation for the common good and common advantage (socialistic Justice), within the limits imposed by the preceding clause.

Such is the fundamental principle of International Jurisprudence. A realised Universal Humanity on this immutable basis is the goal of a Universal Races Congress like this.

A new Anthropology, a new Sociology, a new History of Racial cultures and National Civilisations on this dynamical basis, will be quite in accord with the demands of the modern conscience and the modern spirit, for the note of that spirit and that conscience is not merely sympathy and fellow-feeling, not merely fairness and reciprocity, and equality of opportunities, but above all, a respect for Personality, for Humanity, for the Spirit. These are the ideals we reverence in our dealings with our fellowmen in domestic, social and national life, and these must extend their sway to the international arena, where the great fight of a modern, and therefore a spiritual, civilisation is to be fought against the ape and tiger in man. But when I think of the paralysis of the conscience, the palsy of the heart, that seems to have stoken us down in our cities and our marts, in the very centre and core of our civilisation, I look round in fairness of spirit and ask—whence will come this renovated sensibility of conscience, this regenerate man, who alone can fight the forces of re-barbarisation that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. For, after all, it is neither the inexorable pitiless oracle of Science, not the siren-lure of commerce, neither the blandishments of a sense-born Art, nor the feverish Hope of a hunger-born Socialism, it is neither cold calculating Reason, not a paralytic Modernity, it is neither the spirit of this Age, nor the Time-Spirit itself, that will go forth as the Knight of Humanity to redeem the nations from this bondage to cunning, force and stark violence, to blind matter and brutish Sense. It is the spirit of Sacrifice, which makes its inexorable demand on the Nations of the Earth. Yea, a greater sacrifice than that of the soldier for his country or of woman as the mother of the Race. It is this sacrifice of Redemptive love, that casting away National Pride and National Hate, National Vainglory, and National Self-Righteousness, must go out in quest of a weak. an ignorant, a fallen Humanity. There is no deliverance for the Nations, from within or without, except such as comes from the consciousness of a common Humanity and a common Cosmism, a sense of the Universal Procession of Humanity, as an ever-living symbol, an ever-fresh embodiment, of that mysterious and stupenduous life which is at once immanent and transcendent in us, is the system of Nature and

the Evolution of History and which makes our finite spirits participate here and now in the Infinite and the Absolute; before which the historic process, the historic eternity if I may so put it of Man and the World, sinks into nothing and all this fever and fret, this 'Sturm and Drang" this rush and roar, of an iron-clad and blood-stained civilisation, cease in the hush of a new Dawn, the dawn of a spiritual illumination and irradiation.

Fellow Delegates! Be patient with me for a moment, as I deliver to you the message of India to this World Congress. I come from that centre of the Orient, and I would represent the genius, the intuition, the vision of the land and the people of the Himalaya and the Ganges. The harmony of the World Congress would not be complete without that note. For what does India represent? Not Universal Empire like the Eternal City, nor Universal spiritual domination like the Mother of all the churches. India, in the shadow of the glacier-clad Himalayas, and the roar of the Southern Ocean has ever dreamt of other than a historic Eternity, India dreamt of building of the foundation of the Life Spiritual preaching *Ahimsa*—the sacredness and inviolableness of all Life and Sentiency, not for their own sake merely, but as progressive manifestations of the Life Eternal. India sought to organise the successive stages of life as in a Social Amphitheatre, so as to lead up to the high tableland, the Sinai Peak, the rare and pure air, in which the Universal Self, the Self of all that lives and moves, reveals itself to the searching gaze of Man. That fair fabric of a Nationality on the basis of Universal Peace, peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature was cruelly shattered by the shock and collision of Historic forces. For it was necessary that the world should painfully learn the cult of a painful historic development from the brute to the men.

And now that we are organising the World's Peace again on an inter-ethnic, international, historical basis, our resources are far ampler and vaster than ever before. Science, invention, industry, commerce, diplomacy, alliances and arbitration treaties, the very forces of Imperialism and Federationism themselves, are working for the unification of Mankind. But behind all

this pomp and circumstances, all this historic procession and panorama, there is the silent background, an invisible Humanity of the Ages, an inaccessible cosmic centre, a circumambient Unknown ; there are the unutterable instincts of Reverence, Awe and Adoration for what is above us, the mysterious longings of Reverence, love and sympathy for what is below us without which International Diplomacy and Commerce and Science would be but Vakyrian inciters to Havoc and Desolation. To this silent background points India, standing alone in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions. From this silent background, India undergoing the Passion of Humanity through the ages in bearing witness to the life of the Spirit, calls us to cult of the Spirit, calls the mighty nations of the Earth to lay down their pride and hate, their sceptres and swords, and to share in the great mystery of redemptive sacrifice and the life-giving service of loving humanity in which alone Nations like individuals will find Rest and Peace.

Brajendra Nath Seal

Appendix II

On the Abolition of Sattee

India Gazette 10.12.1829

"The practice of Sattee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos in hereby declared illegal, and punshable by the Criminal Courts."

Regulation XVII 1829.

"Red from his chambers came the morning sun
And frowned dark Ganges, on thy fatal shore,
Journeying on high ; but when the day was done
He set in smiles, to rise in blood no more,
Hark ! heard ye not ? the widow's wail is over.
No more the flames from impious pyres ascend,
See Mercy now primeval peace restore,
While pagans glad the arch ethereal rend,
For India hails at last, her father and her friend.

* * * * * *

Back to its cavern ebbs the tide of crime,
There fettered, locked, and powerless it sleeps ;
And History bending over the page of time,
Where many a mournful record still she keeps,
The widowed Hindoo's fate no longer weeps ;
The priestly tyrants' cruel charm is broken,
And to his den alarmed the monster creeps ;
The charm that mars his mystic spell is broken,
Over all the land 'tis spread ; he trembles at the token.

* * * * * *

Bentick, be thine the ever lasting mead !
The hearts' full homage, still is virtue's claim,

And 'tis the good man's ever honoured deed
    Which gives an immortality to fame :
Transcient and fierce, though dazzling is the flame.
    That glory lights upon the wastes of War :
Nations unborn shall venerate thy name,
    A triumph than the conqueror's mightier far,
Thy memory shall be blessed as is the morning star.

* * * * * *

He is the friend of man who breaks the seal
    The despot custom sets in deed and thought,
He labours generously for human weal
    Who holds the omnipotence of fear as naught ;
The winged mind will not to earth be brought,
    'T will sink to clay if it imprisoned be ;
For 'tis with high immortal longings frought,
    And these are dimmed or quenched eternally,
  Until it feels the hand that sets its pinions free.

* * * * * *

And woman hath endured, and still endures
    Wrong, which her weakness and her woes should shield,
The slave and victims of the treacherous lures.
    Which wily arts, to man, the tyrant yield :
And *here* the sight of star, or flower, or field
    Or bird that journeys through the sunny air,
Or social bliss from woman has been sealed,
    To her, the sky is dark the earth is bare,
And Heaven's most hallowed breath pronounced forbidden fare.

* * * * * *

Nurtured in darkness, born to many woes
    Words, the mind's instrument but ill supplied,
Delight, even as a name she scarcely knows
    And while an infant sold to be a bride,
To be a mother, her exalted pride,

And yet not her's a mother's sigh or smile
Oft doomed in youth, to stern the icy tide.
Of rude neglect, caused by some wanton's wile
And forced at last to grace her Lord's funeral pile.

* * * * * *

Daughters of Europe! by our Ganges side
Which wept and murmured as it flowed along
Have wives, yet virgins, nay, yet infants died,
While priestly friends have yelled a dismal song
'Mid deafening clamours of the drum and gong:
And mother on their pyres have seen the hands
Which clung around them when those hands were young
Lighting around them such unholy brands
As demons kindle when they rave through hell in bands.
But with prophetic ken, dispelling fears
Which haunt the mind that dwells on nature's plan
The Bard beholds through mists of coming years
A rising spirit speaking peace to man
The storm is passing, and the Rainbow's span
Streches from North to South: the ebon car
Of darkness rolls away: the breezes fan
The infant dawn, and morning's herald star
Comes trembling into day: O! can the Sun be far?

V. Derozio

APPENDIX III

Five Hundred Questions on the Social Condition of the Natives of Bengal. Rev. J. Long.

The following five hundred questions and desiderata—suggestive of a wide range of subjects, on "the proper study of mankind is man"—show that a wide field is opened out for enquiry into the social life of the natives of India and their *folklore,* a species of knowledge not to be found exclusively in *books,* but mainly in the memories and traditions of the people. They were designed to map out the field of action on subjects relating to native social life in India.

I

Aborigines

The *Dhangars* and other hill tribes who do such important though dirty work in the drainage of Calcutta, are deserving notice as to their habitation, religion, customs, language. Sir J. Malcom's Essays on the Bhils—Hodgson's valuable papers on the Aboriginal Tribes etc, suggest various subjects of inquiry. Dr. Pritchard, Hodgson etc, etc devoted much labour to it.

1. The mode of living, habits, morals and food of the *Dhangaras,* and other aborigines in foreign places, contrasted with their native place.

2. Ditto of the hill men who go as coolies to the Mauritius, Ceylon, and the West Indies?

3. The social position and relation of the coolies to Zeminders on their return, how far do they acquire habits of thought and independence, a knowledge of improved means of cultivation, a taste for a higher order of amusements, and a greater pride of personal appearance?

4. Do the wives and families of the Aboriginal emigrants

accompany them in their emigration? What connexion do they keep up with their native villages?

5. The ceremonies observed by the Aborigines etc, at births, marriages, funerals? What mode have they of settling their disputes? How far do they believe in witchcraft, omens?

6. Any traces of the Aborigines ever having lived in the plains of India?

II

Agricultural Classes

How desirable it would be in India to see the native landlord, like the English country gentlemen, attending agricultural shows—joining with his tenants in the sports of the field—administering justice on the bench—sympathising with the peasants in their difficulties—deriving, from an agricultural education, that scientific knowledge of rural husbandry which would interest him in the country, and thus enable him to be independent of the false information of the agents (*gomasta*).

1. How far is the charge true that the ryot is lazy—if so, is it owing to his not having a proper incentive to industry, or to his natural disposi ion?

2. In what cases have ryots risen to be *peasant proprietors*?—What effect would a class of peasant properietors have on cultivation as compared with large capitalists? Would the results be similar to those in France, where peasant proprietorship fosters economy, a respect for property, forethought and industry?

3. How far are *zemindars*, absentees? the causes, remedies?

4. To what extent is a taste for *gardening* spreading among zemindars, and educated natives—how could it be more extensively promoted as a morning amusement for natives in offices? instances of any natives who have devoted much time and money to gardening..

5. How far could *public gardens* be established in native towns?

6. In what respect would the introduction of the study of *agricultural chemistry* and of the *elements of Botany* in a popular form in Anglo-Vernacular schools tend to lessen that gulf now exists between the educated classes and the rural population ?

7. The practicability of evening classes for teaching the ryots to read.

8. How far are the ryots becoming more aware of "the great world beyond their *market towns* ?"

9. Poverty among the ryots, how pre-disposing to disease ? to cheating ?

10. Would an *encumbered estate commission,* which has worked so well in Ireland, be suited for India ?

11. Is there a strong desire among *ryots* for the possession of land, so as to lead to habits of produce and economy ?

12. Are there many remains of old *Jaghires* in Bengal ?

13. Is the minute *sub-division* of land according to Hindu law carried out much ? What are its effects ?

14. The proportion of land-holders to the rest of the popula ion ?

15. To what extent do the ryots purchase things not produced in their own districts ?

16. Any cases of poor *ryots* who have risen to be zemindars or to be a good social position ?

17. Many *sub-tenures* amounting to ten ?

18. Do many of the rural population *emigrate to towns* ? the effects on their morals and on wages ?

19. To what extent are the zemindars "rotting in idleness" ? i's causes and remedies ?

20. Are the ryots attached to their *native villages* as formerly.

21. Has the *naib* (agent) as much influence as formerly over the zemindar ?

22. Are zemindars as litigious as formerly ?

23. Are the peasantry, though unlettered, not ignorant? Give examples, illustrations.

24. Signs of *agricultural improvement* within the last twenty years as contrasted with manufacturing improvement?

25. How far is there a growth of a feeling of independence among ryots? its causes and probable results?

26. Are *Middlemen* on the increase? the evils inflicted by them in rack-renting etc, etc.

27. The condition of the *ryots* before the Permanent Settlement, and their relation at that period to the landlords?

28. The different *abwabs* (fees) levied by zemindars

29. Torture, how far practised now and formerly? the different modes?

III

Astrology & Witchcraft

Human nature in India, as in Europe, wishes to pry into the future, whether the fingers, the chattering of crows, or the stars are to be guides; in India the feeling against witches even lately was as strong as in England two centuries ago, thus in Mhow between 1800 and 1823, 2500 witches were put to death.

1. *Charmers for snake bites,* their numbers, pay, and how far really successful? the influence of music over snakes?

2. Are reputed *Expellers of Bhuts* or *Devils* many, their influence?

3. Various kinds of *mantras,* such as the *panch mantra,* etc., etc.?

4. Witches, their localities, emoluments, numbers, how detected, any put to death last century in Bengal, in various kind of witchcrafts?

5. *Divination* by the hand; its various kinds—books on —is the practice general?

6. *Auguries,* by what birds? how taken? what is the reliance placed on them now?

7. *Mesmerism* (Jha'ra'n Mantra), to what extent known to the *old* Hindu—how practised now and by whom ?

8. *Sleight-of-hand* tricks, the number and emoluments of its professors—instances of common tricks practised in Bengal ?

9. Belief in Fairies, Apparitions, of its extent and influence ? much on the decline ?

10. *Gypsies* or *Natts,* their numbers, morals, means of support ? influence among the people, language, religion, ceremonies at marriages, births, funeral ?

11. Are casting the *evil eye* and other *incantations* common ?

12. Treasure-finders, thief-detectors, fortune-tellers, astrologers, their numbers, profits ?

13. *Dreams,* various kinds of ? who interpret them ? their profits ? analysis of vernacular books that treat of them ?

14. *Omens, charms,* and signs of futurity, various kinds in use ?

IV

Beggars and Vagrants

The beggar class are not unworthy of consideration in India —in England they are the subjects of various books : who does not remember Burn's poem on the Jolly Beggars, or some of the exquisite traits about them in Goldmith's and Crabbe's poems ?

1. The proportion of beggars from *choice* or from *necessity,* or on *religious* grounds ?

2. The extent of beggars' beats : more beggars in town or country ? their profits, their amusements ?

3. Are beggars much addicted to *thieving* or other crimes ? Do many beggars feign *blindness, dumbness, lameness,* or practise other impositions ?

4. *Fakirs* or *Sanyasis*—their habits, beats ,profits, impositions—which are worse, Hindu or Muslim fakirs ? Why do they call themselves Padris ?

5. Mendicant *musicians*—their number, profits, skill, social position? Vagrant tradesmen ditto.

6. Is not the present indiscriminate *charity to beggars* the mother of idleness and crime?

7. Where do beggars find shelter in the rains, in illness?

8. Are Hindus or Musalmans kinder to beggars?

9. Why do most of the medicant orders choose *Ram* for their patron?

10. Do many beggars flock to towns? the causes? how far is the want of peasant proprietorship a cause of beggary?

V

Calcutta

Calcutta, the "city of palaces and pigsties" requires a separate sociological *niche* for itself,—yet how little is really known of this *colluvies* of nations! Purnea furnishes to it syces,—Orissa, bearers, Behar, durwans, Central India, opium merchants, Kabul, horses and fruit-sellers—Chittagong, boatmen;—while those semi-Asiatics, the Greeks, supply leading merchants.

In prosecuting enquiries on the various classes of population, the trades and handicrafts in Calcutta and the large cities of India, there is a model paper on that subject, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's transactions, in relation to Bareilly, 1826, vol i, pp 467-484, treating of the progress in civilization, dress, amusements, food, houses, peculiar usages, habits and wants of the people of Bareilly. Many of the questions there propounded are applicable *ceteris paribus* to Benares, Bombay, Madras, etc.

1. The proportion of the adult population born in the city;

2. The grouping of the population into classes inhabiting different localities according to *occupation, social grade* and *birth place*?

3. *Afgans,* their numbers, occupation, and moral condition—do they assert their Jewish descent?

4. *Armenians,* ditto, their decrease; any connection kept up with Armenia or Russia; their colloquial language?

5. *Chinese,* how far do they retain their country's mode of living? their morals, localities, numbers, language used, employments?

6. East Indians. Not a welding of the European and Asiatic as the English were of the Norman and Saxon—effect of intermarriage among themselves; are they dying out?

7. *Faringhees,* who so called—origin of the word?

8. *Greeks* how far do they adopt English habits and customs—their habits as contrasted with those of English merchants; any connection kept up with Russia or Greece?

9. *Jains,* their numbers and social position?

10. *Jews,* their numbers, wealth and social position? what impression do they make on Hindus? their language, how far Indianised?

11. Merchant princes, is the name still applicable in Calcutta and Bombay?

12. *Mixed classes,* many such, as Piralis etc., etc.?

13. *Moghuls,* their numbers, morals, social position,—many directly of Persian or Tartar origin?

14. *Mussalmans,* are they very stationary? are they rising in social importance? their social morality as constrasted with that of the Hindus? are coffee shops common among them? ditto gambling, the number of Arabic and Persian schools among them? their feelings towards Hindus, many *Hajis* or *Saids* among them? Do they read the *Kulma* on Friday, in the mosques?

15. *Parsees,* their number, social status—are their prejudices decaying? their *Panchayats*? observance of New Year's day, and of the birth day of Zoroaster,—ceremonies in honour of the dead—Commercial enterprise, charities, language, literature, caste disputes! when did they first come? the condition of their females; their liturgies.—how far do they adopt Hindu customs; ditto, English?

16. *Portugese,* their number (3181 in 1837), are they in-

creasing? their influence, the language used ; are any of pure origin? are their priests improving? the effect of their example on Hindus?

17. *Sanskrit Colleges.* Are there more than 100? the highest emoluments in them as constrasted with former days? state of learning among pupils and teachers?

18. Seiks (Sikh) ; their numbers,—are many able to read the *Granth?* their occupations?

19. Young Bengal: how far does he really differ from his countrymen and how far is it mere varnish? his peculiarities on the increase or decrease? are there many out of Calcutta? The period when Young Bengalism arose?

20. Account of the following *classes,* their numbers, profits, and social position,—bird-sellers, glass-blowers, firework-makers, dyers, shell-workers, smiths, cattle-doctors, yogis, weavers, divers, butchers, fowlers, bookbinders, druggists, bakers, gardeners, washermen, confectioners, barbers, sweepers, shoemakers, carpenters, masons?

21. The origin of the names of the *streets* with notices of individuals, or of the circumstances or particular trades, that gave them those names?

22. The various cries made in the streets by hawkers or sellers?

23. Describe the numbers, profits and social conditions of the following classes—street-sellers, street-buyers, street-finders, street-performers, artists, showmen, street-artisans or working pedlars, street-labourers.

VI

Ceremonies, Rites

1. *Sraddhas,* the ceremonies and expenses connected with them now, as contrasted with former times, and in various castes?

2. The chief *gram devatas* (village gods), the origin of their worship, the mode of conducting it. Are there more than 100?

3. Do *Hindus* or *Musalmans* expend more on their rites and ceremonies?

4. The profits and numbers of those who burn the dead?

5. Is the practice of *shaking hands* and of other English customs increasing much?

6. *On investiture of the Poita,* is it usual to keep a piece of iron as a charm against *bhuts* (ghosts)? Is the party confined for eleven days?

7. Are *compulsory pujas* much practised, such as throwing an image at night at a rich man's door that he may be compelled to perform a puja?

8. Describe the worship of *Sitala, Nag Manasa, Ulauta Devi*; the *Sashti, Dhaki Govardhan* and Ganesh Pujas,—their origin, extent, expenses, by what classes conducted, the temples, festivals connected with them?

9. *Agni Puja* and *Surjea* Puja, to what extent—with what pomp and expense, celebrated in former times? by what classes now?

VII

Classes

1. In the upper classes, do many families die out? the causes?

2. Causes tending to create a middle class in Bengal.

3. Any probability of *approximating* the Hindus and East Indians in closer mutual sympathy—was the aversion less in former days than now?

4. The *Portugese*—how many of European origin, their peculiar customs and modes of life? their influence over natives? their morals and energy as contrasted with those of natives?

5. The use of a native *landed aristocracy* as a shield against the despotism of a ruler or of a multitude?

6. Are there many *black brahmans?* is their colour the effect of climate? are they of Hindu origin?

7. The *duration of life* among the upper and lower classes of Hindus, and the professional classes particularly, as showing the effect of temperance, mental occupation and bodily exercise ?

8. Are *old man* very garrulous ? are there many old men ? to what age have some lived ?

9. Caste, how far on the decline, and the causes of the decline ? are the *varna sankara* or mixed castes on the increase ? Illustrations of the lower castes rising in the social scale, the causes ? Are the rules for expulsion from caste strictly observed ?

10. Families that existed before the Muhammadan invasion.

11. Parrots, how trained to repeat Radha Krishna ?

12. How far are the following practices now generally observed and by what classes ? first morning prayer to the Guru ? the *Gangastak ;* 24 Mudras ; *pranayam ? Gumukhi, Gayatri jap, Arti pancha pradip, Panchagni,* Das Sanskar ?— marks of caste or sects in the forehead ? women worshipping the *dheki* to cure the scurvy and itch ?

13. *Fasting,* how far observed now, compared with former days ; the *Ekadasi* how kept, and by whom ?

14. Funerals, their expenses ; ceremonies ; period of mourning, in different castes ; do women accompany the corpse ? four modes of disposing of a corpse.—How far observed now, compared with former days ?

15. Are *lamps* often sent floating down a stream as an omen ?

16. Are thorns often put under the feet of a woman who dies pregnant ?

17. Is there much observance now of *Das Snan, Das Dan* ?

18. Describe the ceremonies, and what classes practised. in the worship of books, birds, stones, fish ?

19. Jogi's suspension of breath, postures etc., etc., how far kept up now, and by what training ?

20. In the *Holi Festival,* are there less obscene words and figures than formely ? is the castor-oil tree planted as a kind of maypole ?

21. Is the *Navami* generally practised?

22. *Chagda,* near Calcutta, the reason for its being a city of refuge for outcasts, the numbers that resort to it? other similar places in Bengal?

23. Was the burying lepers alive much practised formerly? ditto burning alive?

24. *Human sacrifices* were formerly offered up at Kshir near Burdwan, at Yogadyea, at Kerilatta near Moorshidabad, to Kali at Brahmanitola near Nadaya, to Manasa, at Chitpur, Kalighat,—instances handed down by tradition?

25. How was the *charak* celebrated formely? instances in its practice of the tongue being pierced with a bayonet? of a snake's tail put through the tongue?

26. *Birth ceremonies*; such as Jal Karan or giviñg honey at first seeing a son, naming a child twelve days after birth; bringing him out at three months old; feeding him at six months old; shaving the head at three years old—how far practised and by what castes?

27. In *marriages*, are the *laganpatrika,* tying the garments of parties together, much used? how do marriage ceremonies differ according to caste, ranks, etc.?

VIII

Commerce

The commercial classes in India have always occupied a conspicuous place; even in Manu's time they held the purse strings, and have been less than other classes subject to priestly influence; hence the great sects of Jains at Rajputana and Central India, the Oswals of Behar, and Vaishnabs of Bengal have the greatest number of converts among the traders, the Marwari merchants are Jains, and the Gossains are Vaisnavas. Religious reform found its votaries most in France among the Huguenot merchants; in the middle ages among the Belgian and Italian traders; and in Russia among the mercantile classes, the municipalities in the middle ages, mainly composed of the trading classes, were buffers against feudal and priestly oppression.

1. Why do *Buniyas* (shop keepers) in Bihar rank with Vaisyas? their education and social position in Bengal—are many of them sureties—many foreigners among them—their profits?

2. *Mahajans* (money lenders) how far do their exactions extend—are they less now than formely—their numbers—do many rise to a high position in native society?

3. The *native merchant princes*—their rise and social influence—do their sons follow their father's pursuits?

4. To what extent has the *decay* in ancient Indian articles of production and trade been compensated by new sources of production and trade?

5. Indigo, the accounts of it in Hindu books—also of tobacco, sugar, cotton?

6. The influences of foreign trade on the dress, food-habits, opinions of natives?

7. How far are the native merchants likely to form a quasi-aristocracy, or an upper middle class?

8. Native merchants, how far liable to the charge of ostentation, avarice, vulgarity? how far do they rise into the upper grade and their conduct in it?

9. The effect of *commercial legislature* on commercial morality, as shown in the Small cause and Insolvent Courts?

10. Shroffs (bankers), their number, emoluments and social position?

11. Causes of the decreasing social intercourse between European and natives—remedies.

IX

Conversation and Social Intercourse

Conversation, or the "feast of reason and the flow of soul" is as popular with the Bengali as with the European.

1. The subjects of conversation 20 years ago as contrasted with the present.

2. The subjects of conversation common to the educated and uneducated classes.

3. The favourite times for conversation; how different from the English?

4. Do any classes converse on subjects not relating to their *daily life and occupations*?

5. Are Riddles much used?—a collection of them a desideratum.

6. *Jesters* how far employed, their numbers and emoluments—is jesting much used? illustrations of it?

7. Vaisnab's or Sakta's conversation—how do they differ in subject and moral tone?

8. Is their much *discussion* in Hindoo society—on what topics? is it angry at times?

9. The effect on conversation of the absence of *female* society?

10. Topics in the *zenana,* among educated, uneducated? among country or town people?

11. Among what classes are ghost stories most common? mention twelve specimens of different kinds.

X

Criminal, or Dangerous Classes

1. How can a system of *education* be extended, adapted to the circumstances of those who form the raw materials of the dangerous and criminal classes?

2. How far is *poverty* the parent of crime in Bengal? Ditto, *oppression*? Ditto, the *Guru Mahasay* system?

3. *Jails,* how far objects of terror and shame to natives? in what districts is the name "our father-in-law's house" given to the jail? are re-committals frequent? Are *Reformatories* for juvenile criminals desirable? the effect of teaching prisoners agriculture?

4. Is the *thannah* looked upon as a school where old offenders teach young ones crime?

5. Receivers of *stolen goods*; any approximate estimate of their number and profits?

6. Has the punishment of death much effect in lessening capital offences?

7. The proportion that can *read* and *write* intelligibly in the different jails?

8. Is *infanticide* common among the poor? Ditto, incest?

9. Is perjury or forgery on the increase? the causes?

10. River-*Thagi* common? Ditto professional poisoners?

11. The influence of *age* and sex on crime?

12. Crime in different districts, and in various castes, variety, heinousness?

13. Is there more crime in town or in the country?

14. Juvenile delinquents; their number, offence?

15. Has the auto-biography of a thief ever been written?

16. Is Prof. Wilson's remark correct, "in the great towns of India the profligacy bears no comparison to that of London or Paris"?

XI

Debating Societies

Debating Societies or Literary Clubs have sprung up in schools both in Calcutta and the Muffasil within the last twelve years; they are nuclei for educated young men and are congenial to the oriental habit which loves *dals;* we need a kind, however, like the Young Men's Associations of England, in which not only lectures might be delivered or essays read, but night classes might be formed for improvement in literature and science.

1. The number and duration of *Debating Societies* in cities during the last twenty years, the subjects discussed and social status of the members?

2. Ditto, in the country?

3. In what respects are they improving as to the *choice of subjects* and the mode of conducting the meetings?

4. What *social influence* do they exercise in the family or on others?

5. A history of the *Dharma Sabha*, its leaders, quarrels, influence?

6. Of the *Brahma Sabha?* ditto, ditto.

7. Account of any other meetings or re-unions among Hindus with their social influence?

XII

1. The social and moral causes of insanity among natives? Among what castes is it more prevalent and why?

2. Are *Albions* numerous, the causes?

3. What nervous diseases are regarded as being from a *bhut* (demon), requiring mantras?

4. *Nakra—Inoculation* for small pox—*Leprosy*—their respective modes of treatment in ancient and modern times how they differ? are lepers now treated kindly?

5. *Hindu physicians,* their various remedies for *eye diseases?*

6. Are diseases from *dissipation* among Young Bengal on the increase?

7. What diseases indicate the *social condition* of the people, such as those of the eye, brain?

8. *Hospitals,* by what castes most attended, particularly Brahmans, Kaistas, Musalmans—and from what localities?

9. The relative *mortality* and *vitality* of each sex, and of the leading castes in Bengal.

10. Is the duration of life in inverse ratio to fecundity?

11. The influence of employments on health in Bengal, how shown?

12. Various remedies for *snake bites?* any of real efficacy?

13. *Native medicines,* in what estimation held by educated natives?

14. Is mortality in parturition on the increase?

15. Was *Cholera* an epidemic among natives a century ago?

XIII

Doctors

Kabiraj (indigenous doctor) is a great favourite in native society and has been the cause of an enormous number of deaths. The Bengali class of the Medical College is, as it gradually deve-

lops, lessening this evil? Dr Wise has written ably on this class and on Hindu medicine.

1. *Kabirajs*, whether are Hindu or Mussalman ones more numerous or more skilful—their castes—their pay now and in former days?

2. *Inoculators* are there more Hindus or Mussalmans—the incantations used—their invocations of *Sitala*—their fees—caste—mode of treatment?

3. *Vaidyas* (native doctors), their chief localities in Bengal, the proportion that can read Sanskrit, their pay and social position—an account of the *Atai Vaidyas, Dehatu Vaidyas, Chasi Vaidyas, Haturya Vaidyas?*

4. Midwives, cuppers, leech-sellers, their skill, pay, numbers?

5. English educated native doctors, are their social position and pay increasing?

6. Bengali educated native doctors, ditto?

XIV

Domestic

Home has well been styled the "seed vessel of society, where the next generation must germinate".

1. Is hospitality as much practised now as formerly? and with as rigid a regard to caste?

2. The *home* influence of wives and daughters on educated native?

3. Is the family-tie very strong among Hindus? illustrate by examples.

XV

Dramas, Jatras

The Sanskrit Drama, so well translated by Wilson, presents a rich harvest of information on the social condition of the Indian aristocracy, females, and Pandits, eighteen centuries ago. In the *Sarada Tilaka* of the twelfth century, we have sketches of the various classes of females, of the Jogis, Buddhists, snake-catchers, Pandits; the *Mriganlekha* treats of the kings of Kalinga

and Assam—as the Ramayana does of society 2500 years ago. Nor have the last ten years been barren in the department of dramatic vernacular literature—as the many Bengali dramas on the subjects of "Kulinism", "Widow re-marriage" etc. show.

1. Account of the *bhars* or professional jesters.

2. A list of the various *jatras,* their authors, subjects, influence.

3. Ditto *Rāsas.*

XVI

Dress

1. Is the *Musalman* dress superior in any points to the Hindu ?

2. Was the *needle* totally unknown to the Hindu ? Is there any Hindu word to express sewing with the needle ?

3. Do any Hindus now object to garments made by a *Moslem needle ?*

4. Were there any tailors in ancient times among the Hindus ?

5. Do Hindu *females* wash their linen often—is soap coming into use among them ?

6. What Hindus will not drink water out of a girl's hands unless she is first *tattooed* on the arms and breast ?

7. Would the wearing of *beards* be useful for Hindus ?

8. Should Hindus take off their *shoes* in an European house, or their turbans on entering a place of worship ?

XVII

Drinking Habits

In Manu's days liquors were allowed, and ancient Hindu history gives many a curious revelation on this point.

1. Are drinking habits more prevalent among the *Hindus* or among *Mussalmans ?* how was it 30 years ago compared with the present time ?

2. Are Hindus quarrelsome in their cups ?

lops, lessening this evils : Dr. Wise has written ably on this class and on Hindu medicine.

1. *Kabirajs,* whether are Hindu or Mussalman ones more numerous or more skilful—their castes—their pay now and in former days ?

2. *Inoculators* are there more Hindus or Mussalmans—the incantations used—their invocations of *Sitala*—their fees—caste—mode of treatment ?

3. *Vaidyas* (native doctors), their chief localities in Bengal, the proportion that can read Sanskrit, their pay and social position—an account of the *Atai Vaidyas, Dehatu Vaidyas, Chasi Vaidyas, Haturya Vaidyas ?*

4. Midwives, cuppers, leech-sellers, their skill, pay, numbers ?

5. English educated native doctors, are their social position and pay increasing ?

6. Bengali educated native doctors, ditto ?

XIV

Domestic

Home has well been styled the "seed vessel of society, where the next generation must germinate".

1. Is hospitality as much practised now as formerly ? and with as rigid a regard to caste ?

2. The *home* influence of wives and daughters on educated native ?

3. Is the family-tie very strong among Hindus ? illustrate by examples.

XV

Dramas, Jatras

The Sanskrit Drama, so well translated by Wilson, presents a rich harvest of information on the social condition of the Indian aristocracy, females, and Pandits, eighteen centuries ago., In the *Sarada Tilaka* of the twelfth century, we have sketches of the various classes of females, of the Jogis, Buddhists, snake-catchers, Pandits ; the *Mriganlekha* treats of the kings of Kalinga

and Assam—as the Ramayana does of society 2500 years ago. Nor have the last ten years been barren in the department of dramatic vernacular literature—as the many Bengali dramas on the subjects of "Kulinism", "Widow re-marriage" etc. show.

1. Account of the *bhars* or professional jesters.

2. A list of the various *jatras,* their authors, subjects, influence.

3. Ditto *Rāsas.*

XVI

Dress

1. Is the *Musalman* dress superior in any points to the Hindu?

2. Was the *needle* totally unknown to the Hindu? Is there any Hindu word to express sewing with the needle?

3. Do any Hindus now object to garments made by a *Moslem needle?*

4. Were there any tailors in ancient times among the Hindus?

5. Do Hindu *females* wash their linen often—is soap coming into use among them?

6. What Hindus will not drink water out of a girl's hands unless she is first *tattooed* on the arms and breast?

7. Would the wearing of *beards* be useful for Hindus?

8. Should Hindus take off their *shoes* in an European house, or their turbans on entering a place of worship?

XVII

Drinking Habits

In Manu's days liquors were allowed, and ancient Hindu history gives many a curious revelation on this point.

1. Are drinking habits more prevalent among the *Hindus* or among *Mussalmans?* how was it 30 years ago compared with the present time?

2. Are Hindus quarrelsome in their cups?

3. Is smoking Ganja, Charas, or Opium more destructive? which is more common? Do Hindu females smoke much? When was smoking introduced? Ditto snuffing?

4. How far is the increase of drinking owing to *domestic discomfort*

5. How far do crimes attended with violence, arise from intoxication? how far is insanity the result of intemperance?

6. The effect of intemperance in producing pauperism?

7. The connection between *akbari shops,* public houses and crime?

8. Is *drinking brandy* a frequent practice with Young Bengal?

XVIII

Education, in its Social Bearing

The consideration of the School System in its *social* influences is a very important subject, as well as the inquiry, how far the competitive system is injurious so far as it treats boys as race-horses—trains them not for general use but to run for particular prizes—promotes cramming, and mere book-knowledge; leads to the neglect of the mass of the boys in a school, tempting the masters, by attending to a few "fugle boys", to gain more praise for their school.

There is a tendency among Hindus like the man in the fable, to cry out nothing like leather, and to regard education as the panacea for *all* evils. Lord Brougham describes such persons as being like those who would trust to the effects of diet and regimen when the plague is raging, and Dr. Arnold remarked, "Education is wanted to improve the physical condition of the people; and yet their physical condition must be improved, before they can be susceptible of education." You may educate the upper classes highly, but the masses are the basis of the social pyramid; without this being secure, the apex has no stability; brute force and black cap are at best but temporary expedients.

1. How far are improved habits of cleanliness, order,

punctuality, truthfulness, an improved standard of dress and living, and a development of character promoted by Anglo-Vernacular schools?

2. Ditto by Guru Mahasay or village schools?

3. The action of Anglo-Vernacular and Guru Mahasay schools on the family circle in raising the moral and intellectual tone?

4. Any social evils arising from the training adopted for native girls in some Mission *female schools?* The remedy?

5. How far are the following remarks, made in England, applicable to India?

> "There is a practical standard in the minds of the people, beyond which the education of the masses cannot be carried. If government raise the standard, people diminish the time of children's attendance".

6. The social importance of teaching in all schools, the doctrines of *political economy* on labour, capital, wages, interchange, money—as also the elements of agricultural chemistry.

7. Mental ignorance, how far productive of moral depravity?

How far do *social discomforts* fret and enfeeble the masses, and render them unfit for higher thoughts?

9. Is *intemperance* greater in proportion among the educated or uneducated classes

10. How far is the following statement, made by an educated native correct?

> "Natives educated in the *Government Colleges,* do not often fulfil the hope inspired by their academic career; they do not follow up their studies; they unlearn what they have learnt, sink in the mass with all the enervating environments of Indian life—the hookah and the zenana do their sure work."

11. Does not the social condition of the masses render a grant-in-aid system as inapplicable as would be voluntary system at the time of plague and pestilence?

12. How far does school education mould the social institutions of the country and how far is it moulded by them?

13. The social importance of schools of Industrial Art?

14. The social importance of Agricultural schools?

15. The *tols* (Sanskrit Colleges)—the social causes leading to their decline. Any improvement in the subjects taught or the mode of teaching? What great teachers are there now?

16. The probable reflex influence of requiring a knowledge of reading and writing from all classes, as a qualification for office?

17. The probable influence of the *university examination* in giving a preponderance to cramming and memory work, to the neglect of cultivating the faculty of observation?

18. Is it desirable that upto 6 years of age *girls* should be taught with boys?

19. How far are the *Guru Mahashay*, as a class, guilty of the charges of teaching their pupils theft and lying, and of inflicting severe punishment? What has been the occupation of the fathers of those teachers generally?

20. A list of vernacular authors and able teachers produced by the Sanskrit Colleges?

XIX

Females

1. How far are the following remarks on Hindu females correct in different localities: "Ministers to the capricious sensuality of their arrogant lords—The feeling of *natural affection* is comparatively weak—held under the jealousy of restraint, they become callous to all finer sensibilities " Cases of *crim. con.* very seldom occur in respectable Hindu families. The life of a Hindu *widow* is wretched in the highest degrees.

2. To what extent can *natch* (dancing) *girls* read? their influences and emoluments now as compared with former days?

3. Do Hindu females often hear *religious* or other books read to them?

4. What is the knowledge females acquire *independent of books*?

5. Mention female *authors* of past and present times.

6. Is the practice of females blackening their teeth and eyes, of Moslem origin?

7. Are the *angiya, kurti, pyjamahs* much in use?

8. At what age are females considerd old women? Do

females become really old at thirty? What is their influence and conduct then?

9. Are Musalman females less luxurious and *extravagant* than Hindu ones?

10. What are the *recreations* of females? Is kite flying such?

11. Are Hindu and Musalman females fond of *embroidery* and of *flowers?*

12. Are *quarrels* numerous among females? are they very jealous?

13. How far do females win and retain their husband's affections?

14. What is the average time men remain *widowers?*

15. How far practically is a system of austerity carried out with regard to widows? What means of support have they generally?

16. If a woman washes off *paint* from her forehead, is it considered a sign of her wishing her husband's death?

17. What has been the success of the working of the act for the remarriage of Hindu widows as to numbers and respectability?

18. How far do women rule their husbands at home? Many Hindu gentlemen "henpecked"?

XX

Festivals

Festivals for religious or commemorative purposes have always exercised great influence on social life, whether we look to the national games and assemblages of ancient Greeks, to those of the Middle Ages in Europe, or to those of recent times in England and France. Who can forget Washington Irving's vivid picture of Christmas and merry England in the olden time? But among the Hindus they have been pre-eminently influential as being interwoven so closely into the religions of the country. All the mighty minds of India in former days saw what a great effect they produced on all classes: hence Vaisnabs and Saktas alike, though differing in other points widely, have agreed in patronising them.

1. The *classes of society* that do not attend festivals now, but did once—why have they discontinued ?

2. The influence of festivals on the *family relation*, particularly on women and children ?

3. Any change and improvements in the mode of *conducting* festivals ?

4. How far have festivals become more occasions of *trade* and *commerce* than formerly ?

5. What festivals have become more *popular* than others —the causes ?

6. How far is the observence of festivals on the decline ?

7. Is there much *sale* of native books or of European articles at festivals ?

8. Are festivals good times for holding *religious discussions*, such as are practised by missionaries ?

9. The moral and social influence of festivals in bringing the male and female *sexes* more together ?

10. The various customs, ceremonies, connected with the first day of *new year ?*

11. How far festivals, such as *Holi*, contribute to idleness and dissipation ?

12. Any observance like April Fool or the Maypole in the *Holi ?*

13. Mention *Obsolete festivals*, and new ones, such as *Jagadhatri ?*

14. *Barwari Puja* how far observed now, and by whom ; its origin ? Ditto the *Nagpanchami* in Bengal.

15. An accurate description of the Hindu fasts and the festivals in the district ? of their origin, the significance of their peculiar ceremonies, how observed by different castes ?

16. Ditto of the Musalmans.

17. *Sunday*, how spent by different classes of natives ? Is it a day of pleasure ?

18. On *Makar Sankranti*, *til* seeds are eaten after dinner, and the sun is the only deity worshipped—why ?

19. Is the *Holi* a kind of All Fools' Day ?

20. Describe the following practices—On *Gudi Padva*, *nim* leaves are chewed, and puja paid to an Almanac ; on the *Ram*

Nabami a recitation of Ramayana, *Narujal Purnima,* cocoanuts are thrown into the sea. On the Dewali worship is paid to books.

XXI

Fishermen and Boatmen

1. What *boats* are not in build of indigenous origin?
2. The *castes* that almost exclusively furnish boatmen, why chiefly from Chittagong and Faridpore?
3. The *morals* of boatmen when separated from their families?
4. In what respects are *boatmen* equal in skill to sailors?
5. The peculiarities of the boatmen's *language;* is it the same as the Mussalman—Bengali; a collection of songs they sing when rowing?
6. Why few Hindus are boatmen?
7. The number of *boatmen* in Calcutta, are they on the increase or decrease? the causes?
8. *Sailors,* how victimised on landing, in punch-houses and by crimps?
9. The various classes of fishermen, their profits now and formerly?

XXII

Food

The nature of food has much to do with bodily and mental vigour, although different nations in this point have their respective tastes; a Frenchman will eat a rat or a frog or horse flesh with a *gout,* that will make an Englishman almost vomit. The Englishman in like manner dislikes the oceans of ghi and quantities of high seasoning that enter into a Bengali's cuisine, while on the other hand the Bengali shudders at a calf being an object of mastication.

1. The different kinds of *curries,* their use, expense of preparation, and how far their high seasoning is conducive to health?

2. How far does the *diet* of *Hindus* preserve from certain diseases, but promote others?

3. The effect of a *vegetable diet* on certain mental qualities, such as courage?

4. Tea drinking, how far is it becoming popular?

5. Why was *fish diet* allowed to Bengal, but prohibited to up-country Brahmans?

6. Is adulteration of food common? illustration of it with its evils.

7. Illustrate the following statement: " the fare on which a Sonthal, a Col, and a Garo, will thrive, is utterly unsuited to the Bengali, the Assamese and the Magh".

XXIII X

Houses

The dwellings of the poor and of the working classes have occupied much of the attention of the philanthropists in England, and ought to do so in India, where floors, walls, windows, are closely connected with questions of health and decency.

1. How far are the present *native houses* so built as to conduce to indecency, vice, quarrels, drunkenness, filth, bad ventilation?

2. Is the *boitakhana* of Hindu origin?

3. How far is the use of *chairs* preferable to the *Asan* or seat?

4. How can the following defects in tiled houses be remedies: exposure to wind and rain, cold in winter, hot in summer?

5. Mud huts, means to secure them against snake holes?

6. Is not the building of *suburban houses* for workmen in large towns desirable?

7. Is the northern side of a house invariably the Thakur Khana?

XXIV

Keranis or Native Clerks

The Kerani system is so much the child of English trade

and government as to demand special attention. One thing is clear, that as certain as English education has been limited almost exclusively in Bengal to the caste of Brahmans and Kaistas, so have the chief occupations of its alumni been those of kerani or copyists—an effectual way in many cases to turn an educated youth into a mere machine, and to render him simply an imitator or copyer—as he is a copyist. It is true in Northern India, from Katamandu to Mhow, the Bengali is the Englishman's right hand—in what ?—is it not too often as a machine for copying, as a sort of looking glass to reflect his views without having any views of his own. A writer on Indian history remarks on the Kerani in his work : "The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand : there was no intervention of the brain. The Intelligence of the well tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life." I trust this taint on the Bengali may soon cease. Happily the introduction of iron copying machines will reduce in many cases the demand for machines of flesh.

1. The total number of keranis employed in the different offices in Calcutta ; the average amount of their salaries

2. The occupation of kerani's *leisure hours ;* how far does the business of their offices afford material for conversation in their leisure hours ?

3. Do *keranis* keep up *reading* habits—if not, why?

4. How far does their knowledge of *English* acquired at school decline in office ?

5. How far do keranis read the new class of books in vernacular literature ?

6. Are *keranis* chiefly of the Kaista caste or of Brahmans ?

7. Banians (Native) their past and present influence over Europeans, their profits ?

XXV

Language

1. What is the source of that part of the *vernacular language* which is not of Sanskrit or Persian origin ? Has it, like the languages of South India, an affinity with the Tartarian dialects spoken in Central India ?

2. *The dialectical varieties in the vernacular,* how far are the divergencies of pronunciation and spelling, similar to those in the English and Italian dialects—their extent and causes: Are they on the increase or decrease?

3. How far is *Urdu* declining in certain parts of India, as a colloquial and written language? the causes?

4. What influence is likely to be produced on the *Bengali* language by increased intercourse with Central India and the North West?

5. What language is likely to supplant the *Santal,* is it the Bengali, Hindi or Urdu? Ditto as regards the Assamese?

6. What effect on the structure of the Vernaculars is likely to be produced by *English* educated natives?

7. What *idioms* in the vernacular language are most striking in contrast with those of the English and Urdu languages?

8. The language used at *Gour*, had it a closer affinity to Hindi than to Bengali?

9. What old *Vernacular MSS* exist among private families?

10. Is the Mussalman-Bengali, used chiefly by persons who cannot read or write the Bengali, increasing as a dialect?

11. The past and present influence of *Persian* in Bengal?

12. The *boundaries* of the Bengali language in the Midnapur district bordering on Orissa and in Birbhum on the Hindi-spirit districts?

13. The vernacular language, how far in its progress does it illustrate the varying features of *national character*, habits, pursuits, social and mental development?

15. Words in the vernacular having affinities with any Tartar or *aboriginal* language?

16. Illustrations of the language of *flowers* as used by Mussalmans and Hindus?

17. A list of those *vernacular words* not derived from Sanskrit or Persian—their probable origin?

18. Names of places, persons or things in the vernacular throwing any light on the origin and affinities of the *native race?*

19. *Cant* language used by particular classes?

XXVI

Law & Social State

The laws of a people have a very important bearing on their social development; hence jurisprudence has well been defined, "the law of humanity in society", and the subject from this point of view has been taken up by the Social Science Association.

1. How far is the *Penal Code,* as contrasted with the Regulations, likely to affect the social condition of the people and mould their character; and how far is the social condition of the people likely to modify the working of this Code?

2. How far has the *Panchayat* or native jury system tended to raise the character of the people? how far is it popular? would the English Jury system be more efficient in this respect?

3. The *Income Tax,* its probable bearing on the physical, social and moral condition of the people,

4. Manu's Laws, how far did they influence the masses?

5. The probable effects of making *English* the language of the Courts in its increasing the gulf between the English Judge and the masses? and in leaving the judge and the people at the mercy of the interpreter?

6. The effect on society of the Hindu law of *intestate property*.

7. Which is more favourable to the creation of a middle class and the elevation of the masses, a zemindary, a village, or a ryotwary system?

8. How would a law of *primogeniture* be likely to work in India?

9. Ditto a law like the French law of equal *sub-division?*

10. In what respects is the social condition of the people different now from what it was in the *Vedic* age—in Manu's—in Ram's—in Kalidasa's—in the Mussalman ages?

11. How far has law in India been the offspring, how far parent of *public opinion?*

12. The working of Small Cause Courts in checking or increasing a love of litigation and in promoting a regard to truth in dealings?

13. How far have native education *endowments* made the Pandits indolent by making them independent of their scholars

14. The value of village *Municipal Institutions* in preparing a people for self-government? the remains of the old system in different parts of India?

15. The importance to India of *English lawyers in India* having a training not only in law books, but also in a knowledge of the social condition of the people.

XXVII

Marriages

1. Illustrations of the effects of *early marriage* physically, mentally, socially?

2. The causes and consequences of the *expense* of marriage ceremonies

3. How far do *marriage ceremonies* vary according to caste, social position, etc.?

4. What practices in the *marriage ceremonies* as to length, expense, rites, ought to be discountenanced, what to be continued?

5. Does *early marriage* in India tend to check vice?

6. Is there a marriage in practice among the Hindoos corresponding to the Muhamedan *nikka?*

7. How far do marriages take place at a later period among *educated natives*—the effects?

8. Are *Ghataks* (Go-Betweens) many, their fees, any ghatak registries extant from Bullul Sen's time, or three centuries ago?

9. The *expense* of marriage among the various castes or classes; are they on the increase or the decrease?

XXVIII

Miscellaneous

1. The different modes of calculating time, such as by sand, water, the sun, the stars?

2. Is the *Panchayet* much practised now? was it ever in Bengal as much a part of the village system as in Central India?

3. The practicability and advantage of *Mofussil Savings*

and Loan Banks for the middle classes in the Mofussil, to promote provident habits and to rescue the Ryots from the Mahajans?

4. Is the *cycle theory* for nations, of weakness, vigour, maturity decay, inapplicable to India?

5. The *emigration* to the Mauritius and W. Indies in its effects on the social condition of the emigrants and their families; on the parties themselves on their return—are many remittances from emigrants made to their families?

6. To what type of the *European character* are the Bengalis likely to approximate—to the English or German, French or Italian?

7. Are not mere *English institutions* as little adapted for India as they would be for French?

8. *Oriental Epistles,* their various ornaments superscriptions and envelopes?

9. Have cases been known in modern times of the following punishments being enforced—cutting of a Hindu's *tika* (top knot), putting lime on one side of his face and ink on the other side, and leading him about on an ass.

10. *Names,* any change desirable in *Hindu names;* the various modes of giving them? are all expressive? are they ever changed? how many different *names* are there of men and of women?

11. *Salutation,* different modes of, any change in the form of in operation?

12. Are large towns in Bengal less favourable to morals than the country?

13. *Bazars,* their profits to the proprietors, changes in them within the last 20 years?

14. Are many new *Hindu temples* being built, where and at what cost?

15. *Spitting,* why practised so much by Hindus?

16. The history of the rise of *old families* in Calcutta?

17. What are the subjects of *national pride* with Bengalis?

18. Various forms of oaths among different castes, which are considered specially binding?

19. Are dwarfs numerous?

20. *Bankrupts* were formerly compelled to sit bare-headed before a blazing lamp, how long since that was practised?

21. Why do Hindus *count and divide* by 4? does it relate to time, such as 4 weeks, 12 hours?

22. To what extent is the *rise of prices* leading, among ryots and the working classes, to independence of feeling and action, to a desire for education and to increased domestic comfort?

23. Is *dusturi,* or servants' perquisites, in vogue in the same proportion among natives as among Europeans? was it practised in the Moghul time and at different rates according to occupation?

24. Does a *fixed price* for articles exist in any branch of Hindu trade?

25. Is there much *competition* among Hindus? Is the "cheap and nasty" system much practised?

26. Does population increase more in *town* or in the country?

27. *Longivity,* how does it vary in different districts—in various employments?

28. Has a variety of *soils* any influence on the character of the people, as low and marshy coasts are said to furnish a morbid, degraded race?

29. How far is there *real* tenderness to *animals* in India? Any places of refuge for lost or starving ones, or old ones?

30. Is *suicide* common in India? among what classes? the kinds? causes? on the increase?

31. Different kinds of *ordeal* now among the Hindus, the balance, fire, water, poison, chewing rice, boiling oil, red hot iron?

32. Twelve instances of English misunderstanding of native practices, ditto of natives mistaking English.

33. When were the native first called niggers?

34. Refute the statement that natives have neither a word for gratitude in their language, nor a sense of it towards Europeans.

36. Any *Marhatta* females settled in Bengal?

37. The causes of the rise in *prices* in the district?

XXIX

Musulmans

The Musulmans live *among* the Hindus, but are not *of* them ; they even now are, in Europe, objects of much interest to various nations, and in the middle ages they left in Europe undying memorials of their knowledge and progress in the arts and social life. The Musulmans in Bengal read Bengali, but speak a mixed dialect.

1. In what localities are there Musulmans of *Patan* or Mogul descent ?

2. What districts have Hindus become proselytes to Muhamedanism—how far by conviction ? how far by compulsion ? or from other causes ?

3. To what extent do the Musulmans differ in their social life, hospitality, kindness to the poor, amusements, *manners and customs,* from the Hindus ? do they practise polygamy or sensuality to a greater extent than the Hindus ?

4. The number, education, emoluments and influence of *Kajis* and *Mullas* in various localities ?

5. To what extent have the *Musulmans* and *Hindus* mutually adopted each other's religious and social practices ?

6. How far have the residence and influence of Musulmans diminished Hindu *superstitions,* as well as indecent and cruel practices ?

7. Is not the following Hindu practice of Musulman origin—writing with the *reed* instead of the stylo or iron pen ? other instances ?

8. How far have the strictness of Hindu caste and the easy terms on which Musulmans received converts, contributed to *Moslem proselytism ?*

9. Is Muhammedanism on the increase ? how has it gained so many converts from the ryot class ?

10. Are the following *sects of Fakirs* in lower Bengal, Benawas, Takyahdars, Jalalis, Madari ?

11. Murids—many ? their conduct ?

12. Many *Hajis* or *pilgrims ;* do many go to *Mecca* from Bengal ? by what route ? do women often proceed ? the effect on them when they return ?

13. What line of *trade*, profession or art, are Mussalmans taking to?

14. What are the descendants of the Moslem *gentry* doing; are they beginning to apply to trade? do they seek Government employ? their influence?

15. The number and endowments of *Pirsthans, Durgahs?* are many offerings made?

16. How far is *Sufeyism* spreading, and among what classes? any secret meetings among them? much asceticism? their text books? has the *vedantic* system influenced Sufeyism in India? how far has Christianity?

17. How far are the *Ferazis* an off-shoot of the Wahabees? are they spreading beyond Furridpore? are their influence and numbers on the increase?

18. Are the *Ramzan* and other feasts observed as strictly now as formerly; if not, in what particulars?

19. Do the *Ferazis* practise widow-remarriage? What Musulman ceremonies do they reject—is any connection kept up by them with Arabia?

20. The difference between Hindu and Musulman *funerals*, birthdays, marriages, as to the number of ceremonies, expense, popularity?

21. How did *Musulmans* in former days persecute the Hindus—by conferring office and landed property on converts only—by rejecting Hindu evidence in courts—by bringing Hindu children up as proselytes?

22. Are *Saids* numerous in Bengal? what estimation are they held in?

23. In Musulman *burial-grounds*, describe the various monuments erected, the state in which they are kept?

24. In the *marriage ceremonies* are sitting in state-carrying and applying tumeric—measuring for wedding garments, kept up?

25. Describe *Kodali marna* at the Mohurrum; *Kadami rasal, Mui Mobarak.*

26. Is the singing by Dervishes much practised?

27. Any practical checks to frequent divorce?

28. *Circumcision,* the ceremonies and expense attending it in different classes?

29. Is a musket fired at the *birth* of a male child?

30. Hindus, or Musulmans, which are stronger believers in witches, ghosts?

31. The numbers, profits, and social position of the Arab seamen and Moguls who come to Calcutta and other ports for trade?

32. Anecdotes or MSS. illustrating the past and present social condition of the Musulmans in Calcutta, Dacca, Hughly,

33. Are drinking habits on the increase? the causes?

34. Are women more secluded among Musulmans or Hindus?

35. Is the attachment of the Musulmans to their religion declining in proportion to the political decay of the Moslems?

36. Is the hatred between Shiahs and Sunnis lessening? ditto between other Musulman sects?

37. Describe the Musulman ceremonies at birth, circumcision, puberty, betrothal, marriages, funerals, exorcism, as practised now by different classes and how different formerly?

38. Is there as strict a regard to omens in travelling now as formerly?

39. The effects still remaining of former Moslem rule in Bengali.

XXX

The Native Press

This power, though young at present, is gradually rising to a giant's strength; and even Young Bengal is coming round to acknowledge it to be a power, if not for himself, at least for his wife and daughters, who, not requiring to be copyists, do not need to work up a certain amount of China Bazar English; the publication of half a million copies of Bengali works in Calcutta annually for sale cannot be without its effects. It is very desirable to procure manuscript literature, such as ballads, proverbs, songs, family traditions. Of what great value, in an historical point of view to the Rajputs, are the ballard of Chand?

1. The circulation and profits of the following works: *Almanacs*, *Panchalis* or popular songs, tales.

2. Past and present *Patrons* of native literature?

3. The use of *vernacular libraries* in making known new publications and creating a taste for reading?

4. A list of various *libraries* for natives established in the mofussil, their origin, success or failure, and the causes? the classes using them and the kind of books most popular?

5. A sketch of the history of native *editors*, past and present, of the former editors of the Bhaskar, Chandrika, Purna Chandrodaya, and Prabhakar *newspaper* in Calcutta?

6. The native press, how far an index of the *social*, moral and intellectual condition of the people?

7. The recent *copyright* law, in its action on native authorship?

8. *Ballads*, are there many? any very old? how far illustrative of customs, history morals?

9. The *book trade*, its profits, mode of selling, canvassing, advertising?

10. *Pictures* of the gods and goddessess, where sold, in what numbers, by whom executed?

11. *Female book hawkers*, the number, what class of books do they sell?

12. The working of the Act against *obscene publications?*

13. The practicability of procuring a volume of *Anecdotes of native social life* as drawn from their literature?

14. It has been affirmed that in the last century the Bengalis had no *moral books*, how far was that true?

XXXI

Pandits

Pandits once occupied more important position in social life than they do now. Many anecdotes are still afloat of the wonderful acquisition of Sanskrit lore made by the Tarkalankars and others of former days, of the lengthened period of their grammatical studies, their profound acquaintance with the sashtras, and their wonderful feats of memory. Their influence and emoluments are on the decay; the endowments they formerly had, which enabled them to maintain pupils according to the Hindu rule, that the master is to support the scholar, have been in many cases alienated. English education also has called for a more

practical and paying knowledge than Sanskrit, though the latter is of the utmost value for philological and antiquarian purposes.

Raja Krishna Chandra Roy of Nuddea was the Macenas of Pandits last century, and bestowed on them an immense amount of land. Adams, in his reports on education, has given as much information on the position of Pandits in 1835, so has Buchanan Hamilton on those of Behar in the beginning of this century. Though pandit-learning is on the wane, still it is to be wished that Sanskrit studies were placed in this country on a popular basis—as a key to the chief Indian vernaculars—as a capital training in Philology—and as a means of throwing a flood of light on the origin of nations; how striking the fact, brought to light by Sanskrit, that the Highlanders of Scotland, the priests of Russia, and the Brahmans of Benares, use radically the same language!

1. Pandits—illustrations of their abstruse studies, deep knowledge as well as extensive reading on subjects now little studied?

2. The emoluments, fees, and endowments of *tols* (colleges) and their influence over the pupils in various localities?

3. The various causes that have led to the *decline* of the emoluments, influence, and studies of Pandits?

4. Were *Mithila brahmans* numerous and influential in Bengal?

5. Do Pandits, Purohits, or Gurus gain more emoluments, or have greater influence?

XXXII

Proverbs

Proverbs present a rich field in illustrating the social condition of the people, as is pointed out in Trench's admirable work on the Proverbs.

1. The *origin* of vernacular Proverbs, how many are modern, how many from the Sanskrit?

2. The *extent* to which they are used, which are local?

3. Their contrast and similarity with Hindi, Urdu, Marhatta, Telegu?

4. Their resemblance to European Proverbs?

5. Proverbs illustrating the moral and social conditions of the people.

6. Proverbs throwing any light on the history of the country?

XXXIII

Readers

In oriental countries where the masses cannot read, it is very common for the people to assemble to hear one read a book to them, and explain its more difficult passages; illustrations can be seen in the Arabian Nights. Among the Bengali this class of Readers or Reciters is called a *Kathak*.

1. The *Kathaks;* their number, mode of being trained, emoluments and chief localities; are they on the increase or decrease?

2. How far could the system be adopted of employing men like *Kathaks* to read interesting works.

3. Vernacular *lectures* on popular subjects illustrated with diagrams, pictures, the desirableness and practicability of having them?

XXXIV

Recreations—Music

Music, since the days of Orpheus, as well as before, has exercised a mighty spell on the popular mind: we know the famous saying "Give me the making the ballads of a nation, and I will give you the making its laws." Sir W. Jones has written well on Hindu music and has vindicated its claims though European and Asiatics will never agree on this point.

There is a Bengali work on this, but I have met very few pandits that could explain it.

1. The *popular songs* in use, their description, number and influence?

2. An account of the most popular *ballad writers?*

3. Any English music likely to be popular in this country?

4. Any men corresponding with the *Bhats* of Rajputana or the wandering minstrels of Europe in the middle ages?

5. The numbers, profits of *musicians* who play for hire, their different classes?

6. Are *athletic exercises* as much practised now as formerly?

7. How far do Bengalis sleep more than Englishmen?

8. What *English games* or athletic exercises might be naturalised in India?

9. The advantage of having a *half-holiday* on Saturday?

10. *Field sports,* as fowling, fishing, riding, pigeon fancying, kite flying, how far practised?

11. *Gambling,* various kinds of—numbers of gamblers—gains-gambling houses?

12. The mode of spending the *evenings* among educated natives? much *discussion* on politics or religion?

13. Are *feats of skill,* such as balancing a row of water-pots on the head, dancing on poles, balancing, tumbling, rope-dancing, sleight of hand, common?

14. Native *musical instruments,* the various ones, by what classes used? the ones most popular?

15. *Analysis of vernacular books* on music?

16. Cock-fighting, bulbul-fighting, ram-fighting, how far practised?

17. The Hindu notation of music? any music on *European notation*; any counterpiont describe the various *ragas*; any harp?

18. *Listening to tales,* and riddles of an evening, how far practised?

19. Various modes of *swimming* practised, can any women swim?

XXXV

Sects

Without trenching on theological controversy, there is a wide field in considering the social influence of the various sects of Hindus and Musulmans. Professor Wilson has almost exhausted the theological part of the question in his elaborate work

on the "Sects of the Hindus", but there is much to fill up in the social part.

1. How far are the *Vaisnabs* ahead of other sects in elevating the people or women, or in proselyting? have they made any proselytes among Muhamedans? their ceremonies for the initiation of converts?

2. The extent of the *Guru's* power and emoluments now? do they travel far? the greatest number of disciples any have? their visits, instructions, moral? the various kinds of *upadesh* they whisper into the ear?

3. The duties, influence and punishment of the *Dalpati?*

4. Is this remark of Wilson correct: "In Bengal the *Lingum* worship has no hold on the people's affections, it is not interwoven with their amusements, nor must it be imagined that it offers any stimulus to impure passions." Lecture I. 22.

5. The *Saktas,* their mystical diagrams, rites and gesticulations?

6. *Lingamites,* are their priests Jangams? are any Sudras?

7. Was *Sati* practised more among Saktas or Vaishnabs?

8. Who worship Olabibi (the goddess of Cholera), when did it begin, and in what districts is it observed? ditto of Shitola, of the Karta Bhojas, of Dakin Ray, of Gazi?

9. What sects originating in the Upper Provinces have followers in Bengal, and what Bengali sects have adherents in the Upper Provinces?

10. Is the Tantric system spreading? its social influence?

11. The three leading divisions of Hindu *monks?* how far do they observe caste?

12. Among what sects is *Pantheism* spreading? is it spiritual or material pantheism?

13. The resemblances and differences between *Pantheism* and Sufyism?

14. The number of sects among the Musulmans? their respective social influences?

XXXVI

Servants

1. Do natives keep the same *number of servants* as

Europeans in a corresponding rank of life? how do their pay, treatment, work, differ in the service of Europeans, East Indians, Hindus and Musulmans?

2. The state of *slaves* in former days—their price and treatment?

3. The causes that *servants in Calcutta* and other parts in India are said to be inferior to what they used to be—is it that those who govern ill are served ill?

4. How far is the practice of exchanging *certificates* of character carried?

5. Chubdar (macemen), their numbers and pay in former days? when did their numbers become less?

6. Anecdotes illustrative of the number, treatment, and cost of slaves in Bengal in former times?

7. How far are the rules of caste among servants really such? how far are they an invention for the own case and profit? (In Madras, the land of real caste, one servant does the work of many).

8. Ayahs, their castes, emoluments, morals?

9. The moral and social effects of so many servants being separated from their wives and families? is it like the Scotch boothy system?

XXXVII

Travelling

Though pilgrimages may have conduced to encourage the Hindus to a love of adventure and to season them to hardship, still there is among Bengalis a strong clinging to their native place and their *bhailok,* and yet Bengalis are found like Jews everywhere in India, but with better effect now than what Hamilton records "of the Calcutta Babus sent to Dinagepore, which is invaded by strangers from Calcutta, most of them rapacious as kites, and eager to accumulate fortunes in order to be able to retire to their native country". We trust that one of the effects of the railroad will be to lead a different kind of Bengalis to visit Behar, viz., the educated native who wishes to see the remains of the former greatness of his country, as seen in the Buddhist ruins of Behar, the Hindu monuments of Benares, the Moslem grandeur of Agra

and Delhi, the beauteous scenery in the valley of the Soane and the Jain buildings of Rajputanah, with the wide Champaign of Rewa—we hope this Indian *grand tour* may be considered necessary to crown a book education.

1. Do the Bengalis travel more than the *Behar* men? is their love to it on the increase?

2. Do pilgrimages in *Bengal* contribute more to a travelling spirit than in the Agra Presidency?

3. Is much *correspondence* kept up between Bengalees located in the Agra Presidency and their friends in Bengal?

4. How far is *cheap postage* leading the lower classes to a desire to learn to write and read.

5. Different kinds of *lodging houses* for travellers, their various prices—accommodation—are they over-crowded—do scenes of vice or robbery often occur?

6. Railways, their effects on third class travellers, in lessening caste prejudices—enlarging powers of observation—promoting social comfort—how far are women availing themselves of them?

7. *News,* the various modes of procuring and publishing?

8. *Planting trees,* by the road sides, how far practised in ancient and modern times?

9. The causes leading to natives *emigrating* to the Mauritius and other parts?

XXXVIII

Vehicles

1. The various changes in shape the *palankeen* has undergone.

2. How far is it feasible to introduce into lower Bengal the use of *ekka,* which is both cheap and expeditious?

3. *Palki Bearers,* in Calcutta—their numbers, mode of life, localities, character, profit—their native country—many from Behar? *Ghariwallas,* ditto?

4. *Cycles* in Calcutta, ditto-ditto—were not syces formerly more swift on foot?

5. The origin of the shape of the present *keranchis.* Is it taken from old English coaches?

XXXIX

Working Classes

In England much interest has been taken in the working classes, as the great pillar of the social system.

In India in the *present* state of things, the working classes afford a fine field for education and social improvement, as their improved social condition, the rise of wages, and their wants lead them to feel a stronger desire for education and its accompaniments ; to them a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, is rendered by their daily occupations a matter of necessity, while a little colloquial English would in some cases be of use to them. What they specially need is not a smattering of book-English, but a sound vernacular education, embracing the elements of mathematics and manufacturing skill, on the plan of commercial schools in England, from which a smattering of Latin has been excluded. How many eminent men have risen from this class, such as Stephenson and Hugh Millar, are encouragement to others ; like as in the French Army, every soldier is said to carry the baton of field-marshall in his knapsack, or in Russia where several millionaires were originally serfs. In Jehanabad a century ago a Musulman tailor founded a sect composed of Musulmans and Hindus, who respect the Koran and Sashtras ; this tailor composed 18 secred books in Hindi, and his followers now amount to 20,000. *Kabir* sprung from a weaver family, was the founder of one of the greatest sects in North India, while among the village gods worshipped in Behar are those who were boatmen, domes, oilmen. Chandra Gupta's maternal grandfather was a barber.

The London Working Men's College, established in 1854, has 270 students in Mathematics, Drawing, French, Natural History ; there are other colleges in Manchester, Halifax, having among their alumni, carpenters, shoe-makers, weavers, tailors and porters. When will Bengal have hers ?—the working men now can scarcely read. When in India to have the literature of labour —like that of Burns, the bard and ploughman—Clare, the peasant poet—Hogg, the shepherd poet—Cooper, the shoe-maker poet—

Miller, the stonemason geologist. Hood's literature of labour and achievements of mind among the cottage, or "mind among the spindles" suggests many reflections on this.

1. *Weavers,* their numbers, profits, social position, localities ; do many read ; have many risen in the world ?

2. *Tailors,* are all Musulmans ?

3. *Shoe-makers,* do any become rich ? is the prejudice against them declining ?

4. *Potters,* why inferior to those of former days ?

5. *Dyers,* different kinds and nature of dyes ?

6. *Masons* and *stone cutters,* are they chiefly immigrants ?

7. *Smiths,* the profits and social position of various classes as coppersmith, tinsmith, blacksmith, goldsmith.

8. *Confectioners,* any poisonous matter used in their colouring confectionary ?

9. *Bookbinders,* any Hindus, if not, why ?

10. *Shopkeepers,* why so many readers among them ? what *class in society* do they come from ?

11. *Idol makers,* their localities, profits, numbers ?

12. *Firework makers,* ditto.

13. *Pansaries* or *Grocers,* ditto.

14. Instances of *Revolutions in Trade* in this country from change of employment, like that in Europe among weavers, manuscript copyers, coach proprietors ?

15. Instances among the working classes of men who have risen to wealth or social distinction, or who have educated their sons well ?

16. Is the *Shilpa Sasthtra* in use among any priests ?

17. Any strike among the working classes ?

18. The middleman system, its evils ?

Among the most thriving trades is that of keepers of tatties, who profit as much by this dirty work as English undertakers do by their other divisions of it. I have heard of some of those men near Dharmtola bazar, Calcutta, who earn between two and three hundred rupees monthly. In the Congress of General Hygiene in France, 1852, one resolution passed was, "That the instruction of the young in the labouring classes ought to comprise all which relates to the cleanliness of their person and

of their dwellings, to the benefits resulting from good ventilation and the evils arising from humidity." There is on the continent the Association International de Bienfaisance, whose main objects are to bring into relationships all interested in the condition of the working classes, reformatory institutions and popular education.

"পালিত কপোতিনীর প্রতি"

জনৈকা মহিলা (ঢাকা)

বলো ওগো কপোতিনী
কেন এত বিষাদিনী
হেরিতেছি বলগো তোমায়
প্রকাশিয়া বলনা আমায়

* * * *

এত দুঃখী কোন দুঃখে
আছ সদা অধোমুখে
নেত্রনীর কর সম্বরণ
শুধাও আমায় বিবরণ।

* * * *

সুবর্ণ শিকল পদে
সদা আছ উচ্চপদে
সুবর্ণ পিঞ্জরে অবস্থান
ইথে ও কি ভোলে না গো প্রাণ?

* * * *

তোমার সন্তোষ তরে
অপূর্ব কোটরা পূরে
রহিয়াছে খাবার সকল
তবে তুমি কেন গো চঞ্চল?

* * * *

বল করি বিচরণ
করি আহারাহরণ
তাতেই বা কত সুখোদয়
বলো মোরে হইয়ে সদয়

*   *   *   *

শুন গো কপোতপ্রিয়ে
বলিতে বিদরে হিয়ে
আমি ও গো পিঞ্জরবাসিনী
কিবা সুখে বাঁচে স্বেচ্ছাধিনী

*   *   *   *

আছ তুমি যে সুখেতে
স্বর্ণময় পিঞ্জরেতে
আমাদের নাহি এত সুখ
তুমি কেন হও গো বিমুখ ?

*   *   *   *

না দেয় গঞ্জনা কেহ
দাসীত্ব ভার না বহ
অন্ন জলে নাহিক অভাব
তবে কেন ভাব নানাভাব

*   *   *   *

ছিলে যবে স্বেচ্ছাধিনী
ভ্রমি বনে একাকিনী
কত সুখ লভেছিলে তায় !
কি দুঃখে বা আছ গো হেথায়

*   *   *   *

বেড়াইতে নানা বন
শাখা করি আরোহণ

কত কষ্টে জপিছ যামিনী।
এত সুখে আছ বিষাদিনী ?
*   *   *   *

বুঝিলাম এতক্ষণে
তব ভাব দরশনে
তোমারেই বুঝিয়াছি সার
নাহি বহ অধীনতা ভার
*   *   *   *

শুন ওগো বিহগিনী
মোরা অতি অভাগিনী
অন্তঃপুরে পিঞ্জর বাসী
আছি সদা অধীনের দাসী।
*   *   *   *

চিরদিন একমত
হিতাহিত জ্ঞানাহত
জ্ঞান ধর্মে দিয়ে বিসর্জন
একভাবে করেছি যাপন।
*   *   *   *

তুমি নও চিরদাসী
কিছুদিন তরে আসি
হেরিতেছ দুঃখের বয়ান
হবে পুনঃ দুঃখ অবসান
*   *   *   *

হায়রে মোদের দুখ
বলিলে বিদরে বুক
এর চেয়ে পাখী যদি হই
তবু বুঝি মন সুখে রই।
*   *   *   *

ধন্য ওগো কপোতিনী
মানবিনী হতমানী
হয়ে আছে দেখে তব সুখ
তাই ঢাকে ঘোমটাতে মুখ।

*   *   *   *

কি বলিব বিধাতারে ?
বলিতে প্রাণ বিদরে।
মোরা বুঝি তব কন্যা নই
তাই সদা এত দুঃখ সই।

*   *   *   *

না হইয়ে ধর্মাধিনী
আছি সদা পরাধিনী
সদা থাকি ক্রীতদাসী প্রায়
এই কি হে তব অভিপ্রায় ?

*   *   *   *

পাই কত মর্ম ব্যথা
তথাপি না বলি কথা।
সদা মুখ ঢাকি ঘোমটায়
এই কি হে তব অভিপ্রায় ?

*   *   *   *

হয়ে দেশাচার দাসী
অজ্ঞান সলিলে ভাসি
কাটিলাম এ দুর্লভ কায়
এই কি হে তব অভিপ্রায় ?

(Translation)

To a Tame Dove

Translated By Rev. J. Murry Mitchell, LLD.
Calcutta.

Pretty dove, oh tell me now,
Why so sorrowful art thou ?
As I stand and look at thee,
All thy case explain to me.
* * * *

Sure, thou hast some secret woe,
When I see thee drooping so ;
Speak, my bird,—and dry thy tears—
All thy troubles, all thy fears.
* * * *

On thy foot a chain of gold,
Thou thy perch on high dost hold,—
And in golden cage dost dwell ;
Should not that content thee well ?
* * * *

For thy comfort, all around,
See what pretty cups abound,
Which all dainty morsels fill !
Yet thy heart is heavy still.
* * * *

Say, when thou abroad didst fare,
Pecking, picking, here and there,
Was thy life a life of bliss ?
Do, kind birdie, answer this !
* * * *

Nay, my cherished darling nay,
Hear what else I sadly say,—
I too am encaged like thee—
(Blessed, doubtless, are the free.)
* * * *

But the solace that is thine
In that golden cage so fine,
Never comes to such as I;
Why then pines my darling, why?

* * * *

Words ungentle vex not thee,
Nor great load of slavery!
Every want at once supplied,—
Why art thou not satisfied?

* * * *

And when thou at liberty
Flitting wert from tree to tree,
Was thy happiness so great?
And so wretched now thy state?

* * * *

Wandering ever, ill at ease,
Perching but on forest trees,
Lonely was thy life and sad:—
Surely, now thou might'st be glad!

* * * *

But I can discover now—
As I watch thy feelings—thou
Seest the truth, that this can be
Hardly called captivity.

* * * *

Listen then to what I say,—
Think how miserable they,
Captives in Zenana drear,
Lowest thralls, and crushed by fear.

* * * *

Still the same, we drag along,
Ignorant of right and wrong,
Knowledge and religion, none!
Life a dreary monotone!

* * * *

Thou art not a slave always,
Thou but comest a few days,
Just to look on misery;
Then away thy sorrows flee.

* * * *

But the heart will die, before
Half our trials it count o'er ;
Oh were I a dove like thee,
Then, methinks, I'd blessed be !

* * * *

Bird ! thy happier lot to see
Makes a woman envy thee !
Filled with shame she hides her face,
So to cover her disgrace.

* * * *

Shall I speak to God on high ?
But I tremble as I try !
We are not Thy daughters, sure,
Who must woes like these endure !

* * * *

All untrained in truth, the soul—
Swayed alone by harsh control—
On, like purchased slaves, we go :
Ah ! dost Thou then mean it so ?

* * * *

Still, although the heart is broken,
Must the pang remain unspoken :
Veil the face, and hide the woe !
Ah ! dost Thou then mean it so ?

* * * *

Wretched custom's helpless slaves—
Whelmed in superstition's waves—
Thus our precious life doth go :
Ah : dost Thou then mean it so ?

APPENDIX V

List of Papers submitted to the Bengal Social Science Association 1867-78

Jurisprudence & Law Section :

1.	"On Pre-emption" By Babu Shama Churan Sircar	25.7.1867
2.	"Suggestions regarding the Law relating to Merchant Sea-men" By Mr. J. H. A. Bransom, Bar-at-Law	Ditto
3.	"On Testamentary Law" By Babu Srinath Chundra	Ditto
4.	"The Jury System in Bengal" By Troyluck Nath Mittra	30.1.1868
5.	"The Benami System in Different Branches" By Babu Shama Churn Sircar	Ditto
6.	"Crime, Criminal and Prison Discipline in Bengal" By Mr. F. J. Mouat, M.D.I.G. Prisons in Lower Bengal	22.1.1869
7.	"The Muhamedan Law of Marriage & Dower" By Moulvi Abdool Lutif Khan	19.1.1869
8.	"Benami Transactions in Bengal" no mention of author	Jan. 1870
9.	"On the Examination of Witnesses in Muffasil Courts" By Babu Peary Mohan Mookerjee	2.1.1871
10.	"On some Features of Litigation in Bengal" By The Hon'ble J. B. Phear	26.3.1872
11.	"Prison Discipline and Industry Reformatory Schools" By Miss Mary Carpenter	18.12.1875

12. "On Reformatory Schools and the Proper Classes of Juvenile Criminals to be subjected to Reformatory Treatment"
By Mr. H. Beverley — 23.5.1878

13. "On the Statistics and Causes Suicide in India"
By Mr. Kenneth McLeod — 13.6.1878

Education Section :

1. "On the Progress of Education in Bengal"
By Kissory Chand Mitra — 24.7.1867

2. "Memorandum on the Tols of Halishahar, Bhatpara and Nuddea"
By Mahesh Chunder Sarma — 25.7.1867

3. "Mahomedan Education in Bengal"
By Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur — 30.1.1868

4. "What is the Practicable Method of Educating Hindu Women"
By Chunder Nath Bose — 30.1.1868

5. "Female Education"
By Mr. H. H. Locke & Chunder Nath Bose — 20.1.1869

6. "Compulsory Education in Bengal"
By Rev. Lal Behari Day — 19.1.1869

7. "The Calcutta Ragged School"
By Mr. J. B. Knight — 19.1.1869

8. "Some Remarks on the National Education League"
By Mr. Arthur P. Howell — 31.3.1870

9. "A Popular Literature for Bengal"
By Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee — 31.3.1870

10. "On the Transliteration of Indian Names of Persons and Places"
By Rev. K. M. Banerjee — 28.2.1870

11. "The Improvement of Indian Women"
By Babu Keshab Chandra Sen — 24.2.1871

12. "On Physical Elucation"
By Capt. R. G. Loch — 22.4.1871

13. "Some University Matters"
By Babu Chunder Nath Bose — 1872

Health Section

1. "An Introduction to Investigations regarding the Public Health"
By Dr. A. V. Best — 26.7.1867
2. "On the Laws of Health Considered with reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of India"
By Babu Kannay Lal Dey — 26.7.1867
3. "A Sketch of Subjects relating to the Public Health"
By Mr. T. Farquhar M. D. — 30.1.1868
4. "On Indian Sanitation"
By Miss F. Nightingale — June 1870
5. "The Drainage of Calcutta"
By Mr. W. Clark — 2.2.1871

Economy & Trade Section

1. "On the Domestic Economy of the Hindus"
By Babu Koilash Ch. Bose — 26.7.1867
2. 'Social & Industrial Economy in India"
By Mr. James Wilson — 30.1.1868
3. "The Festivals of the Hindus"
By Babu Kissory Chand Mitra — 30.1.1868
4. "Female Occupations in Bengal"
By Babu Greesh Ch. Ghosh — 30.1.1868
5. "Popular Bengali Proverbs, illustrating the Social condition and opinions of the ryots, working classes and women of Bengal"
By Rev. J. Long — 30.1.1868
6. "The Social Conditions of the Muhamedans of Bengal, and the Remedies"
By Rev. J. Long — 21.1.1869
7. "On the Population of India"
By Mr. H. Beverley, C. S. — 20.1.1869

8. "Thoughts on the Present Social & Economical Condition of Bengal"
By Babu Chunder Nath Bose 21.1.1869
9. "On the Origin of Hindu Festivals"
By Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee 20.1.1869
10. "On the condition of the Bengal Ryot"
By Babu Peary Mohan Mukherjee. 11.2.1870
11. "Calcutta & Bombay in Their Social Aspects"
By Rev. J. Long 11.2.1870
12. "Gya and the Gyalls"
By Babu Doorgagoti Banerjee 11.2.1870
13. "Decentralisation of the Finances of India"
By Mr. R. Knight 22.4.1871
14. 'Taxes in India"
By Mr. T. J. Chichele-Plowden 22.4.1871

Economy & Trade Section

1. "On Social Progress"
By J. Remfry 22.4.1871
2. "On the Decentralisation of the Finances"
By Mr. T. J. C. Grant, C. S. 22.4.1871
3. "On Tied Arches"
By Mr. W. Clark 26.3.1872
4. "Village Communities in India & Russia"
By Rev. J. Long 26.3.1872
5. 'The Church Mission Compound, Amherst Street"
By Rev. J. Vaughan 26.3.1872
6. "The Calcutta Economic Museum"
By The Hon'ble J. B. Phear 24.7.1876
7. "A Few Facts Concerning Village Life"
By Babu Issur Chunder Mitter 25.7.1877
8 "The Origin & Development of Caste"
By Rev. K. M. Banerjee 23.4.1878

LIST OF INDIAN MEMBERS OF THE BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION 1868-1878

Abdul Lutif Moulvi	Calcutta
Abdul Qadir Moulvi	Midnapore
Abdul Hassan Syed	Gaya
Abdul Hussain Said	Buxar
Amir Ali Munshi	Calcutta
Amir Hasan Syed	Bhagolpore
Ardaseer Dhunjeebhoy Wadya	Bombay
Ardaseer Framjee Moos	Bombay
Azimuddin Syed C. S. I	Patna
Banerjee Bhairab Chandra	Calcutta
,, Durgagoti	Patna
,, Gopal Chander	Calcutta
,, Rev. K. M.	,,
,, Kunjolal	,,
,, Peary Mohan	,,
,, Poorna Chundra	,,
,, Sasipada	,,
,, W. C. (Attorney)	,,
,, W. C. (Bar-at-law)	,,
,, Woomesh Chunder	,,
Bose Ambika Churn	Bhowanipore
,, Beressar	Calcutta
,, Bhagawan Chundra	Fureedpore
,, Chunder Nauth	Calcutta
,, Devonath	,,
,, Koilash Chunder	,,
,, Luckhi Narain	,,
,, Mohesh Chunder	,,
,, Nil Madhab	,,

Babu Sham Chand	Calcutta
Burral Prem Chand	Purulia
Bysack Gour Das	Barracpore
Chatterjee Bankim Chandra	Chittagong
„ Chandra Kumar	Calcutta
„ Khettra Mohan	„
„ Pran Nath	„
Chukerbuthy S. G., M. D.	„
Chundra Sree Nauth	„
Daliluddin Moulvi	„
Das Guru Churn	Jungypore
„ Nilmony	Comilla
De Kanny Lall G.M.C.B.	Calcutta
„ Lal Behary, Revd.	„
„ Netra lall	Burdwan
„ Nilmoni	Calcutta
Deb Hurrendra Krishna Kumar	Calcutta
„ Koilas Chandra	„
„ Shib Chandra	„
Dhur Behari lall	„
Dutt Debendra Chandra	„
„ Dwarkanath	„
„ Gooroodas	„
„ Kali Prasanna	„
„ Kedar Nath	Purneah & Pooree
„ Khetra Nath	Calcutta
„ Uday Chandra	Pooree
Edulji Nusurwanjee Colaba Walla	Bombay
Ganguli Dino Nath	Etawah N.W.P.
Ghosh Debendra Chunder	Calcutta
„ Gopi Mohan	„
„ Gopi Nath	Bhagolpore
„ Girish Chunder	Calcutta
„ Jadu Nath	„
„ Man Mohan	„
„ Mothoor Nuth	Bhagalpore
„ Rausbehari	Calcutta
Ghosal Issur Chunder	„
Heerjeebhoy Manockjee Rustomjee	„

Ikram Rusool Moulvi	Cuttack
Law Roma Nath	Calcutta
Missra Rajendra lal	Bhawnipore
Mittra The Hon'ble Dwarka Nath	,,
,, Girish Chandra	Calcutta
,, Kashishur	,,
,, Kishory Chund	,,
,, Mohendra Nath	,,
,, Peary Chand	,,
,, Rajendra	,,
,, Ram Chander	,,
Majumdar Borodakant	Midnapore
Mookherjee Peary Mohan	Ooter para
Moulik Denobundhoo	Barisal
Mukherjee Bhoodeb	Chinsurah
,, Gunga Persad	Bhowanipore
,, Juggoda Nund	Calcutta
,, Kaminee Comud	,,
,, Khettra Nath	,,
Mullick Obhoy Churn	Barisal
,, Prosad Das	,,
,, Subal Chander	,,
Mullick Tarak Nath	Calcutta
Muncherjee Sapoorjee	,,
Nandi Chandra Nath	Gowhatty
Pauray Gopi Bullub	Naseerabad
Prodhan Indra Narain	Kukoohatty
Raja Chunder Nath Ray Bahadur	Natore
,, Pramatha Nath Roy Bahadur	Digga putteah
Roy Bhupati	Sylhet
,, Bissun Chand	Benaras
,, Gobind Nath Maharaja	Nattore
,, Luchmee Chand	Benares
,, Mohini Mohan	Bhowanipore
,, Nurshing Das	Monghyr
,, Prosunno Kumar	Calcutta
,, Sharoda Prosad	Burdwan
Sarafuddin Syed	Lucknow
Sanyal Dinobandhu	Monghyr

Saranji U.C.	Cuttack
Sarbadhikari Prasanna Kumar	Calcutta
Sarkar Eshan Chunder	"
" Shama Churn	"
" Sree Coomar	"
Seetul Pershad Moonshee	Benares
Sen Keshab Chandra	Calcutta
" Madhob Chandra	"
" Morali Dhar	"
" Sree Nath	"
Shome Mohendra lal	"
Singh Kali Prasunno	"
Sircar Mohendralal M. P.	"
Sorabjee Nowrazee Wadya	Bombay
Tagore Annoda Nundan	Calcutta
" Debendra nath	"
" Dijindra Nath	"
" Uttendra Nundun	"

Honorary Members

Carpentar, Miss Mary, Bristol.
Nightingale, Miss Florence, London.
Phear, Honble J. B. Ballygunge.

Connogar Branch Association

Banerjee Rausbehari
Chatterjea Dwarkanath
" Jadoo Gopal
Deb Girish Chunder
" Shib Chunder
Mitter Gobind Chunder
" Kasi Prosonno
" Troylokho Nath
Mookerjee Chunder Shikar

Bombay Life Members

Bandarjee Jejeebhoy
Byramjee Jejeebhoy, Hon'ble

Corsetjee Nusserwanjee Cama
Dinshaw Manckjee Petil
Franjee Nusserwavjee
Korshondas Madhavdas
Merwarjee Framjee Panday
Mungledas Nathoobhoy, Hon'ble
Nusserwanjee Ardaseer Wadya
Nusserwanjee Manochjee Petil
Pestonjee Hormusjee Suntook
Puddamjee Rostumji Khan Bahadur, Poona
Shorabjee Shapoorjee
Venyeckrow Juggernathjee Junkersett.

Muzzafarpur Branch Association

Saiad Mahomed Tuckee Khan, President
Babu Bhoopati Roy Bahadoor, Vice-President
Saiad Imadad Ali, Secretary
Babu Radhagobind Dutt, Asstt. Secretary

Members

Baboo Bishendeo Narain Sahee
,, Iswar Narain Singh
,, Kedar Nath Banerjee
,, Mohes Chunder Chatterjee
,, Poorna Chunder Mitter
,, Shib Chunder Chatterjee
,, Wooma Churn Mozumdar
,, Woomesh Chundra Roy
Moonshi Binda Persad
Moonshi Mahomed Amir
,, Phool Chund Lal
,, Sitaram.
Moulvi Abdurruheem

Appendix VII

Structure of the Committees of the Bengal Social Science Association (1868-1878)

SECTIONAL COMMITTEES 1968

1. *Jurisprudence & Law*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Norman
A. Mackenzie Esq. C.S.
J. H. A. Branson Esq.
Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur
Babu Roma Nath Law
The Hon'ble Dwarkanath Mitra
Babu Chundernath Bose M.A.
President : Justice Phear
Secretaries : H. Beverley Esq. C.S.
Babu Peary Chand Mittra

2. *Education.*

Chairman : W. S. Atkinson, Esq.
Secretaries : H. H. Locke Esq.
Babu Chundernath Bose
Members : Sir William Muir K.C.S.I.
H. Woodrow Esq.
The Rev. J. Long
Babu Kissory Chand Mitra
" Ram Chunder Mitra
" Bhoodeb Mookherjea
Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur
President : The Rev. K. M. Banerjee

3. *Health*

President : Babu Koylas Chundra Bose

Secretary : Babu Kanaylal Dey

Members : T. Farquhar M.D.
Major G. B. Malleson
,, F. B. Norman
J. Ewart M.D.
J. Anderson M.D.
A. V. Best M.D.
Norman Chevers M.D.
S. G. Churckerbutty M.D.
J. Fawcus M.D.
J. Fayrer M.D.
A. J. Payne M.D.

4. *Economy & Trade*

Members : T. Farquhar M.D.
Major F. B. Norman
J. B. Knight Esq.
Manockjee Rustomjee Esq.
A. Mackenzie Esq. C.S.
J. G. Bowerman Esq.
C. Lazarus Esq.
Babu Grish Chunder Ghosh
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

SECTIONAL COMMITTEES 1869

1. *Jurisprudence & Law*

Chairman : Walter M. Bourke Esq.

Secretary : Babu Shama Churn Sircar

Members : Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur
J. H. A. Branson Esq.
Babu Koonjo Lal Banerjee
,, Chunder Nath Bose
,, Monmohun Ghosh Esq.
,, Roma Nath Law
The Hon'ble Dwarkanath Mitra
A. Mackenzie Esq.
Babu Mohendra Lal Shome
W. M. Souttar Esq.
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

2. *Education*

Chairman : W. S. Alkinson
Secretaries : H. Blochman Esq.
Babu Chunder Nath Bose
Members : Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
Rev. E. Bromhead
Kumar Harendra Krishna Deb
Rev J. Long
Babu Kissory Chand Mittra
,, Ram Chunder Mitra
,, Bhoodeb Mookerjea
,, Prosanna Kumar Surbadhikary
H. Woodraw Esq.
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

3. *Health*

Chairman : Norman Chevers, M. D.
Secretary : Babu Kanny Lal Dey
Members : J. Anderson, M.D.
Babu Koilas Chunder Bose
S. G. Chuckrabutty, M.D.
J. Ewart, M.D.
J. Fawcus, M.D.
J. Fayrer, M.D., C.S.I.
Colonel G. B. Malleson
A. J. Payne, M.D.
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

4. *Economy & Trade*

Chairman : C. H. Campbell, Esq.
Secretaries : W. M. Souttar, Esq.
James Wilson, Esq.

2. *Education*

Chairman : W. S. Atkinson, Esq.
The President & Secre'aries of the Association.

Members :	J. G. Bowerman, Esq.
	Babu Khettra Mohun Chatterjea
	,, Isser Chunder Ghosal
	,, Grish Chunder Ghose
	J. B. Knight, Esq.
	C. Lazarus, Esq.
	A. Mackenzie, Esq.
	Babu Jodoo Lal Mullick
	,, Prosad Das Mullick
	R. Scott Moncrieff, Esq.
	A. G. Roussac, Esq.
	Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
	Babu Moorali Dhur Sen

SECTIONAL COMMITTEES 1870

1. *Jurisprudence*

Chairman :	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear
Secretaries :	Babu Shayma Churn Sircar
	,, Ramanath Law
	,, Greesh Chunder Mittra
Members :	Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
	Babu Chunder Nath Bose M.A.
	The Hon'ble Dwarkanath Mitter
	Babu Joggodanund Mookerjea
	,, Koonje Lal Banerjee
	,, Mohendra Lal Shome

2. *Education*

Chairman :	The Rev. J. Long
Secretaries :	H. Blockman Esq.
	Babu Chunder Nath Bose
Members :	Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
	The Rev. K. M. Banerjea
	H. Woodrow Esq.
	The President & Secretaries of the Association.

3. *Health*

Chairman : J. Ewart, M.D.
Secretary : Babu Kanny Lal Dey
Members : J. Anderson, M.D.
S. G. Chuckerbutty, M.D.
J. Fawcus, M.D.
J. Fayrer, M.D., C.S.I.
F. J. Mouat, M.D.
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

4. *Economy & Trade*

Chairman : Babu Peary Chand Mittra
Secretary : W. M. Souttar Esq.
Members : J. G. Bowerman Esq.
W. P. Duff Esq.
C. Lazarus Esq.
Babu Issur Chunder Ghosal
" Jodoo Lal Mullick
J. B. Knight Esq.
Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
Babu Prosad Das Mullick
The President & Secretaries of the Association.

SECTIONAL COMMITTEES 1871

1. *Jurisprudence & Law*

Chairman : The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear
Secretaries : Babu Shayma Churn Sircir
Babu Romanath Law
Members : The Hon'ble Dwarka Nath Mitter
Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
W. M. Souttar Esq., C.S.
Babu Joggodanund Mookerjee
" Koonjelal Banerjee
" Mohendra Lal Shome
" Chundernath Bose

4. *Education*

Chairman : Babu Keshab Chunder Sen
Secretaries : Babu Chundranath Bose
,, Pertab Chunder Mojoomder
Members : Rev. J. Long
H. Woodrow, Esq.
Rev. K. M. Banerjee
J. Remfrey, Esq.
Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
Coomar Harendra Krishna Bahadur
H. Blockman, Esq.
Babu Jodoonath Ghosh

3. *Health*

Chairman : J. Fayrer, M.D., C.S.I.
Secretary : Babu Kanny Lal Dey
Members : Norman Chevers, M.D.
J. Fawcus, M.D.
S. G. Chuckerbutty, M.D.
Mahendra Lal Sircar, M.D.
Babu Gunga Prosad Mookherjee
,, Annada Charan Kastogir

4. *Economy & Trade*

Chairman : J. Remfrey, Esq.
Secretary : W. M. Souttar Esq., C.S.
Members : H. Beverley Esq., C.S.
J. B. Knight, Esq.
Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
J. G. Bowerman, Esq.
H. Clarton, Esq.
C. Lazaras, Esq.
Babu Issurchunder Ghosal
,, Jodoo Lal Mullick
,, Persad Das Mullick

1. *Jurisprudence*

Chairman : The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear
Secretaries : Shayma Churn Sarkar
Romanath Law
Members : The Hon'ble Dwarka Nath Mitter
T. D. Ingram, Esq.
W. M. Souttar, Esq., C.S.
W. L. Heeley, Esq., C.S.
H. Beverley, Esq., C.S.
J. C. Orr, Esq.
W. C. Bonerjee, Esq.
The Hon'ble Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
Babu Joggodanund Mookerjee
" Mohini Mohun Roy
" Chunder Nath Bose

2. *Education*

Chairman : Babu Keshab Chunder Sen
Secretaries : Babu Chunder Nath Bose
" Protap Chunder Mozumdar
Members : J. Geoghegan, Esq., C.S.
R. H. Wilson, Esq., C.S.
H. Woodrow, Esq.
Rev. K. M. Banerjee
Kumar Harendra Krishna Bahadoor
H. Blockman, Esq.
Babu Jodunath Ghosh
Moonshi Amir Ali Khan Bahadur
Babu Prasanna Kumar Sarbadhikary
H. M. Manockjee Esq.
T. J. Chichele Plowden, Esq., C.S.

3. *Health*

Chairman : D. B. Smith, M.D.
Secretary : Babu Kanny Lal Dey

Members :	K. Mcleod, M.D.
	W. L. Heeley, Esq.
	S. G. Chuckerbutty, M.D.
	Dr. C. F. Tonnerre
	G. W. Kellner, Esq.
	W. Clark, Esq.
	Mohendra Lal Sarkar, M.D.
	Babu Gunga Persad Mookerjee
	,, Lukhi Narain Bose

4. *Economy & Trade*

Charman :	G. W. Kellner, Esq.
Secretary :	W. M. Souttar, Esq.
Members :	J. B. Knight, Esq.
	H. Beverley, Esq. C.S.
	Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
	J. G. Bowerman, Esq.
	W. L. Heeley, Esq., C.S.
	J. B. Roberts, Esq.
	Babu Gour Das Bysack
	,, Biressur Bose
	,, Jadu Lal Mullick

COUNCIL & NOT SECTIONAL COUNCIL FROM 1873

The Council & Office Bearers 1874

President :	The Hon'ble Sir G. Campbell
Vice-Presidents :	Dr. J. Ewart
	Rev. K. M. Banerjee
Secretaries :	Babu Peary Chand Mitter
	H. J. S. Cotton, Esq., C.S.
Council :	Hon'ble Moulvi Abdool Latif
	Munshi Amir Ali
	Babu Kunjolal Banerjea
	Dr. S. G. Chuckerbutty
	J. Geoghegan, Esq., C.S.
	W. L. Heeley, Esq., C.S.
	G. W. Kellner, Esq.

Rev. G. Kerry
R. Knight, Esq.
Kumar Harendra Krishna Bahadur
Babu Peary Mohun Mukherjea
Hon'ble J. B. Phear
Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
Babu Keshab Chunder Sen
,, Shayma Churn Sircar

THE COUNCIL & OFFICE BEARERS 1876

President :	Hon'ble Sir R. Temple
Vice-Presidents :	Hon'ble Sir W. Muir
	Dr. J. Ewart
Secretaries :	Moulvi Abdool Latif
	C. P. Macaulay, Esq., C.S.
Councils :	Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadur
	Dr. K. M. Banerjea
	Babu Kunjolal Banerjea
	H. Beverley, Esq., C.S.
	J. Geoghegan, Esq., Ss.
	Raja Harendra Krishna Bahadur
	Rev. Knight, Esq.
	Babu Peary Churn Mitter
	,, Peary Mohan Mukherjea
	Hon'ble J. B. Phear
	Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
	Babu Keshab Chunder Sen
	,, Shama Churn Sarkar
	H. Woodrow Esq.

THE COUNCIL & OFFICE BEARERS 1877

Vice-Presidents :	The Hon'ble H. Bell, C.S.
	C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., C.S., I.C.S.
Secretaries :	H. M: Tobin Esq, C.S.
	Moulvi A. L. Khan Bahadur
Councils :	H. Beverley Esq, C.S.

The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea
Prince Mahomed Ruhemoodeen
W. H. Grimley, Esq., C.S.
Babu Kunjolal Banerjea
Prince Mirza Jahan Kuddur Khan Bahadoor
A. W. Croft, Esq.
Raja Harendra Krishna Roy Bahadur
Prince Mahommed Nusseroodden Hyder
R. Knight, Esq.
Babu Keshab Chunder Sen
Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadoor
Dr. R. C. Chundra
The Hon'ble Issur Chunder Mitter Roy Bahadur
Manockjee Rustomjee, Esq.
Anand Mohun Bose, Esq
Babu Jodoo Lal Mullick
,, Sreenath Ghosh Roy Bahadoor
,, Rajendra Nath Mitter
,, Kanny Lal Dey Roy Bahadur
,, Brojendra Kumar Seal Roy Bahadur
,, Peary Mohun Mukherjee
,, Dwarkanath Biswas
,, Bhuggobutty Churun Mullick
,, Kali Mohan Das
,, Kali Prosonno Ghosh
,, Jogendra Chunder Dutt
,, Prannath Pandit Saraswati
,, Nilmoney Dey
Moulvi Abdool Rauf.

APPENDIX VIII

(A)

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

M. A. EXAMINATION 1911

Political Economy & Political Philosophy (B)

SOCIOLOGY—(Paper I)

Examiner—Babu Binayendranath Sen, M.A.

Time allowed—4 hours
Only SIX *questions to be attempted*

The marks are equally divided. Candidates are requested to give their answers in their own words as fas as practicable.

1. Distinguish between Inorganic, Organic and Super-organic Evolution. Show, in terms of the general law of Evolution, how the process of evolution is worked out in the case of Society and social phenomena.
2. "To M. Comte is due the credit of having set forth, with comparative definiteness, the connection between the Science of Life and the Science of Society". Give an outline of Comte's conception of Sociology, and of the relation of Sociology to Biology, and also point out his limitations in this connection.
3. "Sociology is a Psychological science, and the description of society in biological terms is a mistake". Indicate the statement with appropriate illustrations.
4. Elucidate the full bearings of Spencer's proposition that a "Society is an organism" and of Giddings' that "it is an organization". What are the stages in the evolution of the

Social Mind? Fully discuss the question whether society exists for the individual, or the individual exists for society.

5. What do you understand by—Anthropogenic, Ethnogenic and Demogenic Association? State in outline the main sociological problems that are dealt with in connection with each.
6. Give a critical review of the theory about the different stages of civilization as held by (a) Hegel, (b) Comte.
7. What are the characteristic features of what has been called the Economic-Ethical civilization? Fully characterise the "Ethical Family", and distinguish it from the "Romantic Family" and the "Religious—Proprietary Family".
8. Give the substance of the main arguments—deductive and inductive—by which Spencer traces all religious beliefs and observances to a primitive ancestor worship. Mention some of the illustrative evidences adduced by him from Aryan and Semitic as well as from Turanian sources.
9. Write a dissertation on the functions of religious beliefs in the evolution of Society, giving copious historical references.
10. "In no way is the moral progress of mankind more clearly shown than by contrasting the position of women among savages with their position among the most advanced of the civilized". Write an illustrative commentary on this dictum by describing the status of women amongst different peoples at different stages in the evolution of the race.

M. A. EXAMINATION 1911
Political Economy & Political Philosophy (B)
SOCIOLOGY—(Paper II)

Examiner—J. N. Das Gupta, Esq. B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law

Candidates are required to give their answers in their own words as far as practicable.
Not more than SIX *of these questions should be attempted*
Questions are of equal value.

1. "The savage is now here free". Explain and examine the nature of the evidence which tends to justify this conclusion.

2. Discuss the origin of *idolatry* and expound the statement that "the error of regarding Idolatry as the general religion of low races has arisen from confusing the Idol and the Fetich".

3. Distinguish between mythology and religion, and illustrate your answer by tracing the mythological development of *agni*. Expand the statement that "in most of the hymns of the Veda the Maruts have assumed a very definite dramatic character", and elucidate the lessons to be learnt from a comparative study of the history of the storm-gods. Bring out in this connection the import of the line from the Veda —'There is a God above all the gods'.

4. Say what you know of Sufism — its origin — its founder — its earliest exponent — its characteristic tenets, and its poetical literature.

5. "All Sacred Books come to us from the East". Say as briefly as possible what you know of these Sacred Books, and estimate their value and importance in a comparative study of religions.

6. What are the various ways in which the progress of knowledge has contributed to weaken the energy of the warlike spirit? Estimate the nature of the influence which literature and government exercise over the progress of civilization.

7. Trace the stages in the secularization of politics, dwelling briefly and broadly on the forces and influences which favoured the movement.

8. Examine the arguments for and against Female Suffrage. Indicate in this connection the new employments open to women in modern times, and the suffrages which have been already granted to them in England. Remark on the position of women in the ancient Greek and Roman world.

9. Give a concise view of the nature and general character of the influence exercised by (a) the Imperial System, (b) the institution of slavery, and (c) the gladiatorial shows, on the morals of the people of the Roman Empire. Indicate the importance of the part which the theatre has played in the intellectual history of mankind.

OR

During the period which elapsed between the importation

of stoical tenets into Rome and the ascendency of Christianity, an extremely important transformation of moral ideas had been effected by political changes . Give a brief outline of the movement here indicated, and show that "a definite theory of policy had a considerable part in accelerating the movement .

.. (B)

Books prescribed for Sociology Papers :

A. Comte., *Positive Philosophy* (Tr) Miss Martineau
H. Spencer., *Principles of Sociology*
F. Giddings., *Principles of Sociology*
E. B. Hylor., *Primitive Culture*
Max Muller., *Origin of Religion*
Frazer., *Psyche's Task*
Lecky, *History of Morals in Europe*
History of Rationalism in Europe; Vol. II
Mackenzie, *Introduction to Social Philosophy*
C. D. Wright, *Elements of Practical Sociology*
F. de Coulange., *Ancient City* (Tr) Small
H. Maine., *Village Communities*
Ancient Law
Early History Institutions
Early Law and Custom
Greenidge., *Roman Public Life*
Herbert Risley, Census Report for India 1901

Select Bibliography

A. *Books in English*

Abd-ul-Vali, 'Ethnographical Notes on the Mahomedan Castes of Bengal, Journal of the Anthropological Society. Bombay 1904

Abrams, P., The Origins of British Sociology : 1834-1914 Chicago 1968

Ahmed, A. F., Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal. 1818-1835, Leiden 1865

Andrews, C. F., Renaissance in India : Its Missionary Aspect. London 1912

Antipolygamy Tracts. Bhowanipur (Calcutta) 1855

Baden-Powell, B. H., Village Communities in India. London 1896

Bagal, J. C., History of the Indian Association. Calcutta 1953

Women's Education in Eastern India : The First Phase. Calcutta 1956

Ball, U., Rammohan Roy : Study of Life, Works and Thoughts. Calcutta 1933

Bandyopadhyaya, G., Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana. Tagore Law Lecture, Calcutta University 1879

Banerjee, S., A Nation in Making. London 1925

Bearce, G. D., British Attitude Towards India. O.U.P. 1961

Besant, Annie., August Comte : His Philosophy, His Religion and His Sociology. London n.d.

Bethune College and School Centenary Volume 1849-1949

Bhattacharyya, J. N., Hindu Castes and Sects. Calcutta 1896

Bose, Amritakrishna., The Introduction of English Education and Its Effects upon the Bengalee Society Calcutta 1871

Bose, N. K., Modern Bengal. Calcutta 1959

Bose, N. S., Indian Awakening and Bengal. Calcutta 1960

Bose, Shib Chunder., The Hindoos As They Are ; A Description of the Manners, Customs and Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal. Calcutta 1881

Buckland, C. E., Bengal Under The Lieutenant Governors, Vols 1, 2. Second Edition, Calcutta 1902

Carey, E., A Missionary in India. London 1857

Carey, W., The Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Co. 3 Vols, Simla 1881

Carpenter, M., The Last Days in England of Raja Rammohan Roy. London 1866

Chakraborti, S. C., Rammohan Roy Centenary volume. Calcutta 1935

Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra., Collected Works. 2 Vols, Calcutta 1360, 1361. B.S. respectively.

Chattapadhyaya Gautam., Awakening in Bengal in Early Nineteenth Century. Calcutta 1965

Chatterjee Sanjib Chandra., Bengal Ryots. Calcutta 1864

Chintamoni, C. Y. (ed), Indian Social Reform etc. Madras 1901

Cotton, Sir Henri., Indian and Home Memories. London 1911

Das Abhaya Charan., The Indian Ryot etc. Calcutta 1881

Das M. N., Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India 1848-1856. Calcutta 1959

Datta, K. K., Dawn of Renascent India 2nd ed., Calcutta 1964

Datta, S. C., Essays on Caste. Calcutta

de Barry, W. T., (ed) Sources of Indian Tradition. New York 1958

De, S. K., History of the Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century. 2nd ed., Calcutta 1961

Dumont, L., Homo Hierarchicus. London 1970

Fazl, Saiyyad Abdul., On the Mahomedans of India. Calcutta 1862

Ganguli, Deena Nath., Memoirs of Raja Rammohan Roy. Calcutta 1884

Ghosal, H. R., Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833 Patna 1950

Bearce, G. D., British Attitude Towards India. O.U.P. 1961

Besant, Annie., August Comte : His Philosophy, His Religion and His Sociology. London n.d.

Bethune College and School Centenary Volume 1849-1949

Bhattacharyya, J. N., Hindu Castes and Sects. Calcutta 1896

Bose, Amritakrishna., The Introduction of English Education and Its Effects upon the Bengalee Society Calcutta 1871

Bose, N. K., Modern Bengal. Calcutta 1959

Bose, N. S., Indian Awakening and Bengal. Calcutta 1960

Bose, Shib Chunder., The Hindoos As They Are ; A Description of the Manners, Customs and Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal. Calcutta 1881

Buckland, C. E., Bengal Under The Lieutenant Governors, Vols 1, 2. Second Edition, Calcutta 1902

Carey, E., A Missionary in India. London 1857

Carey, W., The Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Co. 3 Vols, Simla 1881

Carpenter, M., The Last Days in England of Raja Rammohan Roy. London 1866

Chakraborti, S. C., Rammohan Roy Centenary volume. Calcutta 1935

Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra., Collected Works. 2 Vols, Calcutta 1360, 1361. B.S. respectively.

Chattapadhyaya Gautam., Awakening in Bengal in Early Nineteenth Century. Calcutta 1965

Chatterjee Sanjib Chandra., Bengal Ryots. Calcutta 1864

Chintamoni, C. Y. (ed), Indian Social Reform etc. Madras 1901

Cotton, Sir Henri., Indian and Home Memories. London 1911

Das Abhaya Charan., The Indian Ryot etc. Calcutta 1881

Das M. N., Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India 1848-1856. Calcutta 1959

Datta, K. K., Dawn of Renascent India 2nd ed., Calcutta 1964

Datta, S. C., Essays on Caste. Calcutta

de Barry, W. T., (ed) Sources of Indian Tradition. New York 1958

De, S. K., History of the Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century. 2nd ed., Calcutta 1961

Dumont, L., Homo Hierarchicus. London 1970

Fazl, Saiyyad Abdul., On the Mahomedans of India. Calcutta 1862

Ganguli, Deena Nath., Memoirs of Raja Rammohan Roy. Calcutta 1884

Ghosal, H. R., Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833 Patna 1950

Ghosh, J. C., Bengali Literature. London 1948

Ghosh, J. N., Social Evil in Calcutta and Method of Treatment. Calcutta 1923

Ghosh, M. M., Life of Grish Chunder Ghosh. Calcutta 1912

Gupta, A. C., (ed) Studies in Bengal Renaissance. Jadavpur 1958

Gurunadhan, J., Viresalingam : The Founder of Telegu Public Life. Madras 1911

Hartog, P., Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present. Oxford 1939

Hawkins, R. L., August Comte and the United States 1816-1853. Kraus 1936

Heimsath, C. H., Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform. Princeton 1964

Home, A., (ed) Rammohan Roy: The Man and His Works. Calcutta 1933

Howell, A., Education in British India. Calcutta 1872

Hunter, W. W., The Annals of Rural Bengal, London 1897

The Indian Mussalmans (Reprint). Calcutta 1945

Ingham, K., Reformers in India, 1793-1833. Cambridge 1956.

King, B., The Blue Mutiny. Philadelphia 1966

Kopf, D., British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. Calcutta 1969

Lees, W. N., The Land and Labour of India, A Resurvey. London 1867

Lerner, D., (ed) The Human Meaning of The Social Sciences. New York 1959

The Passing of Traditional Society. F.P. Paperback 1966

Long, Rev. J., Handbook of Bengal Missions. London 1848

Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the Years 1748-1769, relating mainly to the Social Conditions of Bengal. Calcutta 1869

Majumdar, B. B., History of Indian Social and Political Ideas from Rammohan to Dayananda. Calcutta 1967

Majumdar, J. K., (ed) Raja Rammohan Roy and Progressive Movements in India. A Selection from Records 1775-1845. Calcutta 1941

Majumdar, R. C., Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century. Calcutta 1960

Malabari, B. M., Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India. 1877

Marshman, J. C., The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, 2 Vols. London 1859

Mayhew, Arthur., Christianity and the Government of India etc. London 1929

McCully, B. T., English Education and The Origins of Indian Nationalism. New York 1940

Mishra, B. B., The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times. London 1961

Mukherji, D. P., Modern Indian Culture, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1948

Mukherjee, H. & Uma., The Origins of National Education Movement (1905-1910) Calcutta 1952

Mullick, Balaram., Home Life in Bengal. Calcutta 1885

Nag, K. & Burman, D., (eds) The English Works of Rammohan, 5 Parts Calcutta 1945-48

Natarajan, S., A Century of Social Reforms in India. Bombay 1959

A History of the Press in India London 1962

Oberschall, A., Empirical Social Research in Germany 1848-1914, Mouton 1965

Odum H. W., American Sociology. Longmans 1951

O' Malley, L. S. S., (ed) Modern India and the West. Oxford 1941

Pal, B. C., Memoirs of My Life and Times. Vol I (1932) Vol II (1951)

Character Sketches. 1957

Panikar, K. M., Asia and Western Dominance. London 1953

Philips, C. H., (ed) Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. O.U.P. 1961

Ranade, M. G., Religious and Social Reform. Calcutta

Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882 Calcutta 1883

Sanyal, D., Justice Dwarkanath Mitter. Calcutta 1882

Sarkar, B. K., Villages and Towns as Social Patterns Calcutta 1941

The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology Vol I. Allahabad 1914

Sarkar, S. C., Rammohan Roy on Indian Economy. Calcutta 1965

Sastri, Sivanath., History of the Brahmo Samaj. Calcutta 1912

Seal, A., The Emergence of Indian Nationalism. Cambridge 1968

Sen, Amit., Notes on the Bengali Renaissance. Calcutta 1946

Sen, P. R., (ed) Florence Nightingale's Indian Letters. Calcutta 1937

Sharp, H., (ed) Selection from Educational Records, 1781-1839. Calcutta 1920

Simon, W. M., European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century: An essay in intellectual history, Cornell 1963

Singh, Iqbal Rammohan Roy. Bombay 1958

Sinha, N. K., Economic History of Bengal Vol I, II, Calcutta 1950, 1962

Sinha, Pradip Nineteenth Century Bengal. Aspects of Social History. Calcutta 1965

Stark, H. A., Vernacular Education in Bengal 1813-1912. Calcutta 1916

Stokes, E., The English Utilitarians and India. Oxford 1959

Tattwabhusan, S., Social Reform in Bengal.

Tripathi, A., Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency. 1793-1833 Calcutta 1956

Urquhart, M. M., Women of Bengal. Calcutta 1925

Vidyasagar, Iswar Chandra, Works of

Vivekananda, Swami, The Complete Works

Vyss, K. C., The Social Renaissance in India. Bombay 1957

Willey, B., Nineteenth Century Studies. London 1955

Zacharias, H. C. F., Renascent India. Calcutta 1933

Zaehner, R. C., Hinduism. O.U.P. 1962

Zeitlin, I. M., Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory. Prentice-Hall, New Delhi 1969

B. *Bengali Books*

Bagal, J. C. Banglar Nabyasanskriti Calcutt 1958

Basu, Purnachandra, Samajchitra. 1868

Basu, Rajnarain Atmacharit. Calcutta 1909
Sekal ār Ekal

Bandyopadhyaya, B. N. Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha 3 Vols.
Sahityasadhak Charitmala 8 Vols.

Bhattacharyya, Jadunath., Samāj Chintā.

Das, Radhaballav., Manatattwasar Samgraha. Calcutta 1849

Carey, W., Kathopokathan. (Rev. ed.) Calcutta 1943

Datta, Akshay Kumar, Dharmaneeti.
Vahyavastur sahit Manabprakritir Sambandha Vichar.
Varatiya Upasak Sampradaya.

Ghosh, Benoy., Samayikpatre Banglar Samaj Chitra. 5 Vols Calcutta 1962-70
Vidyasagar O Bangali Samaj. Calcutta 1958

Mukhopadhyaya, Bhudev., Samajik Prabandha.
Paribarik Prabandha.

Mukherjee, Bipradas., Manusyatattwa. Calcutta 1905
Pande, Bireswar., Manabtattwa. Calcutta 1883
Roychoudhury, Kshirode., Manab Prakriti. Calcutta n. d.
Tagore, Tekchand., Rāmā Ranjika. Calcutta 1860
Vidyabhusan, Dwarkanath, Subuddhi Vyavahara, Calcutta 1863

Vidyabhusan Yogendranath., Samājchintā. Calcutta 1885

C. *PERIODICALS*

(1) 1English :

Amrita Bazar Patrika (relevant numbers)
Benares Magazine (available issues)
Bengal Magazine 1872-82
Bengalee (relevant issues)
Calcutta Review 1845-1890
Calcutta University Magazine 1894-1898
Hindoo Patriot 1854-1900
Indian Spectator 1874-75
Journal of the Asiatic Society. Bengal (relevant issues)
Madras Journal of Literature and Science (available issues)
Mookherjee's Magazine (available issues)
Oriental Miscellany 1879-83
Transactions of the Bethune Society 1859-1869
Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association 1867-1878
Transactions of the Literary Society, Bombay (available issues)
Voice of India (available issues)

(2) Bengali :

Abodh bandhu
Arunodaya
Aryāvarta
Education Gazettee
Grihastha
Dacca Review O Sammelani
Tattwobodhini Patrika
Nabyabharat
Vangadarshan
Vividarthasamgraha
Mussalman
Sambad Prabhakar
Somprokash

PART TWO

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS READ AT THE BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (1867—1878)

Address by the Hon'ble Justice Phear
President of the Association
at the first meeting of the Association

24 July 1867

Ladies & Gentlemen,

It has fallen on me somewhat unexpectedly to be charged with the duty of delivering the first presidential address of this Association. In approaching this duty, I feel I have to face, as it seems to me, two elements, not inconsiderable—of inappropriateness. I cannot help thinking that both the time and the speaker are somewhat out of place. Those of you who have taken at the doors of this hall a report, which I believe, has been distributed by the Secretaries of this Society, will all know that it is an intermediate meeting. It is not the beginning of the year by which this Society reckons from his commencement. It is to some extent, I think, unfortunate that we should begin our public life at an intermediate time like this ; but you will probably understand how difficult it was for us, the members of the Council, to do otherwise. We could not have done so, except by postponing this meeting for a considerable number of months. The Council has chosen this opportunity, rather than delay. The unfitness of myself to the present task to which I alluded, arises from the circumstance, that it is incumbent upon me, by reason of my position, to set forth,—to describe to you, as it were, Social Science ; and to do so, if there be such a science in the strict meaning of the term, I suppose that there is scarcely any one in this hall who has received less instruction in it than I have, and unfortunately since the time when unexpectedly the honour of being your President devolved on me, neither leisure nor opportunity has been afforded me, to make up my deficiences in that respect. Under the circumstances, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to venture upon nothing more than a simple outline of what I conceive to be the objects of the Association, entirely apart from any technical meeting which may reside in its designation ; and in doing so, I hope I shall be understood to speak to you now rather as a learner and an enquirer, than as a

teacher. To the latter position I have no pretension. And although the address which I propose to deliver is written, I trust that you will not consider that to be any evidence of a desire to appear in a different character from that which I have just mentioned. I have written the address merely in obedience to the universal—I believe universal—rule of these Associations, because it has been considered desirable that there should be a rule upon the point, which it should not be within the power of any future President at his mere caprice to disregard.

I shall first ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to remember that the one great topic with which this Association concerns itself, is the welfare—the advancement of the community with which we are concerned.

There is probably no creature in the universe so little qualified to maintain existence solely by its own unaided efforts as is man. It is only in association with other men that the individual can live, so far as our experience reaches. At any rate it is as a member of society that we find him developing that intelligence and that power of deducting results from the accumulated experience of himself and others which separates him by so enormous an interval from the representatives of any other form of life in the world. But however helpless man may be in isolation, in society, and in combination with his fellowmen, his capacity for improvement and advance seems to be almost without limit.

Still, in order to improve, in order to advance, he must (until, at least, the time shall come when his volition will, in every thing be motived by the highest wisdom) give up the unrestrained exercise of his will. He must live and act in subordination to certain rules, prescribed by the exigency of surrounding circumstances, among these circumstances being reckoned as well as the principal fact of association with his companions as the ceaseless regulated activity of organic and inorganic nature. He must, moreover, conserve the acquisition, material and intellectual, which have been made by others than himself, before and on the side of him. And he must use all

his resources of well-being with due providence and economy. In other words, whether as regards his dealings with others, or his personal carriage of himself generally, he must allow his caprice to be restained by, he must himself conform to *law* of various kinds and while he thus exhibits an adjusted behaviour towards his fellows, he need himself to progress in the cultivated use of his faculties, to carefully avail himself of all knowledge which has been once mastered, every vantage ground which has been once gained ; and he ought not to forget a simple lesson which experience has ever taught. These are the general conditions, relative to the conduct of the individual, in the grand effort at better things (stated, I fear, somewhat vaguely) upon which, as I imagine, the progress of civilization and human prosperity depend. The actual ingredients, which go to make up these conditions as a whole, possibly do not at any period long remain constant. Indeed, I apprehend that are continually changing, and might with propriety be described, in mathematical phrase, as functions of the existing state of civilisation itself in any given community. The form of the function itself (to carry on the metaphor), which may be supposed to represent the governing principle of human ethics, may possibly never alter. It may be, that if the function were ascertained, it would only need that certain constants should be determined, in order that the required result should be correctly expressed in an available form for every stage of civilisation. It may even be that the derivative laws or rules to which I have alluded, if correctly laid down, resemble those of the Medes and Persians in their irreversibility, but the misfortune is that, as yet, we know neither nor the larger principle, from which they may flow ; unless perhaps we have obtained a glimpse of some of them in the department of morals. Generally we have not got beyond the tentative and empirical era in our search after moral and economical truths. We must, each generation for itself, satisfy ourselves with regard to what personal restraints are to be imposed and submitted to ; what care of the individual and what work should be undertaken, as the common burden of all members of the community ; what is left to the free choice and action of the individual himself ; what is the urgency upon us of the laws of matter ; and so on :— in short, what are the conditions relative to our fellow mortals

and the world of matter around us which must be observed and fulfilled, in order that human well-being and the development of civilization may be best secured in the particular community to which we belong.

The investigation and ascertainment of these conditions constitute, I believe, that which is generally understood to be scope of Social Science, and I think I do not err in saying that it is the main object which this society seeks to promote, having especial regard to the area of the Bengal Presidency. It is now my duty to try to explain, a little at large, what an enquiry of this kind amounts to in this country, and for this purpose I propose to go into each of the Four Departments in succession, under which this Association, after the example of its great predecessor in England, has found it convenient to classify its subjects, namely *Jurisprudence and Law, Education, Health, Economy* & *Trade*.

The Department of Jurisprudence and Law concerns itself with those rules and regulations relative to the behaviour of several members of the community, *inter se,* on various topics, personal and proprietary, of which rules the observance is supposed so eminently to conduce to the united prosperity and advance of the whole as to justify their being laid down and enforced as supreme by the collective strength of the community. Obviously some restraints on individuals is universally necessary for the purpose, and I will not waste your time by attempting to demonstrate to you that it is essential to man's well-being in a social state, that the community should, by the compelled subordination of all its members to proper rules, secure certain personal liberty of action and personal enjoyment of exclusive rights of property to each individual.

But there comes the question, what are proper rules? In some stages of society the answer appears ready and conclusive, namely, such rules as the wisdom of that person dictates who enjoys authority enough to confer on him irresistible power. But to the scientific enquirer it would seem that the propriety of these rules is to be judged of by their fitness for attending

the end for which they are proposed, and it may be that to a person perfectly informed as to the springs of human action and as to the working of all material elements which surround man's life, certain principal rules of conduct and right, by which I mean laws, civil and criminal might stand out apparent as necessary and immutable. However, as we certainly have not the advantage of such an omniscient adviser, we can only be guided by our own judgment in the matter, and the conclusions of that judgment are apt to vary with every addition to our experience. Take, for instance, those rules which have the effect of defining and restraining that conduct of man towards man which is termed crime; these, probably, receive more general and more earnest attention than any other portion of the social system, and yet how few nations have a common set of definitions.

Then as regards the means to be adopted for enforcing the observance of the rules, it is difficult to find even two persons in the same country who agree on all points. It will perhaps be conceded by all, that when once the rules are laid down by competent authority, the community must charge itself with the duty of taking care that they be observed. The earliest and the rudest mode of thought for effecting this was simply retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and it may be doubted whether even yet the majority of the people have entirely eradicated all thought of vengeance from their idea of punishment, veiled as that idea commonly is under the designation of *justice*. Still very little consideration of the matter is sufficient, I think, to lead to the perception that punishment, by which word I mean the action taken by the community against an individual member for his infringement of such social rules of conduct as those to which I have alluded, ought not to contain any element of this character. Where injury has been caused by the breach, reparation therefore may well be an object to be sought, but otherwise the single end of punishment is to secure the observance of those rules of conduct which the supreme authority for the time being has declared must be observed for the good of the community, and it can only do this in any specified class of cases by influencing the motives of those persons who are otherwise disposed to break the rule, or, in other words,

to commit the offence against which it is directed. And I suppose that motives to action in a man's mind can only be influenced from without in two modes, viz., by suggesting adverse motives, or by altering the condition of the mind which entertains and is influenced by the motives. The would-be offender may, accordingly, be either *deferred* from his act, or be *reformed* so as no longer to possess a tendency towards it. Excluding, therefore, all regard for reparation in respect of injury done, punishment should be made *deterrent* and *reformatory*. Obviously its deterrent effect must have, generally, an immensely larger range of operation than its reformatory, for the former may be expected to reach all who are under temptation to commit an offence, while the latter are confined to the individuals who have actually offended and been made to suffer punishment. It is more important, then, as a rule, to look to the deterrent operation of punishment than to endeavour to make it reformatory, supposing there would be any substantial obstacle in the way of attaining both objects simultaneously. However, there are, I apprehend, classes in the community upon whom the deterrent influence of punishment is very slight, and who at the same time afford exceptional opportunities for reformation; such are boys and girls of tender age. Here reformation should be made the prominent aim of punishment, and its alternative branch may be left in the back-ground.

Now that I have led you thus far, I will ask you to observe what a vast field of inquiry and investigation relative to the efficiency of punishment for crime in this country lies open to the Members of this Society. Have we any knowledge better than guess work as to the deterrent effect of our punishments? Do we know how they are viewed by those classes and persons whom it is intended that they should influence? We can have no doubt that incarceration and restraints of personal liberty is, on the whole, disliked, but have we any clue upon which we can rely to the preventive results which are actually brought about by them? Have we information regarding the circumstances which surround those people who furnish our jails with occupants? Are the periods of imprisonment or transportation inflicted by our tribunals such as, on the whole, to convey

the maximum of dread with the minimum of personal suffering? I might add a string of like questions. And then again, is all done that can be done to reform the convicted? Is the criminal by his punishment made a better member of society than before, or the reverse? Are children in prison taught and trained as they ought to be? It is only the native of the country, conversant with the language and habits of the people, who have any chance of finding answers to enquiries such as these. Our Association will have brought about no little good, if it should lead the gentlemen of Bengal to think of these things, to search out for the benefit of their country those circumstances attendant upon the commission of crime which should govern the nature and amount of punishment, in order that sufficient deterrent effect, and no more, be produced; and induce them further to, point out those conditions which reformatory efforts must fulfil, if they are to be successful.

So far I have spoken of criminal law, viz. law made to restrain conduct which is considered as pre-eminently injurious to the community at large, and which is endorsed on behalf of community rather than of the individual injured; it is this alone which immediately occurs to the minds of most people when the word law is generally used. But this constitutes a very small portion of the regulations which mark out the proprietary and other relations of man to man, and of which the observance is compelled, in one mode or another, by our courts of justice, under the sanction of the supreme authority. There are, besides it, laws directed to the maintenance and transfer of rights of property founded on certain conceptions of what property ought to be; laws of descent and other involuntary alienation of property; laws of marriage and adoption; laws affecting contracts in general, and so on. All these ought to be adopted, at every stage of a nation's life, to secure the good which has been attained, and to favour progress towards further prosperity and civilization. Consequently they should be framed with special regard to the living facts of the day, and should never fetter, except to stay actions which would be hostile to these ends. This does not mean that law should be constantly changing. Nothing would be more mischievous; frequent change of law

without change of circumstance produces uncertainty and uncertainty is license. But change is only needed when conditions alter, and the conditions of human life remain essentially the same for centuries ; hence the laws which our ancestors found necessary and fructuous must, in the main, be the law to govern us. Still the world will never stand entirely at rest. The most stagnant societies experience some change, and while *conservation* must always predominate, *Reform* is also always needed and should be anxiously sought. It must be remembered, too, that the influence of municipal law does not stop at the exercise of its own proper functions ; it is also powerful as a training and educating agent. The line which the supreme law draws between the *fas* and the *nefas,* under circumstances amid which it is obligatory, often becomes to those born and brought up within its operations the outline of a model of behaviour to which it has no direct application. In England the law of primogeniture, which prescribes the descent of landed property in the event of intestacy, serves as a type of testators to follow. And there are here among you, I will make bold to say, habits and customs in active life which would soon fall into desuetude and decay, if they were impliedly sanctioned by the words of the law givers whom you obey. Is it not then a matter of the highest importance to a people, that they should look into and satisfy themselves as to the operation of that body of laws, by which their actions are so extensively controlled ? This Society will ask the gentlemen of this country to give their fellow citizens the benefit of their intelligence and experience on these matters, It will be in no small degree valuable to the public to learn authentic details of the ultimate social working of perhaps one of the most remarkable judicial systems ever exhibited to the world. Our courts have to administer English, or Hindi, or Mahomedan Law, or that peculiar form of law which goes by the name of equity and good conscience, according to the personal status of the litigants, in addition to the local statuable law which overrides every other. In this great community persons live side by side with one another literally subject to the different legal obligations as to their actions. Two joint defendants sued on the same document may be the one bound, and the other not bound, to the plaintiff, because their contrac-

tual liabilities have to be judged of by different laws. And what are these different sets of laws? How have they respectively come to their present state of development? Has it been by any process of constant adaptation to the wants of the day? No doubt the local statutable law has been formed with strict reference to the exigencies of the time, but its range is very limited. Until lately it was almost entirely confined to executive and fiscal purposes, for I need hardly remark that all the Land Regulations and Acts fall within this class. The legislature seems just now disposed to extend the area of its action. But it can do little without the express wish of the people, and the result is that, such a wish not having been manifested, even yet the bulk of the dealings *inter se* of Her Majesty's subjects in India are regulated, as the case may be, by one of the four special systems of law, which I have mentioned, the last of them incapable of explanation. Now, let us look for the moment at one of them, say the Hindu; is there not much, having regard to the objects and influence of law as I have ventured upon delineating them, to justify an inquiryhow this particular code works with reference to the welfare and progress of Commonwealth? It consists solely of precepts uttered by Manu and other philosophers, at what date I will not venture to say, but certainly anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, together with the commentaries thereon and digest of later but still ancient times. These, interpreted and expanded (so far as expansion is possible) by foreign judges and supplemented by equity and good conscience, constitute the law which governs the Hindu population of this land. Possibly this assertion may call up the Common Law of England to the minds of many who now hear me and there is undoubtly some analogy between the two. But our English unwritten law, as it is often termed, although it dates back to distant times, comprises only principles which have been sifted and developed by a series of judicial decisions extending from the period of its earliest text books and digests to the present day. This unceasing process of active supervision has had the effect of, from age to age, engrafting into it the common sense of the time and exercising from it all that becomes useless, troublesome or obsolete. In this way English Common Law, as it is understood in every generation, is a body of living law fitted in a very

large measure to the needs of the day. On the other hand, your law remains, as it was enunciated many centuries ago, with singularly close reference to specific detail of the then existing state of society and with almost entire absence of general principles. If this is ill, our courts are totally unable to apply a remedy; they cannot, after so long a lapse of time, attempt with success the task of development; nor indeed at any time can work of this kind be effected without great risk of mischief, except by a judicial body, which is intimately familiar with all the circumstances of society; and I need not add your English judges certainly do not possess this qualification. Is not then the occassion come when it may well be asked of the gentlemen of Bengal, whether the *Shasters* and digests which contain their law give them all that is advantageous towards the advancement of their civilisation and the promotion of their welfare; whether these books do not prescribe much that is positively a dead weight upon both, and whether, after all, the larger area of their daily actions is not now entirely outside the small tract which their old law givers alone contemplated? What did Manu and his like know of *benamee* transactions and trusts, of hundis, khuts, hatchittis of wills, and legion of proprietary complications which follow in their train, of land tenures and their alienation, and so on? Do Hindu gentlemen ever reflect whence has silently come the law which regulates these things, and indeed governs the rights of their people in nine-tenths of their dealings with each other? Do they busy their minds on these topics at all? This Society invites them to investigate them, and to make public the results of their labours.

The next department is Education. I will not make this an opportunity for adding one more to the thousand and one lectures on this stock subject, to which most of you, at one time or another, have been forced to listen, and I do not propose to put forward any pet theory as to the proper mode of bringing about the education of any particular class in this country. For the moment I desire only to say that by *educating* an individual I understand the by no means simple process of putting him in possession of information or knowledge which has been before experimentally acquired by others, training him to use his phy-

sical and intellectual faculties to the best advantage, and generally making him thrifty and apt in the use of all resources of well-being, as well intellectual as material, which he has at his command. It will hardly now, I suppose, be disputed that it is to the interest of the whole community that each member should, concurrently with all others, attain to as high a degree as possible of personal prosperity and welfare. All ought, therefore, to desire that the individual should be educated in the sense which I have mentioned, and I am afraid that all who have thought seriously on the subjects must be aware that, except amongst a very limited class, education generally is at a low ebb in this country. I do not speak with any knowledge of special training which necessarily precedes and leads up to the various occupations in life, manual or other. I have indeed been induced to believe that it is in most cases very servile and little calculated to enlarge the mind, or extend the recipients' power of action; but I will confine my observations now to the defects which, I fancy, I have myself perceived.

In the first place, then, it seems to me, generally, that the power of sustained thought and correct judgment is less cultivated than it should be with you. Speaking of those people of this country with whom I have been brought into close contact, I should say that their perceptions are singularly quick and their imagination fertile, but that the habit of patient thinking and careful analysis is too little prevalent among them. It is then matter of great moment to inquire how is this best to be fostered; and here comes to the front the great vexed question of this country—Is English or Oriental literature the most effective means for the purpose? Our Educational Section has accordingly put this forward foremost among its heads of inquiry.

But passing by the simple culture of the intellectual faculties, which can only be treated as a separate end of attainment in the case of higher classes of society, let us look to the teaching, the informing department of Education. Is not the dominion of ignorance grievously, because unnecessarily, extended in India? It must be remembered that ignorance is not merely passive, in the sense of being absence of knowledge but it may

be, and almost commonly is active in the form of pseudo-knowledge. In the first shape it is comparatively little mischievous because it does not involve in itself any principle of opposition to the access of truth. In the latter, so far as it is operative at all, it produces unmitigated evil ; it is not a mere negative which may be supplemented by acquisition of the positive, but it is itself directly and actively obstructive of the approach of knowledge. The English language terms this phase of ignorance either prejudice or bigotry.

I am afraid that your system of caste has been a fruitful nidus of prejudice and bigotry, which, as long as it lasts, will provide impassable barriers between you and the higher position of social development. These are not all in kind at any rate, whatever may be the case as regards degree, peculiar to a caste origin. We have much obstruction to social progress in England which is near akin to them, but, fortunately for us, it cannot there claim religious authority for its basis. As a foreigner, I am not entitled to characterise as odious those distinctions sanctioned by your religion, which render one man vile and contemptible from his birth to his fellow mortal as by the fiat of the Almighty, but I may venture, nevertheless, to draw your attention to the very serious disadvantages which your people suffer from the restraints upon individual action, imposed by the right and the wrong, the clean and the unclean of caste dictation. As a motive to honourable conduct and exhalted deeds, pride of ancestry is all powerful ; as a bond of union, and an incentive to charitable action, nothing is more efficacious than the tie of blood. In these aspects caste shines out conspicuously excellent. It serves also to discharge some of the better functions of trade-guilds and associations. But must it always remain disfigured in other directions by stains which owe their origin to the smaller passions of men ? Is it never to be realized among you that God has not tied up his creatures, human or animal, into bundles, and ticketed them for time and eternity with marks of worthiness or dishonour, independent of their own behaviour ? Is excellence and capacity never to have scope of action except within the narrow limits of caste, and subject to the crushing weight of an opposing public opinion ?

Is individual action always to be crippled by minute rules difficult of observance, relative to eating and drinking, care of the person, anxiety to prevent a conventional and now highly arbitrary social contamination and so on? If your answer is yes, it must be, I think, because you little appreciate the enormous drawback which these restrictions, many of them perhaps petty in themselves, constitute in the aggregate to your progress, and because you over-rate any possible connection which they can have with the spirit of religion. It is not difficult to understand how caste was once the natural and inevitable growth of the circumstances amid which it arose, and one can in imagination trace its development under the fostering hands of an interested priesthood into the elaborate system which it has since become. Probably it long discharged valuable hygienic and economic functions, and we of Northern Europe, who acknowledge that even in our latitude cleanliness is next to godliness, can appreciate the good aim, in a tropical climate, of the personal observances which it imposes.

But as the school master finds a limit to the period of useful control over his pupil, so all inelastic rules of conduct have their day, beyond which their operation is not merely useless, but positively mischievous. So far as you take away discretion from the mature man, you in effect force him back to wards the level of irrational creatures, and run the risk of depriving society of some of that element of vitality upon which its progress depends. Restraint should therefore always be avoided unless absolutely required by the exigencies of the community as a whole, and it must be remembered that the restraints which flow from the operation of a public or class opinion are more searchingly coercive, and more completely inevitable than any which municipal law can pretend to create; they possess, besides, this additional characteristic that they are irrepealable, when injurious, except by change of the opinion from which they emanate. Thus it comes about that caste in all its aspects and in the results traceable to it in regard to industry, education, or crime is eminently worthy of the most careful attention at the hands of the intelligent members of your community, with the view to the conservation of all the good which it

contains, and the ejection of its poisons, and accordingly it forms the leading element in several of the heads of inquiry proposed by this Association. There is another topic which, from the similarity of its situation relative to social opinion, I cannot avoid placing in juxta position with caste—I mean the status of your women. I propose, however, to touch it very lightly, for I know how little qualified I am to speak upon so delicate a subject as this to you. Domestic life can only be properly understood and appreciated by one who is familiar with the features daily and hourly exhibited therein, and whose perceptions are quickened by sympathy with the feelings prevalent in the family circle. Perhaps I should hardly err if I said that any other must necessarily misunderstand it. Still there are some points about your treatment of the female portion of your families so salient that the strangers outside cannot fail to receive some impression from them, and it is fair to you that you should be made acquainted with the conclusions which he draws from it. I for one cannot help thinking that not only is the status of your women characterised by ignorance and want of culture in the women themselves, but its very foundation is ignorance in the whole community. You have not yet acquired the knowledge which we of the West sometime ago learned, as we believe, that the best attributes of women, as you yourself appreciate them, cannot possibly be nurtured to the fullest extent in the seclusion of the zenana. In Bengal the weaker sex are distinguished by comeliness, intelligence and gentleness. Possessing these natural excellencies, what degree of womanly perfection is not attainable by them? One of England's most close and original thinkers has lately said, that there prevailed with some people the obscure feeling, that women "had no right to care about anything but how they should become the most" useful and devoted servants of men. But the notion that one "half the human race existed for the supposed benefit of the other half, independently of its justice, appeared to be silly". "Men and women", he added, speaking of England, "were, for the first time in history, really each other's companions. The traditions of Englishmen respecting their proper relations were descended from the time when the lives of two classes were spent apart; when they were separated in their

serious occupations and in their amusements; when man spent his time among men; when it was with them he took counsel on serious matters and when the wife was either a plaything or an upper servant. All that among the educated classes was now totally changed; the man no longer gave the whole of his spare time to violent outdoor exercises and boisterous convivialities with such associates. The two classes now passed their lives together; the wife was often the husband's most confidential friend and most trusted adviser. Was this companionship compatible with warning women off all great subjects? Was it good for the man to live perpetually in communion with one who has studiously kept inferior to himself, whose earthly interests were forcibly confined within the four walls of the house? Could this happen without detriment to the man's own character? The time has come when, if women were not raised to the intellectual level of men, men would be pulled down to the mental level of women. The women of a man's family were either a stimulus to his highest aspirations or a drag upon them." These are the words of John Stuart Mill, one to whose authority you are eminently fond of appealing, spoken in regard to the position of men and women in England, and many of you are well able to judge how much more nearly the relation between English men and women is already one of equality than is like relation among yourselves. Do not these words forcibly suggest to you the great disadvantages to society, the enormous obstacle to human progress and well-being, which must necessarily proceed from maintaining women in a condition of ignorance and servility. But if arguments, dictated by desire for the commonweal, are not sufficiently powerful to reach public opinion on this point, will consideration for their personal interest induce the men of this country to inquire, whether it is good for them that the present status and condition of women in Bengal should remain unaltered? Cannot each man amongst you contemplate the possibility of the wife, beautiful and graceful by nature, giving herself ten-fold beauty and grace by presiding at the dispensation of domestic hospitality, and shedding a hue of refinement and purity over scenes, which, if severed hopelessly from all association with the higher female influences, are but too apt to exhibit coarse and unintellectual features? Can he

not think of her as the intelligent companion of his daily life, helping to create his best thoughts by her sympathy and encouragement, nay even guiding him in his labours by her counsel and advice, and again in his leisure hours affording him that exalted solace and relaxation, which can alone proceed from the free and affectionate play of intellect in a cultivated female mind? Will he picture to himself the young mother, happy in the charming pride of maternity, yet tremblingly sensible of the responsibilities of her charge, guiding her children into the paths of restitude and truth, instilling into them those principles which shall never lose their forces as long as life shall last, leading the thoughts of the future men and women to the problems of existence, and directing the mind, at the period of life when of all others it is most eagerly inquisitive, to the safest channels of information and truth? I will put one question more; will he say that women, in any one of the attitules in which I have just asked him to represent her to himself, stands outside the province within which any educated gentleman among you would wish for ever to confine her? The truth is, that the present status and cultivation of your women is very inconsistent with the stage of civilisation, in face of which you now find yourselves; and if you desire to hold the position which you have won, much more if you hope to carry the welfare of your country beyond it, you must hold out your hands to your wives and your daughters, you must lift them up to the level of your own standing ground, and ask them to co-operate with you, on something like equal terms, in your efforts to promote social refinement at hom and public well-being abroad.

This Association asks you, everyone for himself, to look into these things, and to satisfy yourselves as to their true bearing upon the good of the individual and the progress of the community. Do not think for a moment that they are mere matters of feeling, which may be disregarded or may be treated with greater or less seriousness, according to each man's caprice, for you may rest assured that, whether heeded or not, they form veritable elements in the hard logic of facts, and it is in the highest degree important that the leaders of public opinion should rightly appreciate their validity. I, for one, do not

desire to conceal from you my opinion that any substantial change of feeling, which may be brought about on this point in those who are influential among you, will be momentous in its results. You will find it impracticable to give women solid instruction and mental training of any value unless you postpone the epoch of marriage considerably beyond the early period at which custom has fixed it among you ; and when once this change has been effected, when the wife, as a rule, is no longer a mere child at the time of her passing to her husband's home, but has become in some degree a woman of education and individuality of character, there will soon be seen the end of your joint family life in its present form. However, I do not propose to enter upon this topic ; but I will pass on to one more illustration of the injurious effects upon the community, which proceed from want of special knowledge and means in given classes of its members. I take the class which is concerned with the production and distribution of human food. This is formed, speaking generally, of the actual cultivators of the soil, viz., the ryots and zemindars (the latter term being taken in its generic, not specific sense). It is the interest of both these sets of men that the maximum of produce should be raised from the land, at a minimum expenditure of time and labour ; and that there should be the freest possible access for this produce to the surrounding market. Need I say that whatever be the natural advantages of the country, the attainment of neither of these objects can be effected, except by the exertion of educated intelligence and practical skill. In truth the art of cultivating the soil with success is everywhere a natural science of a high order. For a while, in all countries, it may no doubt be carried on empirically, but the time also comes in all, when the struggle for life requires that its true principles should be investigated, ascertained and pursued. And the problem of bringing in the production of the earth within the consumer's reach, with least hindrance and loss of time, can only be satisfactorily solved by a community which is in an advanced stage of civilization. I may also add, what is perhaps already sufficiently obvious to you all, that agricultural production, in regard to both quantity and kind, is in a great degree governed by the means which exist for conveying it to the main centres of distribution. Facility of

intercommunication is thus cardinal to the physical welfare of every country, and improvement of the actual processes of cultivation stand second to it. Have you reason to be satisfied with the position which your agriculturists occupy in either respect? Has not the disaster which has lately happened to you, and the intelligence of which has sent a thrill of sympathetic horror through the whole civilized world, served to convince you that your agriculturist classes cannot in ignorant inactivity continue to stand in the footsteps of their forefathers without perilling the best interests of the whole empire? If ever any tract on the face of the globe could be said to be insured by providence against want, it must be Lower Bengal and Orissa. A fertile soil scarcely needing any labour for its tilling, water in unfailing supply carried by hundred river channels across its surface, it must be man alone who is to blame for the shortcomings of the earth. Where are your highways and waterways, and your roads ramifying to every village and homestead? Nay, where are your homesteads themselves with their proper appliances for facilitating the various processes in the act of cultivation, and superintended by skilled intelligence? Where is the organised system of irrigation which cannot fail to render famine impossible in this country? There are in truth none of these things, and I will venture to say that there never will be until all those whose rupees come direct from the soil, have learned that their pecuniary interests depend upon them. Is it not time to elevate the intellectual condition of the cultivator, who with you is at once labourer and master? Is it not vitally important to enlighten those who ought to give him cooperation and assistance? This Association earnestly presses these matters upon the attention of the thinking portion of Bengal gentlemen.

I now leave this Department, somewhat reluctantly, for there are many points in connection with it upon which I have not been able to touch. If time served, I would willingly have dwelt upon the importance, as I conceive it, to the welfare of all people, of cultivating, what are sometimes termed the finer faculties of the mind, namely the sense of beauty and of music. It is difficult, I am convinced, to exaggerate the value of music and the fine arts merely as civilizing agents, to say nothing of

their intrinsic merit as separate objects of attainment. I would also remark that it seems to me vain to expect feelings of true refinement to prevail largely, where decency of the person is so little regarded as it is throughout all ranks of society in this part of India. But these are the topics too broad for one to enter upon with the hope of traversing now, and I only trust that they will not be overlooked by those gentlemen who care to set themselves to the working out of the social problems of their country. It will be well for such persons also to inquire whether the time is not approaching, when State education should be directed to the lower rather than the upper classes of the community. It can scarcely be doubted that education has comparatively little tendency to work downward. Any given class in the country is always reluctant, on more or less plausible grounds, to see those classes which it looks upon as below, and subordinate to it, raised intellectual condition towards its own level, and consequently it always resists, as much as lies in its power, the diffusion of education among them. On the other hand, I apprehend that no stimulant to exertion and self-improvement is more effective or more generally operative on a class supposing it to have the means of educating itself, than the knowledge that, unless it moves on, those below will step on its heels. You can easily boil a vessel of water by applying continuous heat to the bottom, but you would find it hopeless task to bring about the same results by the application of head to the top. And I am disposed to think that this illustration is not without its analogy in the matter of the artificial education of a people. At any rate it comes well within the province of this Association to foster the inquiry, how best the rational action of the internal forces of society may be utilized to the promotion of sound and wholesome education throughout the country.

The third Department into which this Association has divided the area of its labours is that of Health. Surely this subject comes home to each of us individually. Yet how few among us know really anything about such of those natural laws as govern the healthy existence of the human body, so far as they have been ascertained by scientific enquiries; and, indeed, how little in the shape of law of this kind has hitherto been made

out at all. Still it cannot be denied that, out of the whole range of human science, there is no information more needing minute dispersion among the people than the information which our medical men supply ; for in these things it is scarcely too much to say of every one of us that the measure of his own risk is the ignorance of his neighbour. For convenience of apprehension, the subject may be treated as consisting of two parts ; 1st, that which concerns the maintaining of the body with all its organs (considered as a sort of living machine) in strength and working order ; 2nd, that in which disease, viewed as a hostile, destructive agent, plays the principal part. These two are by no means to be severed by a sharply drawn line, but they admit of being spoken of apart with sufficient accuracy for my present purpose.

Now, on the first head, much exceedingly important knowledge has been arrived at. Given the body in a healthy state, good and nutritious food, fresh air, reasonable exercise of the physical and intellectual organs alternating with repose, afford the conditions most favourable for the continuance of health and of natural development. Remembering, then, that a weakened physique and lowered vitality is not only a great evil in itself, but also serves as a foot hold for specific disease, when the latter makes its attack (for this word is pre-eminently a word of might, and in it natural forces have no mercy for the feeble), do we not perceive that it is distinctly the business of each one of us to do his best to secure to himself and his own dependents at least the sanitary conditions to which I have referred ? The concourse of men by large masses in towns has the effect of rendering individuals in some degree powerless in these matters, but at the same time probably the collective action of the whole might, for the same reason be the more efficient. Still, in towns and in villages, each householder can do very much. This Association asks you, therefore, to turn your attention to this quarter. Will not some of you enquire into the matter and quality of food on which your people support existence, the water which they drink, and the true effect of the occupations in which they are employed ? Nothing so speedily contaminates the air and renders it unfitted to invigorate in respiration, as the very process

of breathing and the subjecting it to the various emanations from the human body itself. Effective ventilation, viz., the rapid and continuous replacement of air which is vitiated by that which is fresh and wholesome, is thus a primary necessary of life. Look into your own houses and say whether you find it duly provided for there. Is there no crowding under your roofs? Are your sewage arrangements sufficient for the immediate removal of every source of miasma, as soon as it springs into existence? Does purity and cleanliness reign supreme in your little dominion? Are animal and vegetable matters ever allowed to decay within your precincts? Do the members of your family, men, women, and children, lead lives of healthy activity? I think I could even now correctly anticipate the conclusions which an inquiry of this kind would lead you; certainly I imagine that it would not be altogether flattering to yourselves. And if I do not err in this, need I ask what are the hygienic conditions which surround the poorer and more ignorant masses of your vast population?

To pass now to the second head, many of the diseases which constitute the worst scourge of mankind, whatever may be the case with others, are markedly specific in character, and traceable each to its own specific issue. Take, for example, Cholera, typus fever, small-pox; none of these spring up capriciously; it is not mere chance work, that this man is stricken with cholera and that man with small-pox, but both of them suffer in the particular modes designated by these names, because they have severally received into their systems the poisons or seeds of cholera and small-pox respectively. Now this fact, which I take to be indisputable, gives rise to considerations of immense moment to every member of the community. When once the specific seed or poison, call it what you will, which has lodged within the patient, has commenced to germinate, to develop its forces, and morbid action has set in, one course is only given to him, namely, to seek as speedily as possible the aid of a skilled medical adviser. But before that period of time occurs, is their nothing to be done in the way of prevention, nothing in which every one of us can personally take useful action on his own behalf? Assuredly there is. In the first place, by careful

attention to the hygienic matters upon which I have dwelt, he can to a great extent fortify himself against the attacks of the poison, and ensure the seeds falling upon a sterile soil. Let us, however, look a little further back. If we can trace the germ of the disease to its home, and discover the vehicles by which it is brought to us, may we not hope to extinguish it at the outset, or at any rate to stop it on its own death errand? I am very sanguine that eventually the battle field, upon which man will successfully contend against the worst forms of disease, will be found outside and not inside the citadel of life. In particular, I look to a not very remote future when it will be thought a mark of culpable carelessness on the part of any community that cholera should be allowed to make head within it. In this form of disease, whatever may be true of others, the seeds by which it is propagated seem to be generated, or enormously multiplied, within the person of the affected individual. On issuing from him, they are ready to be carried in all directions, and may be conveyed by many conceivable means to the viscera of others. When the proper nidus is by any sufficient conveyance reached, and all surrounding circumstances are favourable, germination (or development of the disease) will again take place; and so the process will go on repeating itself. Thus, each individual, who is labouring under an attack of cholera, acts as a centre of propagation of that disease relative to all around him, and it is easy to see that the rapidity with which the disease spreads must in this way increase with each case that occurs, until it passes beyond all hope of control. But fortunately there is good reason to believe, that the semina of the disease come forth from the body in a singularly manageable state, and that, if the persons about the sufferer took due precautions, all vitality might be crushed out of them immediately. And, moreover, even if some should by accident be allowed to escape, fortunately, again, it seems that their mode of travelling is limited and capable of being kept under considerable surveillance; while the power of germination which resides in them becomes rapidly impaired by lapse of time. I mention cholera only as an example. Is it not then the concern of all of us to learn everything that is known on these points? Can any of us be indifferent to that ignorance which preserves in and about

human dwellings all the refuse and excreta, which by their nature are most rich in the specific poisons or germs of disease before alluded to? Shall we without precaution take our drinking water from sources which can seldom fail to be contaminated by like matters, though the eye may be incapable of detecting the energy, if it be lurking in the crystal fluid? Can we look around and see masses of our fellow creatures living in a mode which fosters sickness and invites pestilence, without making some efforts for their salvation? I hope the few words I have said may open the eyes of the gentlemen of the province, be it but a little, to the vast field of philanthropy and usefulness to which the Health Section of this Association calls their attention.

Our fourth and last section is that of Economy and Trade. Its scope is so extensive that to illustrate it with any success would alone require an entire address. I will not therefore attempt such a task at this hour of the night, and when I mention that commerce or the interchange of commodities, currency and all other machinery of exchange, labour, agriculture, weights and measures, taxation, the various details of the social system, are only the heads of some of the subjects which fall within the range of this Department, I feel sure that my hearers will thank me for my forbearance. Indeed I am only too certain that I have already taxed their patience unmercifully, and this Department may well wait to be described at the hands of some future President. I will only hope that the hint which I have just given as to its outline, when added to the mention which I have made of the other Departments, will suffice to convey to my audience some notion of the matters with which this Association proposes to busy itself, and yet, after all the length which I have with meagre result gone in my effort at explanation, social science perhaps admits of being described in one sentence, for is it not that branch of natural science which concerns itself with, and elaborates the truths relative to man? And treating it in this form, we may say that our first section deals with the truths affecting that portion of man's behaviour which the supreme collective power of the community supervises and directs; the second with those upon which his proper physical and intellectual cultivation depends; the third with those which relate to his bodily

well-being; the fourth and last with those which are involved in so much of his conduct towards, and dealing with, others as is not comprehended in the first section. The pursuit of such a science is surely one of the noblest occupations which can engage the human mind. Its sole aim also in every direction is the good of the community, and by its success in this respect, it must be judged. Varied as only that subject can be which contains the human intelligence as a principal element, exalted as must be that topic which discusses the welfare of the human race, and attractive as natural science cannot fail to prove to every creature of the Great Creater, social science cannot, I am convinced, want any advocacy in this room; and I commit the fortunes of this Association to your charge without the least misgiving.

It is the gentlemen of Bengal who are concerned in its prosperity, and it is upon their exertions alone that its success depends. For its work it gathers together all that falls within the scope of the purest patriotism, and no one that is not animated by patriotic feelings can heartily labour in its ranks. Public opinion, too, is the principal instrument by which it must work to attain its ends, and none but the gentlemen of the country can influence the operation of so subtle an agent. I may, perhaps, venture to assume, that you do not expect otherwise than that political action will, for a time at least, be denied you in this country; does not this Society point out to you meanwhile a noble alternative? Can anything be more illustrious than service in the cause of health, education and enlightenment? Can there be a worthier channel for your ambition than that which leads you to be active in the work of advancing your people's welfare and civilization? When every zemindar's principal aim is to improve the worldly condition of his ryots, to develop their intelligence, to encourage by all means in his power the better cultivation of the soil, to make roads, to aid in the construction of works of irrigation; when every man of business strives to claim, and by his own examples to inculcate the eternal principles of honesty and truth, to make himself as best he can a centre for the radiation of domestic and social improvement; when every gentleman of leisure and wealth devotes himself to the culture of his intellec-

tual powers, and the promotion of literature and science, and when all by the best exercise of their intelligence and means give active aid to the due and economical working of the complex machinery of society, an epoch will have arrived in Bengal which is possibly now Utopian to anticipate ; but every honest effort which any one of you may make towards its realization will not only bear fruit in the shape of contribution, however, small, towards the welfare of your country, but it will assuredly have a reflex action upon your own character, the value of which it is impossible to exaggerate. I cannot believe that any deep colouring is required to depict to you the nobleness of the part which we have each of us to play in the great drama of creation, or any artificial incentive needed to make us desire faithfully to act up to it. Assuredly you must all be anxious to investigate and learn the truths by which your conduct as members of society should be guided ; and you cannot do otherwise than sympathatise with a Society which sets itself to facilitate the attainment of this object.

On the Laws of Health considered with reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of India. By Babu Kanai Lal Dey.
Read on 26th July 1867

The prevalence of miasmatic diseases which often visit different parts of this country, and the unusual death-rate which is the natural result of such visitations, make the study of the laws of health a subject of the highest importance. One great peculiarity, and an unfavourable one, to be frequently observed in the habits of my country men, both the enlightened and the uneducated, is their phlegmatic indifference to such matters. No attempt is ever made to trace effects to their causes and prevent their recurrence. Passive submission to the natural course of things is the greatest curse of the nation.

Though the laws of health, as deduced from established scientific principles, can never be made intelligible to the masses of the people, their study and practicable application among the higher orders is expected to produce the desired effect by their habits and practices being made the models of imitation by those who have neither the capacity nor opportunity for studying for themselves. Our mode of living, as exhibited in our dwelling houses, our food and clothing, admit of great improvement. We must adapt them to altered circumstances, so that they may fully meet our requirement.

In treating of health and the laws which govern it, we must discourage an overstretched application of these laws, often the indication of a distorted imagination. Imperfect knowledge and too much knowledge, when combined with that unhappy temper of mind which obtains for the person the epithet of idiosyncratic, are equally mischievous. There are some who are every moment haunted by the fear that the atmospheric air is impregnated with the germs of gout and fever, and, therefore, scrupulously coop themselves in the brick kiln of a sleeping

chamber. Others again fancy that the constituents of all waters are poison, and therefore, never think themselves secure, except when they take measured drops of a heated fluid. Many, again, oppressed by fancied ills, take more medicine than food, and like Phippen in the story, always imagine that there is something wrong in their "clogged apparatus". I have known men of the highest intelligence who are always dissatisfied with their state of health and imagine disease at every turn, and who, not content with worrying their medical advisers for remedies which are not wanted, secretly drug themselves with no end of quack simples. But there is little fear of such examples serving as guides for the people. They may act as beacons to warn us off the shoals, but can never entice us to a course of living so much at variance with reason and common sense.

It is matter of no small regret that what we value as knowledge is generally neither substantial nor practically useful. On the other hand, a knowledge of natural laws and of their practical application to the purposes of health and physical well being, is utterly neglected. This proceeds as much from a defective education as from a natural imaginative turn of the national mind. Hence it becomes an object of paramount importance to direct attention to the study of the physical laws and the causes which mitigate suffering and prevent untimely deaths.

I shall in this discourse briely advert to those agents which form the chief constituents of life, and also refer to the conditions essential to health. My remarks and illustrations, I need not say, will have special reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of this country, both as regards their mode of living and their indulgence in practices impair health and shorten life.

The chief conditions under which animal life can exist, are an adequate supply of air, water and food. Want or deficiency of any of these agents is incompatible with its exisetence. And these must be supplied in a state which shall conduce to the end they are intended to serve. Vitiated and contaminated air and water, containing an admixture of ingredients other than their natural constituents, will produce the same or greater evil

than when they are either wholly wanting or scantily supplied. An unsophisticated person may naturally ask in what the purity of air consists. Its purity consists in its freedom, from all extraneous matter. Its natural elements are one-fifth of oxygen and four-fifths of nitrogen in a given bulk, with a very minute addition of carbonic acid gas. And the extraneous matter with which it may be impregnated are the exhalations which the earth yields in abundance. The air we inhale is pure, but when breathed out it is poisoned. It is then no longer fit for animal use, for the simple reason that organic life requires a supply of oxygen for its existence, and any cause which neutralizes it deprives it of its vitality. A knowledge of the fact that oxygenation is an indispensable necessity of animal life, will convince us how necessary it is to secure a copious supply of fresh air in our dwelling houses and places of business and recreation. A man's health, according to Dr. Parkes, requires at least 2,000 cubic feet of fresh air per hour, and a sick man from 3,000 to 4,000. He always requires a sufficient supply of oxygen to feed his lungs and keep the blood in the veins in a state of purity, and he suffers immensely when this supply fails, or when it is so contaminated as to be unfit for the purpose it is intended to serve. In tropical climates the necessity for this change of air is greater than in cold and temperate ones. We know from experience that closeness in hot weather gives an unpleasant and oppressive sensation. We try to avoid it, but we never take the trouble to ascertain whence the unpleasant feeling proceeds, and how its recurrence may be guarded against. I make no apology for quoting largely from a writer, whose exposition of the principle is as just as the reasoning is convincing.

"On examining the subject of organic matters" says Dr. Angus Smith, "It seems to me clear that we are annoyed by its presence exactly in proportion to the warmth of the atmosphere, one of the chief reason, I believe, is simply this : the matter is volatile, and being so, it fills the air exactly in proportion to the warmth applied. In cool weather the exhalations of the person are readily condensed, whereas the presence of one individual for an hour in a room of a size frequently used is sufficient in warm weather to cause unpleasant closeness. The same room

would be sufficient for many in cold weather. Two main evils then annoy us—carbonic acid and exhalations from the person caused by warmth. If we can bear 1,000 of carbonic acid in one million (1,000,000) of air at a temperature of 50° Fahrenheit, we may be quite unable to bear it at a temperature of 70°. More than that, I believe that when the proportion of carbonic acid is extremely low, we may still have such warmth that the exhalations will be volatile and the air extremely oppressive. Why do these exhalations annoy us? They probably act like anaesthetic substances preventing oxidation, and therefore diminishing first the clearness of the mind and then the strength of the body. We require to remove them from us when it is well known that no carbonic acid in any injurious quantity is present. This is one reason why we desire the air to be changed more frequently in warm weather; it is not only that there is a desire for lower temperature, there is a desire for air perfectly freed from exhalations. It is for a similar reason that men can live in narrow huts made of ice without any attempt at cleanliness. The limit of endurance is probably measured in such cases by the carbonic acid only, and not by the organic matter which ceases at that temperature to be volatile.*

It is common practice in this country amongst the lower orders of my countrymen for many persons to sleep in the same room, especially for family men and men sojourning in business. The rooms usually are narrow and low-roofed and the little available space not occupied by the bed is filled with luggage of all descriptions. Stand near the threshhold of the door of one of these rooms on a morning when it is first opened, and inhale the air which is rushing out. You will feel as if you are being suffocated by a volume of offensive vapours, the odour of which is indescribable. Look at the inmates with their reeking bodies thinly coated with grease and dust, and sooty clothes not cleansed of the oil and filth for a week. In able bodied persons there is an air of langour and lassitude accompanied with hard breathing; in children a falling of the pulse and disturbed circulation, in some cases looking as if deprived of animation. Can we

* Dr. Augus Smith on the air of houses and workshops.

wonder that when such practices are repeated day after day, the germs should be sown of a variety of diseases, some affecting the lungs and others engendering sores and eruptions on the body ?

I will quote another instance from our national usages, illustrative of the neglect or ignorance of our countrymen of the truth, that impure and vitiated air is destructive to animal life. On the occasions of festivals, when they are celebrated by Jattras and nautches, from two to three hundred people are usually assembled in a house ; and the company consists of persons in all conditions of life, from the ragged, greasy, and dusty cooly to the gossamer-clad Babu, perfumed with attar of roses. The quadrangle in which these assemblies congregate, though an open space, is carefully shaded over head by a thick canopy or shameanah and there are at least from 50 to 300 lamps burning, consisting of candle lights, and gas lights ; add to that the smoke of dozens of hookahs incessantly at work, and no end of cigars, enter the house an hour after the multitude have assembled, and then examine the state of your senses. Select the clearest and most secluded spot in the compound or gallery, still you will hardly escape from the evils of a variety of odours and organic emanations, from persons the last in the world to be particular about dress and cleanliness. The fatigue and exhaustion and that feeling of indescribable uneasiness following nights passed in such company, will not be owing so much to the want of sleep as to the inhalation of the deadliest poisons imaginable. Such assemblies, though not of daily occurance, are sufficiently numerous to deserve notice.

What has been said has reference to the contamination in this important principle of life from the practices of private individuals. Impurities are similarly engendered on an extended scale by the exhalations arising from the accumulated excretions of a whole community. The black putrid mud of the drain and sewers of large city, and the pool of foetid matter forming the receptacles of the business refuse of the town, may be pointed to as fitting illustrations. It will not be necessary to go far in quest of proof as to their action on the animal system ; the

denizens of this city of palaces have a bitter experience of such influences.

The condition of the poor of all contries is miserable enough. Poverty and filth are inseparable concomitants. But there are circumstances in which men are helpless for good, and in such cases the interference of the legislature may be justly invoked. In no part of the world can we expect to find every individual of the community owring a confortable house for his dwelling. Palace and hovel everywhere stand side by side. And from this condition our city is not exempt. Behind long rows of princely mansions lie thickly studded the humble shelters of the poor, some mud-walled and some with walls of mat—almost all on each other's shoulders. In localities far removed from the business quarters of the town, there is some relief, for there they can afford to have a little breathing space. But take at random any on the side having the advantage of road frontage, the little appertures which but mere apologies for windows scarcely admit a ray of light or a puff of wind. Pass into the interior of these quarters and you will see state of things more frightful still. As you proceed, you are obliged to stop your breath. At every third step you encounter an extempore privy, a miry ditch, or a collection of stagnant black water teeming with noisome vermin.

It was in one sense an advantage in a sanitary point of view when there was no prohibition against thatched roofs. The periodical fires which devastated the town, and reduced to ashes whole ranges of these houses, acted as disinfectants, and greatly mitigated the evils incidental to miasmatic influences. But now that tiled roofs are compulsory, such visitations have become rare. What then is the remedy? The only one which appears to be practicable, though not wholly efficacious as regards the end in view, would be to insert a penal clause in the Municipal Act, compelling land owners to keep roadways traversing the whole length of their property, and broad enough to allow a city cart to pass easily. In cases of extensive tracts exceeding a beegah, provision should be made for an increased number of these roads so constructed as to intersect each other. It might go a step further, and define the number of tenants which a

given plot of land should contain. Such a provision would not be an encroachment upon the rights of private property, and if it were, the claims of health and life should obtain a preference over every other consideration.

The next great agent or constituent of organic life is water. It is as essential to the existence of animals as air, and the evils resulting from the admixture of extraneous impure water,other than its primary constituents, are equally great. But this fluid, which chemically is described as an oxide of hydrogen, is never found in a state of purity in nature. The impurities which enter into its composition depend upon the nature of the ingredients through which it percolates. In some cases it holds in solution chloride of sodium, in some carbonic acid, sulphurated hydrogen, sulphate or carbonate of lime, or magnesia, animal and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition and so on. The impurities of water thus arise either from chemical union or mechanical mixture with other bodies. In the first case purity can be obtained only by distillation—a process not practicable under ordinary circumstances ; but the impurities arising from mechanical mixture may be easily removed by filtration. In order that it may efficiently perform its alloted work in the economy of animal life, it is necessary that water should be used in a state of purity ; and the evils of an impure mixture will be best understood by a consideration of the uses to which it is applied. Water forms the principal ingredient of animal bodies. A man weighing 154 lbs holds 111 lbs of water in his tissues, or nearly three-fourths of his bulk is water. In order to maintain the proportion of this ingredient to the other components a constant supply is required. The most important quality which this fluid possesses is its solvent power. Every article, taken in the shape of food, it dissolves and conveys to the tissues and the oxygen which vitalizes those tissues is conveyed by water. The starch, the fat, the protein, in short every proximate or intermediate principle of food, is digested and absorbed by water. The same solvent power, which enables it to dissolve the ingredients of food, also dissolves those impurities described before in the shape of organic and inorganic matters. From the inorganic world it may take up the salts of lime, lead, and other compounds

in such quantities that, when taken into the human body, it is not only unfit for healthy life, but may become the source of immediate disease or death. Like the air, it may become the medium of those definite organic poisons, which kindling similar poisons in the living system, are at once the source of disease to others and the death of the individual suffering from their action. Let us now glance at the sources from which water is usually drawn both for drinking and for bathing and washing purposes.

In all countries the water used for drinking is either rain-water or spring-water, well well-water or the water drawn from rivers. In Bengal proper spring-water is comparatively scarce, and it cannot, therefore, be considered a recognised source of drinking water. Well-water, though seldom or never used for drinking purposes in the lower, is perhaps the only resource in most part of the upper provinces. In Bengal proper wells do not exist in most places, not merely because their want is not felt, but because the nature of the soil does not admit of such excavations. In the districts in the Delta of the Ganges, and in those adjoining it, the country looks as if just emerged from the ocean bed, damn and dripping, and the soil is so soft, being cheifly formed of sandy clay, that the sinking of a well is impracticable.

Of well-water it may be remarked that it is purest when drawn from a depth below the strata of vegetable mould, sand, clay, or the beds where water from the surface of the earth near towns and popular villages is collected. In some localities the greater the depth of the well, the purer its water. Amongst us there is a strong prejudice against well-water in general in consequence of its not being exposed to the sun. The water of wells, they say, is heavy, and it induces disease of the lungs and eruptions on the body. I have no room here to enquire into the truth of this statement, but it is good that this prejudice exists in regard to well-water in this country.

Of thank-water it may be said that the evils of surface well-water generally occur in it in a glaring manner, in as much as the impurities which in one case mix by percolation, pour bodily into the other. The greater, therefore, the remoteness of such

collections of water from the habitations of men, the more free they will be from such impurities; but still, in populous towns and villages it becomes impossible to exclude the impurities of sewage matter. Some of the tanks in the maidan in this city are perhaps the best collections of water that we possess, but still they are not unexceptionable as regards the salubrity of their water.

One great defect, and a serious one too, which may be remarked in all tanks attached to Native houses is that they are usually the receptacles for the washing of the premises and the surrounding compound.

Where the country possesses the advantage of being contiguous to streams and rivers, the water for drinking and washing is chiefly drawn from the source. To this practice there is a remarkable exception in some of the districts of Eastern Bengal, where river water is never used for drinking; for bathing and washing it is seldom used. River water, generally speaking, though indispensible under peculiar circumstances has one drawback which disqualifies it for drinking purposes. The great distinguishing feature of river water is that, being exposed to the air, it becomes the medium of life to both plants and animals. We have not only fish and snails and reeds and pond-weeds growing in river water, but we have innumerable forms of microscopic animals and plants. Besides, rivers, it must be remembered, are the public drains of the country through which they run.

Any thing, however, which might be advanced on the score of unhealthiness of river water will never deter the Hindu portion of the inhabitants of this country from drinking Ganges water and performing their ablutions in its sacred stream. It is the last blessing vouchsafed to sinful man for his salvation, and whoever neglects it, wilfully and perversely shuts against himself the door of Heaven. Many of us perhaps are incapable of forming an adequate conception of the degree of reverence in which it is held. We, who live on its shores and may be perhaps the most orthodox of Hindus, are still indifferent about it, because

we see it every day, drink its water every day, and may bathe in it as often as we choose. But those to whom this blessing is denied, who live far removed from its hallowing influence, will, for the purpose of dipping their bodies in the sacred stream, perform a pilgrimage attended with hardships greater than were endured by the most fanatical crusader of the middle ages.

One thing, however, I may venture to affirm that for drinking purposes the purest water we can obtain is rain water. It is the first condensed water which passed from the sea into the atmosphere. The object, however, will be defeated if we collect what runs out of the spouts of our houses especially of those situated in a densely populous city like Calcutta. Hindu medical writers also strongly recommend the use of this water.

They maintain that rain water preserved in a clear vessel, possesses the power of curing diseases, bile and phlegm, and improves the state of the tongue, teeth and memory. I would warn my countrymen not to be deceived by any water being cool, transparent and sweet; such properties do not naturally imply an exemption from vegetable and animal decomposition. I annex an analytical Table showing the properties of different descriptions of water used in different parts of the country, which will afford convincing proofs of what has been advanced above.

Air and water alone will not sustain animal organism. It requires "to be supplied in its food with the elements necessary for the play of those chemical forces which result in life." Hence it becomes necessary to consider what food is, and also what is the best food for man to take. It must, however, be premised that as yet the enquiry on this subject has not resulted in any definite conclusions.

Man is made to live on a mixed diet of vegetable and animal food, both of which may be resolved into ultimate and proximate principles. The ultimate principles of animals and that of vegetable food are nearly the same, namely, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, with the difference that in one case there is a mixture of insoluble animal matter, in the other a small

portion of sulphur, phosphorus, and earthly salts. The proximate principles of vegetable food are starch, gluten, albumen, saccharine principle, gum or mucilage, lignum, pectine, fixed and volatile oils, wax, resin, balsams, gum-resins, camphor, tanin, and colouring matter. Of animal food, they are fabrin, gelatine, albumen, oil and fat, osmazone, caseine, and also sugar.

The choice of food must depend upon the consideration as to which of the alimentary articles possess the requisite proportions of heat-giving, flesh forming, and mineral substances. Every part of the body requires a certain proportion of one particular principle according to the function it is destined to perform. The blood must be supplied with chloride of sodium and iron. The bones with phosphate, carbonate and flurate of lime, the muscles with potash, the bile with sulphur, and saliva with cyanogen, the teeth, hair, and nails with silica. A diet deficient in any of these materials may be the source of disease. Remembering then, the principles which should regulate the choice of food, our great object should be to select such substances from the vegetable and animal kingdom as possess in adequate proportions the flesh forming and heat giving principles. There is continual waste going on in the human system inseparable from our condition as working and thinking beings, and all that food is intended to do is to supply that waste. The average quantity of matter we lose daily has been calculated by some at nearly three pounds. What we call disease is nothing more than the condition of health consequent upon the absence from our system of some one of its constituent principles arising from this waste. Medicines do the work of food by supplying the particular want in a concentrated form. Thus the loss of fat is a characteristic of that dangerous malady—consumption—and the best remedy is the use of oleaginous matter in the shape of oils and cream.

In the selection of food, while nutriment and digestibility must always form a material consideration, due regard should also be had to their adaptability to climate as well as to age, sex and constitution. In a hot climate we all know that the evaporation from the skin predominates, while in cold weather a

greater proportion is excreted by the urine ; again, a higher temperature diminishes the quantity of carbonic acid exhaled in a certain time, and consequently by warmth the two most important products of decomposition are diminished ; it is therefore indubitable that in summer the excretion is lessened and in winter increased. To excretion correspond nutrition, the formation of blood, and the digestion ; hence results the necessary conclusion, confirmed by daily experience ; that in summer we digest a smaller quantity and that more slowly. In a country, therefore, where weakness in digestion is a normal condition, where the desire for food is less in consequence of the consumption of tissue being less a smaller quantity of nutritious food, or less nutritious but easily digestable aliments are to be taken. For the same reason stimulating food, whether spices or alcoholic drinks should be sparingly used.

In children and youths, whose bodies are in a state of growth and development, the consumption of food is required to be greater than the excretion. Keeping in view this important fact, we should always provide them not only with wholesome, and nutritious food, but food which may be taken frequently and in abundance and digested with facility. In old age the activity of the tissue charge begins to decrease, as well as the proportion of water and fat in the bones. The tissues have also another composition ; in old age less carbonic acid is breathed out, less urea formed. The food of the old must, therefore, undergo a change in composition and quantity as well as in quantity.

In constitutional make and physical organisation there is perhaps no difference between women and male sex ; but the fact of there being a great difference in their respective habits and temperaments, causes a corresponding difference in the demand for restorative nutriments.

In the ordinary condition of a woman's life she requires less nutritious food, or nutritious food in smaller quantities. This arrangement of diet undergoes a little variation in the condition when she has to form blood both for herself and her offspring ; then there should be an increase in the supply of nutritious food which is easily digestible. This perhaps is not

a fitting place to dwell on the regimen of females during confinement, except that it should increase in strength as the period of confinement advances, care being taken to supply them with albuminous aliments in order to the formation of the caseine of milk. Women have a particular fondness for acid fruits, ordinarily this indulgence is a matter of indifference, but a suckling mother should be cautioned to avoid them as they dissolve the caseine of the milk globules, and then taken in considerable quantities, diminish the milk and render it less nutritious.

Writers on Hindu medicine are very particular in their dietetic rules. These rules embrace every circumstance and condition of life in which any particular kind of food is to be taken, and also define the specific varieties which should be included in the category of human food. Their list of aliments is as comprehensive as it is curious. But their warnings and directions in regard to the rejection and adoption of any particular kind of food do not bring conviction home. They do not condescend to address our understandings. They offer their conclusions as the dicta of a tyrant, to be acted upon and not to be enquired into. They want us to do their bidding and not to question.

They adopt various classifications of food, sometimes according to taste, sometimes according to their medicinal properties, and sometimes in relation to the effects they produce as articles of diet. Taking the taste of dietic articles, they divide them into sweet, acid, salt, bitter, pungent, and astringent. Sweet articles, they say, increase the semen, the milk and the fat; they also cure derangements in air and bile, and are useful in correcting the effects of poison; they retain the body in health and promote longevity. Acid articles promote appetite and digestion, increase the blood and restore irregularities and derangements in the air, bile, phlegm. Salt articles promote digestion and increase appetite. They promote perspiration, remove derangements of the bile, phlegm, and blood. Bitter food, if taken before eating improves appetite, remove worms, thirst, poison, leprosy, epilepsy, nausea, heat of the body and

fever. Pungent articles of food increase appetite and milk and diminish thirst and fever. They also cure diseases of phlegm, diseases of the throat and head, itchiness and internal pain. Astringent articles of food are cooling and cure diseases of the bile and phlegm ; they also remove diseases of the skin and heal, wounds and sores. These descriptions of food have also inner unfavourable sides. The sweet articles induce asthma, worms, and affections of the throat. Acid articles, when often taken, produce weakness, emaciation of the body, and sometimes blindness. Salt articles relax the bowels, they are bad for the eyes, and if long continued, the skin becomes covered with irregularities upon its surface followed by leprosy and weakness. Bitter food is unpleasant to the taste, is dry and light to the stomach, increases bile and air, and produces dryness, heat and diseased milk. Pungent articles if immoderately used, produce thirst, weakness, shooting pain over the body, and derange the skin. Astringent articles, repeatedly used, produce costiveness, a swelling of the abdomen, thirst and weakness, retard the circulation of fluids in the body. Current practice, however, does not seem to be based upon the principles incalculated in the medical shastras, for acids and sweets are invariably condemned, and pungent articles are better known as having a tendency to produce costiveness and burning of the body than to increase appetite and milk.

Fruit and vegetables will naturally constitute an important article of food amongst a people with whom they are common and within easy reach. The fruits which are indigeneous to this country may vie in delicacy, flavour, and taste with the fruits of any country in the world. Our apples, mangoes and nuts have not their equals in any part of the world, but they alone can never form the exclusive food of the people, as their constituents are principally water and a small proportion of starch and sugar, which, we know, are more heat giving than flesh forming materials. Our Rishis, however, it is said supported life exclusively by fruits which they plucked at the end of their days's devotion from the trees growing nearest their hermitage.

One or two of these fruits deserve notice. Mangoes are

universally praised above all fruits, being considered as an inestimable gift of nature to mortal man. In their season they are such an important auxiliary to our daily food, as to form an appreciable addition to the dietetic expenditure of every family in the country. In popular estimation they are considered cooling and nutritive, and as possessing diueretic and purging properties. They are also considered as capable of increasing the blood and improving and refining it. How far this belief is well founded is a matter of question. All that we know about them is that they are very palatable, and when consumed largely produce worms in the stomach and boils and eruptions on the skin.

Cocoanuts are deservedly esteemed. They possess real medicinal virtues, and every part of the tree and fruit is in one way or other subservient to our use. The water of the fruit when green is a good emulcent drink, being cooling and digestive. Its pulp is also an agreeable diet ; when dry, its hard kernel is used as a condiment in a variety of dishes.

Plantains form an important addition to the European table in the country, both on account of their deliciousness and nutritive elements. But we consider it as an occasional food to be sparingly consumed, lest it increase the humours and induce elephantiasis, to which it is supposed to have a marked tendency. In Hindu dietary the principal varieties of corn and pulse form the staple food of the people. The most important of these varieties are rice, wheat, maize barley etc. Bengal by its soil and climate, is peculiarly adopted to the growth of rice, as the dry regions of the upper provinces are to the growth of wheat and its companion species. As an article of food, rice does not possess those elements in sufficient proportions which are chiefly wanted for the support of animal life.

In this respect, wheat, maize, barley, and similar varieties, which are peculiar to the dry regions have superior recommendations.

From the annexed table of the analysis of the principal articles of Indian food, it will be seen that in rice the proportion

of starch or heat giving elements to the flesh formers is nearly as eight to one, whereas in wheat the proportion is but as five to one. Hence writers on dietetics condemn the use of the former as the principal ingredient of food. One thing, however, may be observed that in the selection of food, the choice of a nation is not determined by considerations of its nourishing properties so much as by those of cheapness and abundance. Bengal is peculiarly a rice growing country. Its climate and soil are remarkably well adapted to its growth. It grows in abundance, and is available to all classes of people at comparatively small cost.

There are at least fourteen varities of rice which are cultivated with more or less care in this country, according to their demand for dietetic consumption and according to the facility of growing them. All of them yield three crops in three different seasons. The most common crop is that which is reaped between November and December ; the second crop is that of spring rice or rice of 60 day's growth, which is gathered in September ; and the third is sown in December and reaped in April. The wholesomeness and digestibility of rice gathered from the three crops vary with the seasons of their growth. Rice in the winter crop is extensively cultivated and universally consumed. The consumption of the spring and autumn crops is generally restricted to the peasantry and the laboring classes in the interior of the country ; they are raised more for local consumption than general use.

Writers on Hindu medicine consider the rice of 60 day's growth, or that which is reaped in September as wholesome, but people leading a sedentary life are incapable of digesting it ; hence its use, as an article of food, is chiefly confined to the laboring classes in the country.

The process of husking rice for the purpose of consumption goes a great way towards determining its nutritive agency. The rice intended for common use is obtained by first boiling the paddy and then drying it in the sun, but atap or sundried rice is husked by the last process only. The intermediate process of

boiling the paddy, as we can well imagine, diminishes its nutritive or flesh forming property, but so feeble is the race who use it that they cannot digest an article itself not sufficiently substantial without extracting its stamina ; and yet complaints are heard of the economical arrangements of our ancestors, which do not admit of the introduction of more strengthening food in our dietary. There is an idea of purity in a religious sense attached to the rice prepared by the last mentioned process, hence it is the only rice offered to the gods on poojah occasions ; and respectable Hindu widows who lead an austere life use no other. It is also the rice which is served up at the tables of Europeans in this country and largely exported to England.

In cooking rice for food, whether sun dried or otherwise, we take the precaution of mixing with it water in the proportion of two to one, so that when boiled there is left one part of it in the shape of washing which is strained out. This washing is a white glutinous liquid containing the pith of the rice and though used as drink for domestic cattle may be also used with advantage by man for the purpose of food. Kangy, which is a celebrated component in Hindu medicine, and often prescribed as a remedy in some of the most intricate chronic complaints, is also a rice-washing, only with this difference that it is the rice water that has undergone the lacteous fermentation in its last stage ; the first, being washing of rice obtained by boiling, the second, of cooked rice steeped in water.

I have alluded to the process by which paddy is husked, and also said that rice husked from boiled paddy is considered wholesome.

The genteeler classes of our countrymen live on a diet which may be considered as the regimen of convalescent patients. The rice they eat must not only be the produce of boiled paddy, but requires to be sufficiently old to be fit for food. To be wholesome, it must remain in the barn at least nine months after harvest time. New rice is considered heavy and indigestable and as having a tendency to increase phlegm, and writers on Hindu medicine ascribe to it the property of giving an oleaginous

appearance to the body and promoting secretion of semen. The peasantry and laboring classes, however, who hardly afford to wait long, begin consuming it immediately after harvest, and are not the worse for it.

Rice, the staple food of this country, is used as an article of diet in a variety of ways, the most common and important being that of cooking it for daily food. It is also parched, fried and beaten flat to form food for the people.

Men's taste are sometimes very curious. Amongst the Natives of East Bengal rice gruel is considered a luxury and greedily consumed by all classes of the people. It is a mess of rice, gruel, jagree or raw sugar, and dried cocoanuts made into pulp. It is considered a delicacy by some, and offered with complacency as a sweet food to invited guests. Amongst the Burmese a similar food is served, called by them nappy. It slightly differs from the first in its composition and preparation, being composed of gruel, chips of dry cocoanut, and raw meat, all of which are boiled together until formed into consistency of paste. It resembles the food which is prepared for dogs in this country, and though its appearance and odour provoke nausea, it is a delicacy with the people who eat it.

Referring again to the table of Indian dietary, it will be seen that in the class of fabrinous food we have wheat, bajra, barley, jowar, and other varieties of cereals. Wheat, we all know, is not common in Bengal, I mean it is not grown here in abundance, and though, as an article of food, it is next to rice, consumed largely by all classes of people, it is not considered as the food like rice. In the upper provinces, where the soil and climate is well adapted to its growth, it holds the same place in the list of dietary as rice does in Bengal. The poorer orders, however, live on cheaper food than wheat, of which Bajra, jowree and barley are most common. Barley meal or sattoo is a favourite food of the lower orders of the up country people. Its chief recommendation is its cheapness. It is usually dry, the only condiments used being red pepper and salt.

I have said above that the nutritive property which this article of diet possesses as compared with rice is as five to one. In fact it is more nutritive than most other cereals containing 13 parts of flesh-formers, 72 heat givers, and 2 of mineral matter in 100 ; or to be most particular, there are in 100 parts of ordinary flour :

Starch	..	67.78
Gluten	..	9.02
Sugar	..	4.80
Gum	..	4.60
Bran	..	2.00
Water	..	12.00

Though so well adapted for food in consideration of the quantity of Gluten it contains, it cannot be said to be quite congenial to the Bengali constitution. Our unleavened flour cakes, though lighter by far than the weighty chappattees of the up-country people, are not eaten with impunity. Our digestive power is so weak that the starch can bear scarcely anything stronger than rice. It takes three and half hours to digest leavened bread ; it must take four to digest unleavened cakes like what we eat, whereas the longest period which boiled rice takes is about an hour, so that the best food in point of nutriment is not always the best for all people.

Leguminous seeds which appear in the table under the head of caseinous food, like the dhall and peas with which this country abounds, afford more or less the most substantial elements of food which we can consume to support our system—moog, mashkalay, urhur, and other species of the same class, all containing from 19 to 28 per cent of flesh formers, and from 56 to 62 heat givers.

They are used always with rice in the form of porridge or soup, and in this State they are well suited to the stomach of all healthy persons. It is my firm conviction that an able bodied person living exclusively on rice and dhall to the extent of a seer of each meal will be found capable of undergoing any amount of labour without impairing his health.

The Bengalis are remarkably fond of fish. Living in a country abounding with numerous streams and extensive marshes, they are able to indulge their craving for this article of diet to any extent imaginable. It may be observed that, unlike most other nations, they are generally averse to the use of fish salted, dried or preserved. The most common and popular way of cooking it for food is either by frying or boiling. The soup of fish boiled with greens and vegetables is considered an indispensable adjunct to Native diet. It is supposed to strengthen the system by the increase of blood to which fish soup contributes. Fishes of low standard of respiration, or black fish are always considered healthful ; they are usually given as good food to invalids, children and persons having loose bowels. The most popular fishes are the hilsa and tapsi (Mango fish), which are found in abundance at certain seasons in the Hooghly and Pudda rivers, and though indigestable in consequence of their containing a large proportion of oily matter, are eaten with avidity by all classes of the people. The digestibility of fishes vary according to their species and the place where they are preserved. On an average, boiled fish is digested in an hour and a half, or two hours, and fried fish in from three to four hours. It is therefore better to eat fish boiled than fried. Fish diet, according to some, produces skin diseases, such as leprosy and elephantitis and according to others they increase secretion of bile if immoderately consumed.

The Hindus of old, it appears from the shastras, were not an exclusively graminivorous people, neither was the prohibition against certain classes of animal food originally a condition of the Hindu system. The flesh of quadrupeds and poultry which are now reckoned as food amongst nations other than Hindus, was as much a recognised article of Hindu diet as any other, and we meet with evidence of this fact from the enumeration given by Hindu medical writers of their several properties and instructions and directions as to the mode of preparing and cooking food for them. I have no room here to dwell on the various legends extant showing how beef came to be forbidden food, but it may be mentioned as a fact that there was a time when the most rigid Hindu did not reckon beef-eating a crime.

Even now, there are some races of Hindus living in a hilly district of Tipperah, who do not consider pork and poultry to be objectionable diet. I make this statement on the authority of some persons who sojourned on business in that part of the country, and who as guests of some rajah or zeminder, received presents of provisions consisting of, amongst other articles of food, a live pig and some fowls. Amongst the lowest castes of Hindus all over the country, pork as food is common, though beef is religiously abstained from. As existing practice goes, the flesh of sheep and goat is allowed as well as the flesh of ducks, geese, pigeons and snipes ; in short almost all birds except fowls.

With regard to animal food, it may be said that fish, which is largely consumed by Natives of all classes, possesses nutritive properties in the proportion of 14 flesh forming to 7 of heat giving parts. Flesh meat contains nutritive properties in the proportion of 22 flesh forming to 14 of heat giving. From a comparison of these properties with those of the classes coming under the head caseinous and fabrinous food, it will be seen that flesh meat does not possess superior advantages as regards nutrition. Moreover, as the stimulating power is greater in the latter, occasioning thereby an excitement and irritation incompatible with residence in a tropical climate its use is considered by several eminent medical authorities as not indispensable to the support and invigoration of the animal system. Its moderate use in the case of invalids is only recommended on the ground of its easy assimilation.

On the subject of the relative importance of animal and vegetable diet, I cannot do better than quote the opinion of Dr. Norman Chevers, whose long residence in this country entitles him to speak authoritatively on this subject. "To those who inhabit within the tropics," says Dr. Chevers, "where the respiration is not active, where the muscular movements of the body are necessarily languid, and where the action of that organ which has principally to remove nitrogenized and carbonized materials from the system—I mean the liver—is from many causes liable to become over-exicited, those articles of food which

aid the production of inward heat and of muscular flesh are far less necessary."

Another substance of equal importance in human dietary is milk, which is consumed in large quantities by all classes of people of all ages, from the infant in its cradle to the able bodied fabrine of the blood and the proteinacaous and gelatinous tissues. The butter serves for the formation of fat, and contributes with the sugar to support the animal heat by yielding carbon and hydrogen to be burnt in the lungs. The earthly salts are necessary for the development of the osseous system. The iron is required for the blood corpuscles and the hair ; while the alkaline chloride furnishes the hydrochloric acid of the gastric juice. Cow's milk is undoubtedly superior to woman's milk in nutritive proportion and therefore may be recommended as a healthy drink for infants. Early weaning, therefore of which Native women have the greatest dread, may be carried out with perfect impunity.

Clarified butter, however, which is only the fatty substance of milk, is from ignorance of the people, supposed to contain a higher nutritive property than milk itself. But the fact is that it possesses only heat giving and fat forming qualities, without a particle of nutritive element.

With regard to the necessity of securing a sufficient supply of healthy food, it may be added that a man's capacity for enduring the fatigues of life will always be in proportion to the quantity and quality of food he takes, and that wholesome food is not more necessary for his physical well-being than for a healthy action of his intellectual faculties. Ill-fed and insufficiently nourished children never grow up into vigorous manhood, and men laboring under the same disadvantage often dwindle into untimely decrepitude and mental infirmity. There is a serious defect in the domestic economy of the middle and lower orders of my countrymen, that it does not sufficiently provide for this necessity. That dubious social arrangement which often encumbers a single person with the maintenance of a numerous family, does not allow him, with the usually limited means at his

disposal, to secure for himself and those who have a natural claim upon him for support, an adequate supply of the necessaries of life. The evils of living upon insufficient and innutritious food in childhood and youth, when the body is in a state of growth and development, tell most injuriously in after life. That look of palor and emaciation and the utter absence of animation, so remarkable in the Natives of this country, may as much be ascribed to insufficient diet as to their habitation in unclean and ill-ventilated appartments. A debilitated constitution and premature decay, which are characteristic to the people of this country, are not so much the evils of a tropical climate as the results of a universal neglect of the laws of health.

I have alluded to our domestic economy as being the cause of our inadequate provision for the necessaries of life amongst the bulk of the people ; but I may also add my countrymen, as a nation, are remarkably penurious in matters which deeply concern their physical and intellectual well-being. The person who would unhesitatingly squander away a life's treasure on a wedding or a shraddh, will cut and clip the items of food and clothing from its family budget, until they are reduced in a minimum figure barely sufficient for existence. The millionaire, who, when occasion requires it, will blaze in pearls and diamonds, will think it perhaps the height of extravagance to change his linen oftener than when it becomes unbearable. The working man, who can hardly make both ends meet, will strave himself and his wife and children, that he may lay by a portion of his earnings in a few tolas of silver and gold, and the thought will never occur to him that by this short sighted parsimony he is abridging the brief span of their existence and crippling his own powers of acquisition.

I cannot also condemn in sufficiently strong terms the Hindu institution of early marriage, as it lays the axe at the root of that physical development so essential to health and long life. It has by the direct effect of undermining the constitutions of those immediately effected by it, a tendency to deteriorate the race. In fact one of the puniest races of the human family is doing the very thing which will lower the breed and give it the impress of degeneracy.

Along with this, and as intimately connected with the cause of deterioration of race, is the practice of forming improper and unsuitable alliances by marriage. It argues an habitual disregard of one important principle that next to abusing our health by our misdeeds, it is necessary to guard against the production of unhealthy and sickly offspring. This can be done by securing alliances by marriage between persons of sound health and strong constitutions. But in practice we usually confine our enquiries to the birth, connexions, and fortunes of the families between whom intermarriage is intended and never extend them to points touching the health of the parties to the alliance. Thus sickly and unhealthy parents continue to generate a sickly and unhealthy race and diseases which might have become extinct by the death of the persons immediately subject to them are perpetuated by transmission.

Bodily exercise is another condition of health. In a hot country, to those whose occupation in life entails upon them a fair share of corporeal exertion, no special provision for exercise need be recommended. But where sedentary habits are a condition of life, whether arising from the nature of the occupation pursued, or from favourable worldly circumstances, some arrangement must be made for imparting activity to the muscles. Except in solitary cases, exercise is not a rule of Bengali life, its necessity and importance is not understood. And where the rule is acted upon, the existence of other habits and pursuits neutralizes its effects. Here we may take a lesson from the habits and pursuits of the upcountry people.

It is necessary for me to repeat a well known established fact that from the dependence which the mental faculties have upon the brain, which is itself a portion of the animal system, a moderate exercise of these faculties is necessary to ensure to it a healthy action ; and that undue exertion of any one of these faculties has as much a pernicious effect upon the system as the disuse of the whole. But I must notice the state of health of the youth of this country competing the scholastic and academic honours. The rules under which these honours may be gained

make it imperative upon them to undergo a degree of mental exertion, which in some cases wholly undermines the system or extinguishes its vitality, and in others sows the germs of those diseases from which they suffer in after life. The great defect of the present system of awarding academic honours lies in the fact that as the conditions of gaining these honours is proficiency in certain branches of knowledges, implying a ripeness of the intellect, the absence or want of that maturity is made up by putting to the stretch one or two faculties, of which memory performs a prominent part. We all know that for securing an adequate proportion of intellectual health, all the faculties of the mind must be equally exercised, and that overtasking one perniciously acts upon the whole man—physical and intellectual.

Statement showing the properties of articles of Native dietary

Articles of Food		Flesh form-ing	Heat givers	Mineral Matters	Watery and Fatty matters
Amylaceous	Rice	7	78	1	14
	Sago	4	82	1	13
	Arrowroot and Topioca	2	23	1	74
Saccharine	Sugar	0	100	0	0
Oleaginous	Butter and Ghee	0	100	0	0
Fibrinous	Wheat	13	72	2	13
	Panicum miliaceum				
	Jowar	9	74	1	16
	Serglum Valgove				
	Bajra	10	73	2	15
	Penicillaria Spicata				
	Kangri	12	70	1	17
	Panicum miliaceum				
	Oatmeal	17	69	3	11
	Barley	11	72	2	15
	Fish	14	7	1	78
	Cooked meat	22	14	1	63

Gram Chullar Dhal Cicer arietinum	19	62	3	16
Pigeon Pea Arhar Dhal Cajanus indicus	20	61	3	16
Common Pea Mulur Dhal Pisūm Sativum	25	58	2	15
Veteh Khesaree Dhal Lathyrus Sativus	28	56	3	13
Chowlee Burbuti Dhal Dolichis Simensis	24	59	3	14
Green Gram Moog Dhal Phaseolus Mungo	24	60	3	13
Mash Kolay Dhal Phaseoluo radíatus	22	62	3	13
Green Peas	7	36	2	55
Milk	5	8	1	86

Female Occupations in Bengal
By Babu Greesh Chandra Ghosh
(Read on the 30th January 1868)

An impression generally prevails in European society that the women of Bengal are conspicuous by a large vacuity of mind as well as of occupations. It is impossible, however, for the human mind to remain unfulfilled, and it is impossible also for the women of an ancient people once distinguished for civilisation in no small degree to remain without some kind of active occupation. In treating of the occupations of the women of Bengal, it is necessary to divide the subject into three principal heads, viz :—

1st—The occupations of the women of rich families.
2nd—The occupations of women of the middle station in society.
3rd—The occupations of poor women.

As regards the rich, in large towns they unhappily present the worst conditions of an unhealthy activity. The rich man's wife, in a place where every luxury can be purchased for money, is a singular specimen of idleness and prostrated powers of body and mind. Rising from bed long after the sun has made a fair progress in the heaven, her handmaids are ready to loosen her hair. Every comfort and convenience is at hand. She bathes in winter on a sunny terrace. In summer the coldest water is reserved for her ablutions. She is wiped dry by her domestics, and the manner in which she is handled and manipulated upon by them might induce in a stranger the suspicion that she was suffering from paralysis of the limbs. This devout nursing produces in most instances stupendous proportion of body unfit for active employment, and fit only to grace the sitting room or couch. Even the duty of attending to the chidren is taken away from her; numerous and officious servants are paid for that

business. So soon as a child is born, a wet nurse is introduced to relieve maternity of its foremost and most natural occupation. The entire time of these splendid automatons is devoted indeed to feasting and dressing, playing cards and tearing characters. The affairs of the house proceed without their laborious interference, and when there happen to be young daughters-in-law in the family they are systematically bullied, and the bulk of such work as cannot be entrusted to servants is thrown upon their tender shoulders.

Many of the wives of the rich are exceedingly haughty and ill-tempered, the natural effect of the training which they undergo ; so that their lives present one unbroken page, of discard and strife, agitating all within the immediate range of their authority or influence. The mornings, as I have said, are devoted to ablutions, followed by poojahs—both lazily conducted. Then the fast is broken by a heavy dish of dainties, composed of fruits, curds and sweet-meats plentifully piled up. The interval between this preliminary breakfast and the formal dinner (lunch) is not very long. It is passed, however, in a recumbent posture, with a solace of betelnuts and an ample allowance of tobacco. The dinner is elaborately set out with fish and ghee and milk measured by the seer. It is supplemented again by confectionary and sweetmeats. When the gorging is complete, the fair *gourmande* betakes herself to bed, and it is not still close upon evening that she finishes her siesta. The toilet now commenses, but the entire details of the mysterious art are in the hands of the attendant maids. Their mistress gives them little help ; she is completely at rest. But whatever rest other portions of the body may enjoy, the teeth certainly cannot be charged with inactivity ; for when they are not masticating food, or hissing abuse, they are chewing the eternal pan leaf and nut. Before the evening meal demands attention, a few spare hours are available. These are passed with help of cards and gossip, in which friends, foes, relatives and neighbours, and servants thump and bump against every point of the scandal compass. The hot work is interrupted only by a call to tiffin, in which sweet-meats and milk abound as well. The whole is concluded

by a very substantial feast at night, redolent of night-mare or dyspepsia. The monotony of this sort of life is occassionally broken by an excursion to Kalighat or a jaunt to Tarakeswar. There is absolutely no leisure for anything else, for book, elevated thought, art, or refinement.

In the country the case is completely the reverse. The zemindar is a much more industrious man than the city millionaire, and his wife, therefore, has no precedent for idleness. Her duties are too numerous not to keep her fully employed. The evil of a crowd of servants, to assist the mistress of the house to move her limbs has not penetrated as yet into the muffasil. The zemindar's lady is compelled to be an early riser, in order to commence the duties of the household in proper time. In the depth of winter, she bathes in a cold biting tank, or if she lives near the river, in the sacred stream before the sun is up. Cleansing is her first duty. The house is swept carefully, with an adequate smearing of cowdung in place occupied the previous night by unclean food or things. This she directs personally. The plates are then faultlessly washed. If a speck remains on them they are returned for a second process of cleaning. The preparations of food are next undertaken. They are vast and laborious. To give out the stores in approximate quantities is a task which only a practised eye and a firm hand can faithfully perform. The domestics are in league to steal whatever may be found super-abundant ; it is the perquisite of their office. The mistress of the house is fully aware of the danger. But her keenness baffles the coalition. Her family and establishment have to be plentifully, but not wastefully, provided for. In very large and rich families the number of persons to be thus fed daily seldom falls short of one hundred. The lady, assisted by her juniors, is laboriously employed in cutting and paring the vegetables destined for dinner courses ; the rice and the dall to cooked are also carefully cleaned and picked. To this succeeds the task of cooking, which is often performed by her with similar assistance, for it is against the custom and the creed of many families to eat "bought food", as it is called, when the food is prepared by paid cooks. The enormous quantity of edibles

required renders the duty of their provision by no means a pleasant one. The cooking room may be large and spacious, but it is impossible to disconnect it from the accompaniments of heat and smoke. In the midst of that heat and that smoke the fairest and the richest voluntarily toil. How many delicate women have perished from disease contracted during the performance of this duty, and how many have permanently injured their eye-sight in the same cause!

In the city the beggar is disposed of by a handful of rice distributed by a growling servant. In the country hospitality is maintained by a table open to all comers. That the hungry man should be turned away, is deemed to be a sin equal in heinousness to an affront to a brahmin. So that a guest arriving at any hour of the day or night and requiring food must be immediately cared for. If the prepared food has been exhausted, the female of the house cheerfully resume their labours in order to provide a fresh supply. The task of furnishing food devolves wholly upon woman in India, and the precedents of the shastras enforcing this duty are numerous and irresistible. Annapurna, the wife of Mahadev, the god of gods, is represented with a ladle and a pot of boiled rice, freely distributing the staff of life to all comers, and her worship in our days is celebrated with an ample feast to the poor. There is a curious episode in the Mahabharata which establishes the antiquity of the custom of the mistress of the house being bound to supply at any moment the wants of her guests. Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas, had one night retired to rest, when *Durbasha,* the most furious and the most ill-tempered amongst the *Rishis,* accompanied by his disciples, came and demanded food. It was the custom of Draupadi not to eat until all her guests had been fed; for there was this grace conceded to her by heaven that her stores could not be exhausted by any number of guests, so long as she did not herself eat. But on the evening on which Durbasha came, Draupadi had already eaten, little anticipating such an untimely call. The Rishi had purposely delayed his visit in order to upset the fame for hospitality of a woman favoured by the gods. He knew that Draupadi had eaten; and he knew also that there

was for this reason no more food in her house. The Rishi was notorious for being terrible in his curse, and Draupadi had ample cause to be distracted. Only one grain of cooked rice was sticking to her cooking pot ; this could not allay the hunger of half a dozen famished brahmins. Happily Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was with the five brothers at that time, and he suggested that the holymen should be requested to proceed with their ablutions and evening worship, at the conclusion of which they would find their repast ready. Durbasha departed to a neighbouring stream, when Krishna asked Draupadi to give him the grain of cooked rice in her pot. This the god ate, and the act had the effect of making the Rishi and his disciples so surfeited without actually testing any food, that they lay belching and in great pain all night on the banks of the stream. Thus by a miracle was the fame for hospitality of Draupadi preserved.

The duty of attending to the wants of everybody else before the mistress of the house proceeds to satisfy her own hunger, is rigidly observed in the country, and its requirements have introduced without doubt that feeling, which brands the practice of husband and wife eating together as a scandal and a sin. Not only is the food prepared by the female members of the household, but it is also distributed by them. The grace and devotion with which beautiful maidens with their veils drawn over their heads carry the rice plates and plates laden with fish and curry from seat to seat, dropping the grateful viands according to the age and eating capacity of the feasters, cannot be described on paper. The jewelled arms are bare, whilst the body is closely enveloped in the thick folds of the flowing sari. The labour of the office may be conceived from the fact that the distributor must stoop in order to drop the food gently, without splash or rebound, upon the plates of persons squatting upon the ground according to the native form of eating. The strongest men are often fatigued by such an exercise, but the soft, pliant, wiry female form seems to have been devised for the special purpose. After the male members of the family have been served, and with them any guests that may be present, the domestics are attended to and then the younger females. The grown up ladies eat last,

for they must complete a lengthened worship of the household god before they can taste food or even water.

This worship demands varied employment. The room occupied by the god is carefully cleaned every morning by one of the female members of the family, generally a widow. The flowers with which the poojah is made are plucked and sorted, the plates of the god are rubbed, cleaned, and shining; incense is prepared; the rice for the offerings is jealously washed, so that no unclean thing may lurk amongst the grains; the fruits are cut and pared; lamp is cleaned and lighted; and as many plates of offering are set out with every necessary articles as there are grown-up women to make poojah. These preliminaries consume the best part of the forenoon, and a great part of the afternoon is consumed in the poojah, so that the elderly women of the family have to maintain a rigid fast till 3 o'clock in the day, when the entire household has been fed and when they proceed to eat themselves. The reason for the fast will be understood, when I say that it is irreligious to eat before poojah; it is a mortal sin in fact to do so, not even a drop of water can be passed down the throat before the daily worship. Eating over, the task of cleanliness is resumed, the body is washed and the cloth is washed and changed; the toilet is almost wholly neglected, for duties crowd upon a scanty leisure; sweetmeats for tiffin demand attention; they must be prepared, for mere rubbish is sold in the village market. Piles of flour are kneaded and baked or fried in ghee into bread; sweetmeats are made of the same materials; also curries to accompany the bread. As soon as the work is ended, preparations commence on the same scale with the morning for the nights, supper, and the household does not retire to bed before midnight. On the occasion of poojahs the picture I have drawn is vastly magnified, the labour and anxiety of the mistress of the house are increased a hundred-fold. The cooking is superhuman, but the lady is ably supported by relations and neighbours. It is only a fanatical faith and unbounded benevolence of heart which enable her to extract holiday gratification from such titan work. It may be safely asserted that the conditions described by me leave a little time or inclination for a settled course of education.

I now come to the second division of my subject, viz, the occupation of women in the middle ranks of society. In towns the generality of these women are usefully employed, they attend to all the in-door concerns of their husbands. Early blessed with children, the nursing and feeding and cleaning of these, unassisted by any large retinue of servants severely tax their patience and their time. Whatever may be the means at the disposal of the Hindu lady for educating herself previously, after she has been elevated to the stage of motherhood (and it does not take her long to arrive at that happy condition) the distractions and the duties that devolve upon her render abortive any attempt to include her within the routine and circle of a systematic course of instruction. The young mother has little rest indeed at night. The frequent demands of the infant for food, the oft-occurring occasions during which the child requires to be cleaned and its bed to be changed, render uninterrupted sleep a blessing to be prayed for. From a hot night of unrest she often rises to a day of continued trouble. If the child happens to be ill, she fasts; if it has to be physicked, the vexation is greater than if the mother herself swallowed the medicine. When English medicine is had recourse to, with its perplexing programme of mixtures and pills and embrocations alternating in constant whirls by the hour, the mother is generally the sole dispenser of doses, for the father is absent on his out-door work. Supposing the child to be well, there are a hundred little things that the mother is making for the baby; all the quilts which it uses are the product of her needle, the little pillows and cases she has made herself; the bed sheets she has hemmed. Most Bengali ladies in moderate circumstances are *au fait* in the sewing of bed clothes and mosquito curtains. Recently, carpet work and the knitting of caps and socks and shoes have been added to their accomplishments. They can relish also a good Bengali play, and in the art of cooking they are remarkably advancing. It is no longer a simple soup or a dish of porridge which establishes the fame of a Hindu woman as a cook; she must master the mysteries of pillaos and know exactly the true colour of a kabab in order to pass for learned in the art; some even aspire to the glory of preparing fowl curry and cutlets in exact imita-

tion of the Great Eastern Hotel. Though the middle classes of Bengali usually keep an establishment of hired cooks, yet their wives are not altogether relieved from the duty of cooking. The ordinary rations of their families are of course produced without their help, but the dainty dishes are altogether their handiwork. The cook-rooms are invariably at the base of the house ; but the lady has a small apartment on a higher floor, close to her sleeping room, where sweetmeats and bread and meat preparations and other interesting articles of food are got ready by her own individual labour. Even in joint families, this separation of delicate eating is effected with tacit consent of a majority of the members. The wife cooks for her own children and husband that which is agreeable to them, in excess of the joint allowance of rice and fish. It is a delight to her to make her children sit in a ring round her husband, as she distributes the warm bread and sweetmeats, listening to the eulogies pronounced on them. The joint is always miserably cooked and coarsely issued. It is the wife's labour that gives the Hindu a taste for delicacies. Frequently the lady has to exchange presents of fancy sweetmeats with friends and relations, and the taste and skill with which these are prepared are suprprising. Fruits and flowers are imitated to perfection in flour and sugar ; moulds are delicately curved in dried earth, with the aid of which the most grotesque shapes are given ; *bon mots* and jests are stamped upon the finest specimens of confectionary ; *cheera* or the parched beaten rice is made out of the kernels of cocoanuts, and a hundred transformations and illusions are practised upon the commonest articles ; ships and gardens and houses and railway trains and ornaments are made with the stuff used to sweeten the pain-leaf. The beauty and skill of the designs would amuse, if not amaze, Europeans.

All this is the fancy work of the Hindu female. But there is holier work before her, on the sick-bed her attendance is priceless, she seems to be formed by nature for the office of a nurse. Cool, patient and self-denying for days and nights together, she hangs over the object of her solicitude ; nothing escapes her eagle eye ; every need of the patient is anticipated.

Indeed the devotion and strength of character manifested on such occasions by the affectionate creature prove more efficient means of the patient's recovery than the prescriptions of the doctor. The rich who are thrown upon the attentions of their servants during severe illness seldom survive; the poor whose wives are their sole attendants on the sick-bed generally escape death.

The third division of my subject, viz., the employment of the poorer classes of women, embraces a large range. The multitude of their occupations baffle the attempt to describe them faithfully. There is not a department of industry in which the tall bony Bengali woman of the lower ranks is not to be found. In towns mercantile firms dealing in seed produce, in mustard, in linseed, or in rice, give employment to myriads of Hindu women in their godowns. They clean, and winnow, and husk, and perform various other duties connected with the commercial enterprise of the city. They are largely employed besides in excavating tanks and canals and in house building. They carry weights of the lighter descriptions, pound brick dust or soorki, weave baskets, spin cotton, make ropes, and perform delicate duties in steam and other manufactories. The bulk of women in Europe, who have to provide the subsistence by manual labour, are confined to the needle. But in India, where sewn clothes are worn only by the rich, the branch of female industry is wholly unknown. But the vast field of the small trade is open to Indian women instead. They sell fish and they sell vegetables; they keep shops and stalls, and the system of caste gives the female members of the various castes a monopoly of certain trades. Thus the barbar's wife is very profitably occupied in paring the nails of the ladies of the zenana and in painting their feet and finger with red *alta*. The washerwoman does a good stroke of business in her line; the methrani defies competition. The wife of the Brahmin has the exclusive privilege of being employed as a cook; the dairy woman sells milk with as large a mixture of water as she chooses, for her place is guaranteed to her by her caste; the weaver woman sells cloth; and the professional dancing girl amuses the zenana with songs and fantastic evolutions of the body. There are female doctors also who

undertake to cure the diseases of infants by charmed waters and charmed oils and herbs and incantations. There is a class besides of feminine match-makers, who derive large gains by producing advantageous marriages for families, the fees realised by them in various forms being considerable. The business was formerly the monopoly of a professional class of men called Ghuttucks, but the influence of the Hindu female has so remarkably increased of late in the disposal of the weightier concerns of domestic life, that the men, who necessarily had no access to the zenana, have been superseded by the female members of the craft, and have almost passed away from cities and large towns. There is a class of women again, who go about from house to house exchanging looking glasses, and combs, and brass and stone plates and pots, for old clothes, faded lace, and worn-out shawls. In the country the generality of poor women live by cleaning rice, drawing water, or hiring themselves as casual servants to well-to-do families. A large number are employed also in farm work and agricultural pursuits. The women dig and hoe and weed and harvest, and the gains of such simple occupations suffice to provide their simpler food and clothing. There is not much distress observable in their condition, because their wants are remarkably few, and luxury is a thing of which they do not know the name. By the natural courtesy of the Bengali mind, female labourers are very mildly treated; for to raise hands against a woman is considered to be sinful as well as an unmanly act.

It will be seen from the foregoing hurried sketch of the occupations of Bengali women that, with the sole exception of the women of the richest families in the city, the softer sex in Bengal are most agreeably and usefully employed. The Hindu wife not only obeys and loves, but also cherishes her husband, thereby fulfilling the marriage vow to the very letter. There is room indeed for improvement; a great deal of refinement could be introduced into her manners; she may be put upon higher descriptions of work. But that change in her destiny cannot be at once effected. Her surroundings must be altered before her habits can be safely or surely meddled with. There is a

large spice of domesticity in her existing composition. It is to be feared it will pass away or be lost to a great extent, if other elements are introduced.

But the naked selfishness that may dictate a perpetuation of existing conditions is inconsistent with progress. Ideas have been introduced into the Hindu mind which, when fully developed, will chafe and batter against existing restraints. We must be prepared for the crisis that awaits us. The bulk of the female work suits exactly the current state of Bengali life, an inactive state to which motion is imparted only by the demands of the senses. The Bengali people are now content to eat and to sleep. But the time is coming when these will be deemed only subordinate enjoyments. The mind will demand its food as strenuously by and by, as the body now does, and a readjustment of female occupations must inevitably then be made. All the professions and duties, it will be observed, are more or less developed in the general class of Hindu women with the sole exception of that of teacher. That there is ample room for such a profession, who will deny? Many destitute widows of the higher castes whose occupation is essentially menial at the present moment, who draw water and clean rice or perform the painful drudgeries of the cooking room, would be glad indeed to exchange this mode of life for the more honourable occupation of a teacher. If schools are established in the villages contiguous to the metropolis, for it would not be safe to extend the experiment further inwards, on moderate scales, for the education of the class referred to with a view to their training as teachers, numbers will be found able and willing to profit by the opportunity. But the male element should be rigidly excluded from these schools, and a character imparted to them through co-operation of the heads of the villages, of the strictest respectability. Female teachers thus trained will be a new power in Hindu sociology. Their services will be eagerly sought for as governesses in the families of the rich and even of those of the middle classes; they will impart a tone to the entire sex, a holy and intellectual tone now sadly wanted. It will become the fashion soon enough to have a tutoress in the establishment

of each household, and if the Bengal Social Science Association can be the means of promulgating such a fashion, the gain to refinement and civilisation will be such as to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the human race.

Discussions on the Paper

Babu Shamachurn Sircar expressed his general concurrence in the remarks which were contained in the paper.

Babu Kissory Chand Mitra had much pleasure in testifying to the correctness of the photograph of domestic life—not perhaps a very flattering one—which had been presented to the Association. There was a proverb about a bird fouling its own nest, but he would rather liken the writer to the skilful surgeon who only probed the wound to heal it. The Hindus had one great virtue which the paper had brought out. Charity was a conspicuous trait in the national character, and provision was made for the poor in all parts of the country. The Rev. J. Long thought that a Poor Law would nevertheless be soon required in Bengal—not perhaps for the sake of professional beggars, but for a class above them who had greater claims to consideration.

Mohomedan Education in Bengal
Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur
30-1-1868.

The subject of Mohomedan Education in Bengal naturally divides itself into an estimate of what has been accomplished in the past, and a consideration of what yet remains to be done, with the means of doing it, for the future.

For the first, there is before us the history of Calcutta Madrassah, embodying the origin of the first movement made under British auspices for elevating my co-religionists from the condition of listless lethargy and self-abasement, into which they had fallen, when power and sovereignty in the land had departed from their race. The idea was due to that extraordinary man, Mr. Warren Hastings, who, in the year 1871, laid before his colleagues in Council a scheme for the establishment of a Mahomedan College, in words which I transcribe from his Minute :—

"In the month of September 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussalmans of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose, praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudjid O'din, who was then lately arrived at the Presidency, to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law and such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools, for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Mudrussah or College, and Mudjid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it ; that Calcutta was already become the seat of great empire, and the resort of

persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan ; that it had been the pride of every polished Court, and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government, both in India and in Persia, to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge ; that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire ; that the numerous offices of our Government, which required men of improved abilities to fill, and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion on which the sincerety of what I shall hereafter propose for the public will be best evident by my own example) the belief which generally prevailed that one so accomplished generally met with a distinguished reception from myself, afforded them particular encouragement to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

"This was the substance of the petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

"I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power. I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums, and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school about the beginning of October, and has bestowed an unremitted attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which has justified the expectations which had been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instruction, and have received their dismission in form, and many have been dismissed unknown to me, the Master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number. Besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders, mostly natives of these provinces, but some sojourners from other parts of India. Among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last New Year's Day some who had come from the districts of Cashmere, Guzerat, and one from the Carnatic.

"I am assured that the want of suitable accomodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have

lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boitcannah, in a quarter of the town called Podpokur, and have laid the foundation of a square building for a Mudrussah constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

"Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means, and with no very liberal supplies. I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through their channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment."

But even in the great mind of Mr. Warren Hastings, the higher objects for which education has now come to be valued amongst us, seem to have had neither place nor foreshadowing. For on the practical people he had to address, he urges the encouragement of Mahomedan literature, not only as recommended by the example of the past rulers of India, but also as calculated to supply the want of properly educated officers to discharge the functions of "Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature."

In those days when our early English masters devoted themselves principally to the pursuit of commercial profit and the collection of revenue, they found occupation enough without interfering in the actual management of the provinces as settled by their predecessors. To the mass of the people the change of Government brought no foreign usages or customs. The Law Courts were left in the hands of the same agency as before. Mahomedan Law and Mahomedan Lawyers still reigned supreme, and a knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature remained as indispensable qualification for official distinction and success as they had ever been under the Subadars. When, therefore, the Governor General proposed to his Council the means of keeping up a regular supply of learned Moulvies and Kazees, for legal institutions of the country, he neither exaggerated the objects to be attained, nor in their attainment aimed beyond the bare requirements of the moment. In a Minute, dated January 1785, Mr. Warren Hastings explains them in language which leaves no doubt as to the purpose for which the new College was founded—"It had", says he, "been deemed expedient on maxims of sound policy to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important

branches of the Police, in the hands of the Mahomedan officers. To discharge with credit the duties and functions annexed to those jurisdictions, it is necessary that the persons who hold them should not only be endowed with natural talents, but also that they should be possessed of a considerable degree of education in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in the complicated system of laws founded on the tenets of their religion. This species of erudition has for some years past been much on the decline; since the management of the revenues has been taken into our hands, it has chiefly been carried on by the English servants of the Company, and by the Hindoos, who, from their education and habits of diligence and frugality, possess great advantage over the Mahomedans in conducting all affairs of finance and accounts. In consequence of this change, the Mahomedan families have lost those sources of private emoluments which could enable them to bestow much expense on the education of their children, and are deprived of the power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronizing public seminaries of learning. The Foujdaree Department, which affords but a bare subsistence to the officers employed in it, neither possesses the means of encouraging, nor holds out a prospect capable of inducing, the sons of the once respectable but now decayed and impoverished Mahomedan families, to qualify themselves for succeeding to the duties of it, by a long and laborious course of study. "These reflections about four years ago suggested to me the idea of founding a Mudrassah or College for the cultivation of Mahomedan literature in the town of Calcutta."

To bring this knowledge within the reach of respectable Mahomedan families, whose decay was to be deplored on their own account, as well as on account of the Government, which in those days was virtually based on their alliance and co-operation, the Mudarassah rose into existence; and for upwards of half a century furnished the bulk of those Mahomedan Law Officers, who, whether as the paid servants of the State, or as the legal advisers of all ranks of the population, have been intimately associated with the judicial administration of the Lower Provinces.

For the support of the Madrassah, ample revenues were given. At the beginning, certain lands in the 24 Parganas were made over, which are known to this day as constituting the

Madrassah Mehal, but they were substantially resumed, and the fixed sum of Rs. 30,000 a year was assigned in 1819, which after repeated declarations by the Home Government, may well be considered as inalienable an endowment as any that could have been established on the rents of broad acres, or the proceeds of funded securities.

This is not the place, nor have I the time, to recapitulate the grounds on which the Governor General set aside the annual income above mentioned for the promotion of Mahomedan Education. It is sufficient to state the fact that the allotment of public revenue took the place of income derived from land, after repeated failures on the part of those entrusted with the supervision of the Madrassah Mehal to keep its affairs in order, and after the Government had been compelled to resign its proprietary right in the Mehal to a claimant, whose title, as proved after official scrutiny, superseded the gift which had been made of the land to the Calcutta Madrassah. It should also be sufficient to say that the view taken by successive Governments of India, when pressed to introduce changes into the Madrassah calculated to divert its funds into channels for which they were never intended, has been opposed to their alienation, on the ground that they had been specifically appropriated, and could not be otherwise applied.

When the controversy between the rival claims of English and Oriental Colleges as the instruments of disseminating European knowldge among the people of India reached its climax a quarter of a century ago, the late Court of Directors, in a dispatch dated January 1841, decided that "the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary should be employed exclusively on instruction in or in connexion with that College or Seminary, giving a dicided preference within these institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in oriental instruction."

For full 25 years or more after its foundation, the Madrassah continued under exclusively Native management, doing nothing more than, as designed by the founder, providing men learned in Mahomedan law and religion for the Courts of Justice, and keeping up throughout the land in the pious establishments maintained by devout Mahomedans, and in the houses of the

wealthy among them, a love of scholarship and letters. The institution soon acquired a strong and effective hold on the affections of the Mahomedan population. Perhaps I am not wrong in saying that, of all the Educational Establishments in Bengal which owe their inception altogether to the English Government, the Madrassah is the only one that has so entwined itself into the everyday regard of the people for whom it was founded. I know what the old Hindu College and the Medical College have achieved in their way, and the measure of popularity among my Hindu fellow-countrymen to which they deservedly attained, when the justly alarmed prejudices of primeval Hinduism had been clean swept out of the path of progress and enlightenment. But it must be remembered that both these colleges, in their strictly educational aspect, have moved out of their depths the intelligence and moral sentiment of only a particular class of the Hindu population, the richer and more respectable section, who still monopolise whatever the British Government has to bestow on the cause of education in Bengal. To the vast mass of the Hindu population, they barely exist even in name and significance. But the Madrassah has come to be looked upon by all orders of Mahomedans as peculiarly their own national place of education, and it has given them what they wanted, in the way in which they wanted it. To them it was more than a mere school of literature and science. Their law, which is the great basis of Mahomedan Society, there found its reliable interpretation. For many years the learned professors of the Mahomedan College have, by the common consent as well of the Government and of its highest legal tribunals, as of the community of Islam, been referred to as umpires and arbiters on the most difficult questions of Mahomedan law and usage, and their decisions have been accepted far and wide for the settlement of litigation and the determination of political inheritance. In religion, the Madrassah has always had the reputation of being the stronghold of *Suni* orthodoxy—the religion, that is, of the large majority of the Mahomedans of India. The regulations of the College enforced religious discipline among the pupils, and it was ordered that the Khutteeb or reader of the Koran, and a Mouazzin or crier, shall regularly attend at the Madrassah, that the student may daily perform such acts of religious worship as are pres-

cribed by the rules of the Mahomedan faith. At stated seasons, the Government defrayed the expenses attendant on the celebration of Mahomedan festivals. It is no wonder then that Mahomedans of all ranks and degrees have ever turned to the Madrassah with an affectionate and reverent fervour, and may I never live to see the day when, whatever revolutions betide the old College, the Mahomedans of Bengal shall have cause to view it differently.

There is no doubt that during the period the Madrassah remained under purely Native control, very gross abuses crept into it, and most necessary reforms were effected, when, on the appointment of a European Secretary in 1819, a method was introduced in the course of instruction and in the bestowal of honours and rewards. At the same time a very decided movement occurred outside among the other sections of the Native community for profiting by the inducements held out by the Government to the cultivation of Western literature and science; and it was fitting that the Madrassah should participate in the career of advancement. An English class was formed in 1826, which was abruptly broken up, but re-formed and organized as an English School in 1829, continuing in existence down to 1853. The following extract is taken from *Kerr's Review of Public Instruction in Bengal,* Part II p. 84 :—

"It was at first composed entirely of scholars on the Madrassah Foundation,"—that is, stipend-holders of the Arabic classes, who according to the original constitution of the College, were paid to receive instruction in its various studies,—"but", continues Mr. Kerr, "as there were numerous applications for admission from without, the classes were at an early period thrown open to Mahomedan boys in general. As a temporary measure, stipends of Rs. 8 a month were granted to any number of pupils not exceeding 25, who were desirous of learning English. It was also resolved that all who received Arabic stipends should likewise learn English. It was originally proposed that a small fee should be demanded from the out-students, but the idea was dropped on account of their general poverty. This proposal, however, was subsequently revived." The result of this paying system will be appreciated when I note that in

23 years 1,787 students paid schooling fees amounting to Rs. 3,923, or Rs. 2-7 per head, which gives the contribution of each scholar at one anna and eleven pie per annum, the cost to Government being Rs. 58 per annum. Throughout the history of education in Bengal, I do not think there has been an instance in which the Mahomedan idea that education should cost money to the giver, and not to the receiver, has been more signally asserted.

The condition under which holders of Arabic stipends were bound to attend the English School could not have been strictly carried out, for it happened that in a short time the English School was altogether given up by the pupils of the Arabic College, and was attended chiefly by those who came from outside to learn the little English that was imparted in the Madrassah. During a period of nearly 25 years, the Junior Scholarship standard was attained by only a very few students. To all intents and purposes, the English School, although held within the premises of the Madrassah, had neither life nor part in the daily routine of the College itself. The purpose which it was to have served was the inculcation of European principles of thought and action in minds matured by Arabic learning, which, after being thoroughly imbued with the influences of European philosophy, were to have brought forth fruit in a new and vastly improved literature for the Mahomedan world. The conception was truely grand and worthy of the great men who sought with the means at their disposal to give it shape and reality. Besides the establishment of the English School, another means resorted to for creating a powerful impression on the Mahomedan understanding was the translation of books from European languages into Arabic and Persian for the benefit of Mahomedan readers. The proposal originated in the year 1823 with Dr. Lumsdane, then Secretary to the Madrassah Committee, and an amusing, if not an instructive, account is given in Mr. Kerr's book of the arguments by which the Government was persuaded to waste a good deal of money in the enterprise. Dr. Lumsdane commenced by employing a Moulvi to translate European books for the use of Madrassah. He then recom-

mended to the Government, through the Madrassah Committee, that the translations already made "should be encouraged by offering prizes to those who passed a successful examination in them." This he conceived was all that could be done at present in furtherance of the desire of Government to encourage the study of European science in the College. The more complete attainment of the object would involve the necessity of an application to the authorities at home for the purpose of engaging the services of a competent lecturer, and furnishing the institution with proper apparatus. If a lecturer should hereafter be engaged, it would be necessary for him to make himself master of Arabic and Persian. Dr. Lumsdane recommended, in the meantime, the appointment of a Native Translator who had some acquaintance with English.

"Mr. Shakespeare considered that the appointment of a Translator, with a view to the introduction of European science, was highly desirable. A portion of the educational fund could not be better applied than to such an object. The question, however, was yet undecided, whether the Natives could be best instructed in the European sciences through the medium of their own languages, or by the previous acquirement of English. In his opinion the former plan was preferable.

"Mr. Martin agreed in the opinion that the translation of elementary treatises was apparently the most eligible method of introducing European knowledge. Judgment would, however, be required in the selection of works to be translated. If it was intended to furnish the Mahomedans with the means of acquiring that knowledge which might best direct their practice in life, and might best qualify them for discharging with integrity and abillty all their civil and social duties, he would be disposed to recommend the translation of elementary treatises on ethics and politics, including the general principles of natural and municipal law, rather than of works on mathematical science.

"Mr. Sutherland considered that if they wished to afford encouragement in what are called the exact sciences, they must

call to their aid the improved systems of Europe. This must be done by compilations and translations in an Oriental language. These he would encourage rather by premiums offered for work done than by a monthly salary. But in order to impart European notions of moral excellence, or to diffuse a taste for English literature, he thought it would be desirable to encourage the study of English, if such a measure would be acceptable to the students.

"The result was that the General Committee, in a letter to Government dated January 1824, recommended the appointment of a Native Translator on a salary of Rs 100 a month, as a preparatory step in the diffusion of European knowledge. Government sanctioned the appointment.

"The process of translating European works into Arabic was commenced, but went on but slowly. The first book translated was Brydge's Algebra. After an interval of some years, a single volume of Hutton's Mathematics was prepared for the Press. It soon appeared that the work of enlightening the Natives by this method would be very gradual. The advocates of the system said that more books might have been translated, but this did not alter the fact that they were not translated. And then arose the question whether they were translated well—a point not easily determined."

Sir Charles Trevelyan, in his work "On the Education of the People of India" p 11, informs us that an "Edition of Avicenna was projected at an expense of £ 2000 ; and it was found that, after hiring students to attend the Arabic College, and having translations made for their use at the expense of thirty-two shillings a page, neither students nor teachers could understand them, it was proposed to employ the Translator as the interpreter of his own writings at a further expense of Rs. 300 a month !"

At a later period (1847), when it was discovered that the Arabic students for whom the English School in the Madrassah was intended, with but few exceptions, hardly availed themselves of its advantages, another class, called the Anglo-Arabic Class,

was formed for the exclusive advantage of pupils from the Arabic Department.

Happily those fancies have been confessed to be impracticable, under which a revolution, as mighty as the awakening of modern Europe, was to have been brought about among a people so full of belief in their past, as Mahomedans everywhere found to be, by the study of translations of Hutton's Mathematics, Brydge's Algebra, and the like. These attempts at anglicising the superstructure of the Mahomedan mind over the basis of a half-formed Arabic scholarship have failed as they deserve to fail, and the failure has left lessons which, having yet been but partially utilised, are worthy of the most serious attention. With the experience of the past, for a guide, there is no presumption in making the declaration that no endeavour to engraft upon a strictly Arabic foundation those principles and ideas of European civilization which have developed themselves out of the lives and histories of European nations, can hope to succeed. This would be intelligible enough in the case of any people but in that of the Mahomedans of India, the explanation is so obvious, that in offering it, I beg to disavow any intention of proclaiming a discovery.

In a paper written some time in 1861 for the Hon'ble Sri John Peter Grant on the subject of the Hooghly Madrassah, I pointed out that the educational efforts, to be of any avail among the Mahomedans of Bengal, must start with a due appreciation of the fundamental constitution of Mahomedan society. With your permission I will read a portion of the remarks I made on that occasion :—

"At this place it becomes necessary for me to notice the classes into which Mahomedan society is divided. One of them is the learned, and the other the worldly class. The members of the first are famous for their love of learing, generally for its own sake. They think nothing of begging their bread to great distances, even to Arabia and Egypt, to study their favourite Arabic. They indeed may be said to literally obey the precept of

the Prophet : "Pursue knowledge even to China." They are generally poor, but in consequence of this disinterested and almost heroic love of learning, they are very much respected in society, and wealthy members of the worldly class take pride in forming connections with them. It is for the sole benefit of this class that private endowments are generally founded, and whatever religious merit there is in giving education is in giving education to this class. It is this class which supplies priests to the Mahomedan community, and altogether exercises great influence over it. But many of its members have neither means nor inclination, nor motive for studying the English. And therefore, unless some educational provision from the funds of Hajee Mahomed Mahsin be made for this class, the object of the endower will be disregarded, the Mahomedan community dissatisfied, and the honour of Government compromised.

"The worldly class consists of those who are not anxious for an Arabic education, but would content themselves with sufficient Persian to enable them to transact business and move in society. This class is by far the most numerous, and possessed of wealth and property, including as it does the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants ; and it is by this class that the benefits of an English education will be appreciated and sought after.

"In consideration of the above particulars, I beg most respectfully to suggest the establishment of a purely Arabic institution or rather the retention of the existing one upon an improved basis, for the benefit of those members of the learned class who are undesirous of acquiring an English education, and of an Anglo-Persian School offering extraodinary advantages for the education of the rest of the Mahomedan community."

The matter of fact contained in the above are so well known to everybody who has any acquaintance with the Mahomedans of this country, that it is not at all surprising that they were known to and recognised by the late Council of Education, and conduced in an essential degree to the adaptation of their plans

for the improvement of the Madrassah to the ends to which they were directed. In a Minute on the subject by the late Hon'ble John Russel Colvin, dated the 18th March 1853, which is published in the selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XIV, I find the following :—

"A Mahomedan gentleman will teach his son Persian and enough of Arabic to make him fairly master of the composite modern Persian, and this is the education with which he commences when his son is 6 or 7 years of age. This is carried on to the age of 10 to 12, when those who are of the learned or erudite class, from relations of scholarly families, or persons desirous of taking rank as Moulvis, devote themselves chiefly to the Arabic. At this age a Mahomedan gentleman of the present day in Bengal, sensible of the necessity of English for his son's success in life, and not caring that he should be learned in the Arabic language or law, will be ready that his son should apply himself to English, carrying on at the same time his Persian reading as a becoming accomplishment, and likely to be of benefit to his character. I need not say that there is in the Persian literature much elegant composition, much terse and graceful poetry (which is to the Mahomedans, for the familiar exercise of taste, and as his ready store-house of sentiment and practical wisdom, much what Horace is to us), and many excellent lessons of virtue.

"The conclusion, then, to which these facts seem to me strongly to point is that it is well to organize, in addition to the branch schools in Calcutta, and to the Mofussil institutions open to all persons, a special English education for Mahomedans, and this may be most easily done at the Madrassah, a place of learning which they regard as devoted to their benefit, and which is held in great respect and repute throughout Bengal.

"Mahomedans now come to the Madrassah from all parts of Bengal, and they will readily come to it for English and Persian, as well as for Arabic education (that is, for the training fit for an educated gentleman as well as for that of the learned

scholar), in cases in which instruction in English may be valued, but in which there may be discouragement from the age of entrance and course of study in the Mofussil schools. I would then organize an Anglo-Persian Department in the Madrassah under really competent masters, to which students would be admitted at an age not exceeding 12 in any case. At the age of 15 the lad should determine whether to continue his English studies or to transfer himself to the Arabic classes. It is admitted by every one (and I have consulted every qualified person that I could think of) that the successful conjoint study of Arabic and English is impossible. Those who remain in the Anglo-Persian class will, as a matter of course, give more and more of their time, as they grow older, to their English studies, for the comparatively narrow range of Persian literature will soon be exhausted.

"I should look with much confidence to a considerable diffusion upon this plan of a superior English education among the better classes of Mahomedans. They are becoming quite alive in the districts under the Bengal Government to the value of English as a means of advancement in all departments of business."

The result is the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, which as far as it has been worked has proved a decided success. Year after year it has sent up students for examination by the officers of the University, many have been entered as undergraduates, two of them have already obtained the degree of Bachelor in Arts, and an impetus of a genuine and lasting character has been given to the study of English among the Mahomedans. It is no small matter for rejoicing that what was feebly, because of false methods, attempted forty years ago, is now on the eve of accomplishment. I do not think it possible for any man to over-estimate the amount of good which is being achieved by the British Government in annually sending forth from the Madrassah young men of good social connections, well grounded in the elements of English and Mahomedan literature, who have acquired just such a taste of both as to wish

for more, and whose influence and example are beginning to permeate through every movement of Mahomedan society. But the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah teaches only upto the Entrance standard, and its under-graduates have either to join the Presidency College, to carry on their studies further in English, and qualify themselves for honours, or to joint the Arabic Department of the Madrassah and select Arabic for honours. The latter course can land them only in the half-and-half results, of which the past failures in the Madrassah afford striking instances. As students exclusively of Arabic, they lose the benefit of the little English training they have acquired, for the Madrassah has no means of long continuing their instruction after the Entrance Standard has been attained; and it does not take much time to obliterate from their minds whatever little English they have learned. In the Presidency College, they are equally unfortunate in regard to the classical languages open to their choice, in preparing for the L. A. and B. A. Examinations. I need hardly remind you that in both these tests, English being the fixed language, the optional ones are—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew and Arabic. The Mahomedan students in the Presidency College, it will be confessed, is at an immense disadvantage, compared to his Hindu fellow candidates, in keeping up and improving his knowledge of the Arabic, which is to him what Sanskrit is to them. I cannot for a moment believe that it can enter deliberately into the counsels of the British Government to treat the different sections of the Indian population, except on a footing of the most perfect equality. If some of them seem to have derived from the wise liberality of Government advantages not yet extended to others, it seems to me, that, in respect of the former, the British Government have, more clearly and more readily than in regard to the latter, been made to understand the precise thing wanted to be done and how it was to be done. We have now arrived at that stage of intelligence in which we know the exact requirement of the moment. What is wanted is to place the Mahomedan in educational advantages on the same footing as the Hindu; and the way to do so is to add college classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah, and elevate it to

the rank of at first a High School, and then of a College. In the first class of this Department, Arabic has already begun to be taught. After entering the University, further proficiency in Arabic will be secured to the aspirant for honours, by the means already existing within the Madrassah walls for the highest instruction in Arabic. The addition of advanced classes in English will complete the machinery for fulfilling the conditions of the University Course for the attainment of the highest honours in English.

It is beside my present object to speculate on the changes which must be introduced into the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, in order to give it the place among the educational institutions of the country which its importance demands. That it does not occupy that place needs no demonstration, nor would it suit any practical end to discuss the causes of its failure. The well-founded impression is, that it has never had fair play ever since it ceased to be a mere nursery for Mahomedan Law Officers and Judges, and was left to itself to prove how it best could exhibit its usefulness as an adjunct to the educational progress of the age. I would draw your attention to the bare injustice of expecting the Calcutta Madrassah, with its subjects of instruction and modes of instruction in them unchanged for nearly a hundred years, to take a part with the latest of model academies in contributing to the growth and extension of thought essentially modern and European. But because it has been unable to do so, I have heard it seriously argued whether the Madrassah should not be broken up altogether and its funds applied in other directions more likely to yield fruit meet for acceptance. I have watched, but have failed to observe even of late a disposition to be more equitable, and the views of the writer of an excellent article in the August number of the *Calcutta Review* may be taken as representing the point at which opinions among those European gentlemen who are at all capable of forming one on the subject, have arrived. Although he adds to the difficulty of the argument by mixing up the question of the Hooghly Madrassah, which is maintained altogether out of a private Mahomedan Endowment, with the

for more, and whose influence and example are beginning to permeate through every movement of Mahomedan society. But the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah teaches only upto the Entrance standard, and its under-graduates have either to join the Presidency College, to carry on their studies further in English, and qualify themselves for honours, or to joint the Arabic Department of the Madrassah and select Arabic for honours. The latter course can land them only in the half-and-half results, of which the past failures in the Madrassah afford striking instances. As students exclusively of Arabic, they lose the benefit of the little English training they have acquired, for the Madrassah has no means of long continuing their instruction after the Entrance Standard has been attained; and it does not take much time to obliterate from their minds whatever little English they have learned. In the Presidency College, they are equally unfortunate in regard to the classical languages open to their choice, in preparing for the L. A. and B. A. Examinations. I need hardly remind you that in both these tests, English being the fixed language, the optional ones are—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew and Arabic. The Mahomedan students in the Presidency College, it will be confessed, is at an immense disadvantage, compared to his Hindu fellow candidates, in keeping up and improving his knowledge of the Arabic, which is to him what Sanskrit is to them. I cannot for a moment believe that it can enter deliberately into the counsels of the British Government to treat the different sections of the Indian population, except on a footing of the most perfect equality. If some of them seem to have derived from the wise liberality of Government advantages not yet extended to others, it seems to me, that, in respect of the former, the British Government have, more clearly and more readily than in regard to the latter, been made to understand the precise thing wanted to be done and how it was to be done. We have now arrived at that stage of intelligence in which we know the exact requirement of the moment. What is wanted is to place the Mahomedan in educational advantages on the same footing as the Hindu; and the way to do so is to add college classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah, and elevate it to

the rank of at first a High School, and then of a College. In the first class of this Department, Arabic has already begun to be taught. After entering the University, further proficiency in Arabic will be secured to the aspirant for honours, by the means already existing within the Madrassah walls for the highest instruction in Arabic. The addition of advanced classes in English will complete the machinery for fulfilling the conditions of the University Course for the attainment of the highest honours in English.

It is beside my present object to speculate on the changes which must be introduced into the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, in order to give it the place among the educational institutions of the country which its importance demands. That it does not occupy that place needs no demonstration, nor would it suit any practical end to discuss the causes of its failure. The well-founded impression is, that it has never had fair play ever since it ceased to be a mere nursery for Mahomedan Law Officers and Judges, and was left to itself to prove how it best could exhibit its usefulness as an adjunct to the educational progress of the age. I would draw your attention to the bare injustice of expecting the Calcutta Madrassah, with its subjects of instruction and modes of instruction in them unchanged for nearly a hundred years, to take a part with the latest of model academies in contributing to the growth and extension of thought essentially modern and European. But because it has been unable to do so, I have heard it seriously argued whether the Madrassah should not be broken up altogether and its funds applied in other directions more likely to yield fruit meet for acceptance. I have watched, but have failed to observe even of late a disposition to be more equitable, and the views of the writer of an excellent article in the August number of the *Calcutta Review* may be taken as representing the point at which opinions among those European gentlemen who are at all capable of forming one on the subject, have arrived. Although he adds to the difficulty of the argument by mixing up the question of the Hooghly Madrassah, which is maintained altogether out of a private Mahomedan Endowment, with the

Calcutta Madrassah, which is supported by an endowment from the State, there is much in what he says that is valuable for my purpose. He has two problems before them—first, how to deal fairly by the bequest of Mohamed Mohsin, the founder of the Hooghly Madrassah ; and secondly, how to devote the income of the Calcutta Madrassah, after confiscating it, to the good of the general public. The first, as the writer in the Review, with most praise-worthy candour allows, can only be done by following out what may most reasonably be presumed to have been the intention of the testator, viz., the establishment of a college for the exclusive benefit of Mahomedans, and to this end, the reviewer is willing that there should be a well-endowed and well-conducted Madrassah at Hooghly, towards the support of which the major portion of the proceeds of Mahomed Mohsin's legacy should be used. He would also have an Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly like the one attached to the Calcutta Madrassah, but supported like the Hooghly Madrassah out of the Mohsin funds. The English College, kept up for the Hindus, so largely fed out of the same source, would be disconnected from it, and be maintained at the expense of Government, it would receive pupils from the Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly, after these have been entered on the rolls of the University. Lastly, he would abolish the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, keeping on only the Anglo-Persian Department, and leave it optional to those desirous of acquiring a knowledge of Arabic to proceed to Hooghly and learn it in the Hooghly Madrassah. The reviewer has an alternative scheme, which is to keep up the Calcutta Madrassah, with its Anglo-Persian Department, but to do away with the Hooghly Madrassah, and spend five hundred Rupees a month out of the Mohsineah Endowment towards the maintenance of a hundred Arabic scholars on Rs. 5 a month each at the Madrassah in Calcutta.

In either case, the abolition of one of the Madrassahs is recommended. With my very strong reliance on the good faith and wisdom of the Government, I do not apprehend that the suggestion one way or the other is likely to be carried out. In regard to the Hooghly Madrassah it simply cannot be done by

the Government, which is the principal Trustee of the estate; in regard to the Calcutta Madrassah, the measure would involve such serious consequences that it were best that the matter for the present at least were left alone. But the point would never have been put forward for discussion, if the Calcutta Madrassah in its Arabic Department had received the care and attention which other Oriental colleges in India, supported out of the public revenue, such as the Sanskrit Colleges at Poona in the Deccan, and at Benares in the North-West, have undoubtedly obtained. If European modes of teaching and discipline had been as sedulously introduced into the Arabic classes in Calcutta, as they have been into the Sanskrit classes at Benares, by men like Dr. Ballantyne and others who have trod in his footsteps, there would have been no issue as to whether the money spent on the Madrassah was repaid by an honest amount of work accomplished. The thing would be far from impossible, if a scholar of Dr. Leitner's ability and learning were entrusted with the task of re-organizing the entire system of Madrassah education and of personally carrying reforms into effect.

As to the absolute necessity of pushing forward the advances already made in giving an English education to the Mahomedans of Bengal, there is happily no difference of opinion. The most obvious and readiest plan is the one I have ventured to suggest, viz., the elevation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah to the status of a college. The prevalent notions seem to be that after passing the Entrance Examination, it is quite enough for a Mahomedan student to have the privilege of joining either the Hooghly or the Presidency College,—and this mistake seems to be committed even by the able and intelligent writer in the *Review,* who is fully conscious of the better class by Mahomedans against the association of their children with those of other creeds. He says—"The larger and what are styled the worldly class of Mahomedans, in order properly to fill their place in society, must learn Persian; if, therefore, they are mixed in the general department with students of other creeds, either all those students must be compelled to study Persian, or the Mahomedans must be placed at the disadvantage

more convinced of its advantages, than were the Mahomedans. They well understood how children derived their first ideas and habits from their mothers, and how necessary, therefore, it was to provide that they were not spoilt in their very infancy. They were able, moreover, to appreciate the great help which an educated woman might render to the husband in the management of his household. But there was one thing which the Mahomedans could never be expected to do ; they could not, like other nations, send their daughters to schools or colleges. They were bound by their religion to keep their women in seclusion, and they must conform to this injunction of their religion in the same way as other nations were bound by their respective creeds.

Dr. Chuckerbertty asked if any Mahomedan families had availed themselves of the *zenana* agency. It was well known that many Hindu gentlemen entertained the same objection to their daughters going out to school, but *zenana* education had made great progress during the last twenty years.

Dr. Farquhar pressed for a reply to his inquiry regarding suitable Urdu books for women.

Dr. Ewart thought the discussion was rather deviating from the subject which was before the meeting.

Baboo Monmohun Ghosh criticised the system of teaching Oriental languages. He thought that Sanskrit and the European languages were much easier to learn than Arabic, because they were taught more scientifically. He urged that the Universities should do more to promote the study of the Oriental classics.

The President in conclusion remarked that the subject was one of great importance, and the Association ought to be grateful to the writer for bringing it forward. It was observable, with regard to the Minute of Warren Hastings which had been read, that it related to a condition of society which was mainly Mahomedan. Since that time it was the fact the Mahomedan gentlemen had fallen from the position in the community which they then

held, mainly in consequence of having been surpassed in education and professional acquirements by their Hindu compatriots. It ought never to be forgotton that the Mahomedan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of their former power in connection with their present want of social importance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desireable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the disaffection of the Mahomedans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice, and of giving them the means of acquiring a good English education, without which they could have no chance of catching up their more successful rivals.

the Homa rites were being performed and the gods were being invoked, the Soma juice was circulated freely among the assembled Rajas and their followers, the Nuts and Nutis attitudinised gracefully to the mellifluous music of the মৃদঙ্গ and the Bhats extolled the transcendent merits of the illustrious host.

The অশ্বমেধ যজ্ঞ was, however, the most important festival in the Vedic era. It was founded on love of domination and territorial aggrandisement. It was essentially a martial ceremonial and was peculiarly adapted to the pugnacious instincts of the Khastriyas. The অশ্বমেধ was tantamount to an assertion of imperial power. It was the putting forth of a claim of supremacy over rival chiefs and peoples. Its successful performance implied in popular estimation the establishment of the sovereignty of Bharatabarsha. Repeated a hundred times, it was supposed to ensure the headship of the host of heaven and the kingdom of Indra. It could be performed only by great Rajas who, having conquered many countries, hungered and thirsted, like Alexander the Great, for more. It was a summary substitute for the formal declaration of war, and it aimed at the extinction of rival confederacies and kingdoms.

The অশ্বমেধ consisted in letting lose an অশ্ব or horse (with a gold plate with the name of the performer inscribed thereon) for one entire year into foreign territories, where his entrance was a challenge to them. The horse wandered away at will, and his movements were followed by his owner and his army, ready to do battle with such chiefs as might carry away the animal and refuse on demand to tender their submission by restoring him. If the rival Rajah chould get the better in battle, he was entitled to retain the horse and put a stop to the অশ্বমেধ. But if he should be worsted, he was compelled to restore the horse, and assist as a feudatory in the celebration of the অশ্বমেধ rite. The performer of the অশ্বমেধ thus succeeded in reducing to submission every chief who dared to carry away his horse and was considered to have achieved a great feat and earned imperishable renown. The ceremony was brought to a termination by the sacrifice of the horse to the Devatas in the

presence of the conquered chiefs and the people, and by a grand dinner at which the roasted flesh of the horse would be regarded as the *chef d'oeuvre*. So the ancient Hindus discussed horse meat, ages before the French and Londoners of the West End Club could dream of it. The অশ্বমেধ was a combination of the idea of imperial sovereignty with that of an imperial fesival. Commencing in a challenge to war, and progressing in the subjection of the recusant Rajas, it culminated in fusing them into a friendly confraternity and enlisting their good will on behalf of the new imperial regime by a social and convivial gathering. It was a jubilation of the conqueror and the conquered.

The Ramayana describes the অশ্বমেধ Yajna which was performed by Rama. It was not without strong resistance on the part of his own sons Laba and Kusha that the sacrifice was celebrated. Laba and Kusha had been born in the wilderness, whither their mother Sita had been banished by Rama for her suppossed infidelity to him. They had been reared in the schools of adversity, and inheriting the martial instincts of their father, had become great warriors. When the horse of Rama entered their settlement, they seized the animal and defied the owner. Father and sons fought fiercely and the fight resulted in the victory of the latter over the former. Rama recognized in his conquerors his own sons, his instincts having told him that none but his own flesh and blood could vanquish his invincible prowess. The recognition was followed by the reconciliation of Rama with Seeta. The sons tendered their submission and homage to the father and restored the horse. The happy family then returned to Ajodhya, and the অশ্বমেধ was performed with due eclat.

In the post-vedic and the Puranic age the Aswamedha was no longer invested with its original political significance. It came to be regarded as an atonement for sins and a potent means of acquiring religious merit. Thus, after the Pandavas conquered the Kurus and were established in the Raj of Bharut, and the sensitive Yudhisthira grieved over the carnage committed in the great war, his ancestor, the mythical Vyasa, counselled him to perform Aswamedha as an expiation for his sins. The Aswamedha per-

formed by Yudhisthira is most graphically described in the Mahabharata. When the Rishis, the Rajas, and chiefs and their ladies and followers were assembled and seated according to their rank on thrones of gold and sandalwood, the Maharaja and his Rani Draupadi bathed themselves in the water of the holy Ganges. Then he ploughed the space of ground set apart for the horse sacrifice with a golden plough, Draupadi following her illustrious husband and sowing the space with paddy and other kinds of grains. The spot was then covered with four hundred golden bricks, and Vyasa, Vasistha, and Narada seated themselves on the golden pavement. Eight pillars with banners floating were planted round the pavement which was then roofed with a golden sheet. The Homa of milk, ghee and Dhay was then performed in eight pits dug for the purpose. Twenty four kulsis of water were then brought from Ganges in a procession by distinguished Rishis and Rajas and their Ranis. Yudhisthira distributed among them splendid dresses and decorated them with pearl necklaces. Gold, silver, elephants, horses and cows were distributed among the Brahmins. The Maharaja seated himself on a throne of gold and the twenty-four kulsis of water which had been brought from the Ganges were poured over his head. The horse was brought forward, and while undergoing the ceremony of bathing opened his mouth and spoke.

"Then Nakula opened the mouth of the horse, and held up his head, and said :— "The horse is speaking" and those around cried :— 'What does the horse say,' Nakula re plied :— The horse says :— "In other Yagas wherein a horse is sacrificed, he goes to Swarga, which is the heaven of Indra ; but I shall go far above Swarga, because in the persent Yaga very many great and distinguished persons, such as Krishna, are here assembled together ; and Krishna has not been persent at other sacrifices, for which reason I shall go far beyond all other sacrificial horses."*

Raja Jamajaya, the grandson of Parikshit and the great-grandson of Arjuna, said to have celebrated the Aswamedha, but

*Wheeler's *History of India* Vol. I p. 430.

to have failed to reap the merit. After the assembled chiefs and Brahmins were honoured and rewarded and the sacrifice of the horse was completed, a Brahman boy, at the instigation or rather under the inspiration of some *devata* jealous of the renown which would be earned by the Raja, laughed at him and ridiculed the ceremony. This so irritated the Rajah that he killed the boy there and then, and was thus deprived of the fruits of the sacrifice.

The last Aswamedha was celebrated by Prithwirajah of Delhi about the year 1190. In the last century the Rajah of Marwara attempted the Aswamedha, but for want of sufficient funds he abandoned the idea.

But the time came when Hinduism underwent a great revolution. The old gods of the Vedas were superseded by new gods of the Puranas. Agni and Indra were replaced by Siva and Krishna. The worship of tri-murti was substituted for that of the unpersonified elements. Kama was dethroned by Sakti; the celebration of the Basanta or the vernal season festival was changed into that Dol Jatra. The introduction of new divinities led to the institution of the new rites and festivals. Some of these divinities are represented in terrible forms, and the attributes predicated of them are calculated to excite fear instead of love. While in England external nature is small and feeble, in India she is great and terrific. This difference has naturally moulded the minds of the two races. It has produced corresponding differences in their mental constitutions. The Englishman has been encouraged and taught to subordinate his imagination to his understanding. The Hindu has been intimidated, his imagination aroused, and his understanding dwarfed. The former had learnt to conquer nature, the latter has succumbed to her. This is illustrated in the most popular Pujas of the Hindus. In the very images and characters of Durga, Kali and Jagaddhatri, we see how the appalling aspects of the external world have filled the minds of the Hindus with the ideas of the terrible and marvellous, which they have striven to embody in the ten-handed goddess in the act of killing Mahishur. Durga is the most popular goddess, and images of terror are intimately associated with her. She is represented as an Amazonian woman armed

with sword and spear, mounted on a lion and fighting with a giant. She is represented as a still more hideous being, as Kali, encircled by a girdle of cobras, holding a human skul in her hand and wearing a garland of human bones. She has a body of dark blue, having four red arms symbolical of her blood thirstiness. Durga is supposed to be the *Tej* or emanation of the creative spirit.

The whole legend of Durga and the mode of her pujah or worship, which will be recited and described hereafter, afford a remarkable illustration of the influence of the aspects of nature in this country on the minds of her children. In her image and character we see that their tendency to inflame the imagination and to obfuscate the understanding has been very marked. In no country in Asia are the force and majesty of nature so powerfully exhibited as in India. Her impassable forests, her luxuriant vegetation, abounding in gigantic creepers and stupendous fical, her vast rivers traversing the length and breath of the country, and her cloud-capped mountains, the fabled abode of Rishis and Devatas, have, from time immemorial, excited in the Hindu mind ideas of the vague and the uncontrollable, the undefined and the indefinable, the marvellous and the miraculous. Contrasting himself with these stupendous features of the external world, the dimunitive Hindu is oppressed and bewildered by their majestic and imposing grandeur on the one hand and his own insignificance and inferiority on the other. Hindu mind instead of enquiring and analysing the appearance and phenomena of nature, refers them to supernatural causes. Unable to generalize those phenomena and looking on isolated facts, he becomes the most superstitious of all Asiatics. Considering different events as unconnected with each other, he has been led to recognize a Lakshmi in the dispensation of wealth, and a Saraswati in that of knowledge, a Varuna in the rule of the waters, and a Pavana in that of the wind. But the simple and sublime idea of the one Director over all these gifts and elements, implies an inquisitive and an analytic spirit which is not encouraged by the peculiar aspects of external nature in Hindustan. Hindu idolatry, such as existed in the days of Vikramaditya, and such as is now practised by the great mass

of the people, has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind, which is naturally induced by the appalling appearances of nature. The imagination having been aroused, the understanding was proportionably weakened. Human power having failed, superhuman power was evoked.

Of the minor rites and festivals there are an infinite number, every month or fortnight being set apart for some one or other of them. I shall mention only the most prominent and popular in a chronological order.

The lst of Bysack is the New Year's Day. It is a day of great jubilation with the mahajuns and modies, who decorate their guddis and shops with evergreens and garlands, and entertain their constituents and customers. These latter or their repesentatives are received as guests, and are expected in return for the hospitality to deposit some mony as earnest of their transactions for the ensuing year. In the second month that is Jeit, the cereomny of *Snanjatra* is performed. It consists in the bathing of Krishna, Juggernath, and other Thakurs representing them. In Mahesh opposite Titaghur, a mela is held during *Snanjatra* and is frequented by the people of Calcutta. Fast Babus avail themselves of this occasion, to make boat excursions to Mahesh and get up picnics on the banks and churs of the river.

The Dasara also takes place this month. It consists in bathing in the holy stream of the Ganges and worshipping her with fruits and flowers. In a country where the weather is grilling during the summer, it is no wonder that ablution should be inculcated by the Shastras as a religious obligation. They teach that cleanliness is not only next to, but is godliness itself. On the day of Dasara, the orthodox Hindus abstain from rice and fish and dine off milk and fruits. In this month the festival of the Sashtibrata takes place. It consists in mother-in-law entertaining their sons-in-law. These are fed sumptuously and receive presents of fruits, sweetmeats, clothes etc.

In Assar the celebration of Rath Jatra takes place. Those

by whom Raths are made and dedicated to gods, must have them drawn in the compounds of their own houses or on the public road for twelve years successively, after which period they may be disposed to Brahmins. All Raths are paraded twice every year, attended by a procession of Khol and Kartal beaters, singing the praises of Juggernath and Krishna. Pooree being the head-quarters of Juggernath, is the great place for the Rath Jatra. It attracts during that festival thousands of men from all parts of India. The abominable exhibitions which take place annually during the Rath Jatra at Pooree and Mahesh afford a melancholy illustration of the prostration of mind caused by superstition.

In the month of Sraban, the *Jhullanjatra* or the swinging of Krishna and Radha is celebrated. Krishna was very fond of swinging while he was at Brindaban ; he is said to have indulged in this diversion in the umbrageous groves of that classic spot. The festival is continued for three days and nights, and is accompanied by performance of nautches and jatras, and also pyrotechnic exhibitions.

On the eighth night of the dark side of the moon in the month of Bhadon, Krishna was born. His birth is celebrated with great eclat this month. The festival is called the *Janmastami*. It is to the Vaisnavas what Christmas is to the Christians. The Hindu females, anxious to make themselves dear to the God, fast on the anniversary of his birthday and at night hear the story of his incarnation in the family of Vasudeva. On the next day, processions, representing the character of milk-maids, songsters, hijras, brojobasis, etc daubed with turmeric powder, are to be seen in the roads, bawling and howling to excite the hilarity of the mob, and impress on their minds the manners and customs of the people of Mathura, when Krishna was born there.

During the month of Bhadon, the Hindus offer every day *til* and Gunga water to the manes of their deceased ancestors to the fourteenth remove, for the purpose of agumenting their celestial enjoyment. The ceremony is called *tappan*. On the last day of this month all the brasiers, carpenters, and smiths collect

their respective implements of trade in a corner of their shops, and worship Biskarma, the god of all manual arts, under an impression of thriving in their professions under his protection. On the same day the Natives busy themselves in the pleasures of *arandhan*, or eating with a great many curries the rice dressed on the preceding night and soaked in water for converting it into a sour article of repast. This is done to propitiate Manasha, the goddess of serpents.

It is in the month of Assin, corresponding sometimes to the end of September and sometimes to the beginning of October, that the most popular Puja is celebrated. The pomp and circumstance with which the goddess Durga is worshipped, exercise a very marked effect on Hindu society. The legend of Durga is contained in the following extracts from the Markand Purana, and other Puranas and Tantras :—

"When at the end of Kalpa or great cycle of years, the world was converted into one boundless ocean, and the great Lord Bhagawan Vishnu was asleep in meditation on his endless (ocean) bed, two dreadful demons (asura) born of the wax of his ears, and known as Madhu and Kaitava, wished to destroy Brahma. He (Brahama) the father of creation, who was seated on a lotus in Vishnu's navel, prayed Yoganidra with undivided attention."

Markandeya Purana.

"During the wars of Rama and Ravana, Rama worshipped Durga, and because Rama killed Ravana by worshipping Durga in the month of Aswin, therefore do mankind celebrate the Sārada or dewy season festival of Durga."

Kattyāni Tantra.

"Hearing thus his words, he, the king Suratha, went immediately to the sage, and he, the Vyasa, to the Muni, and the two prepared a figure of the Devi with earth, and worshipped her on the river bank with flowers, incense and water."

Markandeya Purana.

"On the 9th of Kartika, when the moon was in Aquarius, the sun, by worshipping Durga with attention, attained health, progeny and the office of being the witness of the creation."

Kattyāyani Tantra.

During the Durga Puja festival a perfect flutter pervades the whole household. The excitement of the zenana is intense and is manifested in various ways. The ladies may be seen now busily occupied in the preparation of the consecrated food and anon decorating their persons with jewels on the latest fashion. All business stands aside. The dull routine of office work and home affairs is thrown off. The shroff puts away his hundis and the mahajan his khatta books. The ryot forgets his crops, and the zemindar forgets to put Act X of 1859 in force against the ryot. The rites last three days and three nights, during which the whole country presents a vast scene of gaiety and festive enjoyment. Dissipation and devilment reign in the *Baithak-Khāna* of the Babu, as well as in the *chālā* of the *chāsā*.

There are those among the votaries of Durga who declare that in worshipping her, they worship the active or the female principle of the universe. Matter and power constitute, the former the male, the latter the female, nature of the Godhead, to whom they attribute a double nature, though essentially an unity ; i.e., god is at once male and female, inseparably united to constitute a whole, the supreme perfection, the sole creator of the universe, the one without a second of the Vedas, Purusha and Prakriti together, from the Mahapurusha or Brahma. Durga then in their estimation is the symbol of Sati or the female or productive part of the supreme being or essence, and consequently the sovereign Mistress of the creation. In other words, God having a double nature, material and spiritual, the goddess Durga represents the spiritual. She is the deification of supreme intelligence. Of her three eyes, the one situated in the centre of the forehead between the two eye-brows is symbolical of intellect or reason, the internal or spiritual sight.

The groups of idols, which during the three days of Durga-worship are exhibited in the halls of the Native houses, admit, according to this theory, of a learned and theological explanation, not in accordance with the popular belief derived from the legendary narative of the Puranas. The chief of the group is Durga, that is, reason or intellect. Her two daughters, Laksmi and Saraswati, placed on her left and right are the symbols of wealth and learning or knowledge, both being naturally created by, or the results of, the exercise of intelligence. Her two sons, Ganesha and Kartika, placed lower down, represent, the former wisdom, the latter military science, both being the fruits of the rebellious development of intelligence. The lion, on which Durga rides, signifies the omnipotence of reason or knowledge which is power. The rebellious Asura, beneath the lion, is symbolical of the passions whom reason is controlling with the strength of a lion. This explanation is, it is said, but ill suited to the understanding of the vulgar herd ; hence arose the necessity of inventing the Puranic legend above quoted, and which is adapted to the meanest capacities of an illiterate mob, to satisfy their latent and innate religious cravings, and pander to their strong animal propensities and superstitious imagination. In this manner, divested of its mystical symbolic character, the worship of Durga, the wife of Siva, the daughter of Himalaya and Menoca, the mother of Laksmi, Saraswati, Ganesha and Kartika, and the female saviour of the world, has been invested by some popular writers among her votaries with a human interest, calculated at once to win the popular mind by the most seducing appeals to its most powerful domestic instincts and devotional impulses, and encumbering the ceremonial with a number of unintelligible and unexplained rituals and sacrifices of which even many learned Brahmans themselves do not understand the import. All families that are capable of affording it, welcome home the goddess, or rather her image, as if she were the mother of the universe coming *propria persona* to bless them and their homes with her beauty and grace, and freely showering on them the choicest gifts of fortune both here and hereafter. The reward of this annual observance is heaven and eternal beatitude.

To propitiate her, they offer her plantains, rice, sweetmeats, etc, and sacrifice goats, buffaloes, etc, entertaining her at the same time with all sorts of music and dances, both devotional and obscene, prayers, amusements, revelry, and feastings being alike mingled together in one wild confusion. To express their joy at her advent, they invite their neighbours, relatives, friends, acquaintances, and dependants, feasting them with the choicest of native dishes, viands, and sweetmeats, and sending to them presents of clothes and eatables. In fact, the Durga Puja is at once the most pious and jovial of all Hindu national festivals. It is the *ne plus ultra* of gaity, fun and merriment of all sorts. On the three nights every house is illuminated. It imparts for the time being a prodigious artificial impulse to internal trade of every kind. Goods of every description rise to their maximum prices. During the three or four days it lasts, the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest, are to be found in their holiday clothes, passing their time in thoughtless merrymaking and amusements and in prayers and worship. Paris was not perhaps more thoughtless and gay, while her citizens were engaged in worshipping the goddess of reason, than inhabitants of Bengal are during the holidays, nor was the blood then shed by the Parisians more profuse than the blood here shed in guillotining goats and other animals.

On the fourth day Durga is supposed to have returned to the Himalayan regions, the abode of her father. Her new lifeless image is carried to the riverside in processions with flag flying and dhols and dhaks thundering, and is consigned to the waters. On the return of the procession the members of the family assemble in the hall of worship and embrace each other, receiving and offering sweetmeats as a token of reciprocal love and amity, and previous injuries and heartburnings being forgiven and forgotten. This is called Bijoya, and is unquestionably the best and most interesting part of the Durga Puja ceremonial.

The next festival, in the order of time, is that of Lukhi Puja or the worship of Laksmi, the goddess of fortune. It is held on the fifth night after the Durga Puja, the Kojagur Purnima

or the full-moon night. The ceremonies observed, irrespective of those connected with the worship of the goddess, are to drink copiously the milk of the cocoanut (cocus mucifera) and to keep up the whole night. Total abstinence from sleep and copious libations of cocoanut milk constitute the most important part of the Lukhi Puja, which greatly resembles a village wake. Verily the worshippers of Laksmi believe with the poet of the "Seasons"—

"Is there aught
In sleeping that can charm the wise ?"

On the following Amabasya, or the last day of the dark side of the moon, the *Sama* or *Kali Puja* festival is held. It lasts one night only, and is, so to speak, a great field day with persons who are given to the battle and are the votaries of Bacchus. Kali is represented as of a jet black colour, standing in an attitude of defiance over the prostrate body of her husband Siva. She is armed with sword, with dishevelled curls flowing in a wild profusion and garlanded with a necklace of slaughtered heads of giants. In this position she is said to have destroyed *Sumbha* and *Nishumbha* the most puissant giants of the Satya Yug. This most remakable victory of Kali has been immortalized in an Epic poem called Chandi, which is recited with great animation by the Purohits during the Durga Puja.

The Kali Puja night is dedicated to singing, dancing, and feastings and the *Sakta* families to drinking. The sacrificed meat is served up in the shape of curries, and is washed down by abundant potation of rice wine. It is generally supposed that this festival was established by Agambagish, who is said to have celebrated it for the first time; but it is of more ancient date, as may be reasonably inferred from the following extracts from the *Kalika Purana* :

"সর্ব্বে সুরগণাঃ সেন্দ্রা স্তুতো গবো হিমাচলং। গঙ্গাবতার নিকটে মহামায়াং প্রতুষ্টুবুঃ। অনেক সংস্তুতা দেবী তদা সর্ব্বামরোৎ করৈঃ। মাতঙ্গ বনিতা মূর্তি ভূর্বো দেবানপৃচ্ছত। যুস্মাভিরমরৈরত্রস্তুরতে কাচ

ভাবিনী। কিমর্থমাগতা যূয়ং মাতঙ্গ স্যাশ্রয়ং প্রতি॥ এবং ব্রুবন্ত্যা মাতঙ্গ্যা স্তস্যাস্তু কায়কোষতঃ। সমদ্ভূতা ব্রবীদ্দেবী মাংস্তুবন্তি সুরাইতি॥ শুম্ভো নিশুম্ভো হ্যসুরৌ বাধেতে সকলান সুরান। তস্মাত্তযোর্ব্বধা যাহং স্তূয়েহ্য সকলৈঃ সুরৈঃ॥ বিনিঃ সতায়াং দেব্যাস্ত মাতঙ্গ্যাঃ কায়তস্তদা। ভিঃন্নাঞ্জননিভাকৃষ্ণা সাভূৎ যৌযরীক্ষ নাদপি। কালিকাখ্যা ভবৎ সাপি হিমাছলস্তুতাশ্রয়া।"

"All the Devas with Indra at their head then repaired to the Himálaya mountains, whence the river Ganges descends, and prayed Mahāmāyā. The Devi, well pleased, assuming the form of a she-elephant, came there to bathe, and asked the gods, "Why have you come near the abode of the elephant, and why and to whom are you praying?" As soon as she heard their reply, then forth issued from her body a goddess, who said, "You gods are praying to me. The demons Sambhu and Nisambhu obstruct all the gods, therefore I am for their destruction, urged thereto by the gods." Then the goddess fair who had issued from the body of the she-elephant, became for a moment dark black as the pigment from the Bhelā nut. Her name is Kalika and she dwells on the Himachala."

On the night of the Sama Puja the Dewali festival is held. It consists in dusting furniture, washing and cleaning the house, and illuminating the same at night. Indeed illumination constitutes the most interesting part of the festival, and is resorted to on a large scale by up-country men inhabiting Burra Bazar and other places. Among Bengali the mistress of the house collects around the female inmates, and impresses upon them the necessity and value of cleanliness by relating a tale of which the following translation is given by "A Hindu" in an old number of the Calcutta Journal :—

In the days yore there lived a Brahmin and a Brahmini in a hamlet. They were very poor and extremely unclean. In every corner of their cottage heaps of dust, soot, straw and decayed vegetable had gathered, but neither of them ever thought

of removing them. The Brahmini never cut her nails nor painted her feet with the red streaks of *āltā*. One evening of Shama Puja the Brahman having received nothing from his neighbours, was returning home with a few betels in his mouth and betel-nuts in hand, after a fatiguing round. A tangled wood lay across his way. When he reached it, a huge female form of a most grisly aspect appeared before him, crying, "With betel-nuts in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray Brahmin Thakur. Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a son?" This terrified the Brahmin so much that he fell entranced on the ground. He, however, soon recovered his senses, and with a dejected spirit, writhing in perturbation and agony of fear, he arrived home. "Oh Brahmini", said he, "I have received nothing today and have seen a most dreadful figure screaming 'With betel-nuts in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray, Brahmin Thakur? Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a sion'." Scarce was the narration of this circumstance over, when another gigantic creature of an equally appalling nature issued from one of the corners of the cottage, yelling "She is my sister, she is my sister, I was Boonee, I am Boonee. Execrable shade, who art thou that dwellest in our cottage? We two sisters, Coonee and Boonee, live whither rubbish and dirt are allowed to accumulate, and also near such persons as are stranger to cleanliness." This was a lesson to the Brahmin and to the Brahmini; they now changed their mode of living. "So ye children and girls," continues the grihini, "you must try to be very clean and neat today, unless you choose that your dwelling house should be haunted by those two hob-goblins."

Two days after the Shama Puja festival or the second day of the bright side of the moon, there is held a pleasing festival, namely the Bhratasdwitiya. It consists in sisters entertaining their brothers. The former invite the latter to a rich breakfast

কার্ত্তিকে শুক্লপক্ষস্য দ্বিতীয়ায়াং যুধিষ্ঠির। যমো যমুনয়া পূর্বং ভোজিতঃ স্বগৃহে সবয়ং ॥ তস্মান্নিজগৃহে পার্থ নভোক্তব্য মতো বুধৈঃ। যত্নেন ভগিনী হস্তা দ্ভোক্তব্যং পুষ্টিবৰ্দ্ধনং ॥ দানানিচ প্রদেযাসি ভগিনীভ্যো বিশেষতঃ।

and present them with costly clothes. This custom is supposed to have originated with the sisters of Yama, the Pluto of the Hindu. "O Yudhisthira, on the second day of the waxing moon, in the month of Kartika, Yama was once respectfully treated with presents and entertained at her house by his sister Yamuna, therefore is that day celebrated in the three regions as the second day of Yama. On that day, O Partha, men should not therefore eat in their own houses. Carefully should they eat for the improvement of the vigour from the hands of their sisters and offer them becoming presents."

Bhavisya Purana.

In the month of Kartick, and nine days after the Shama Puja, or rather on the ninth day of the bright side of the moon, the Jagatdhatri Puja festival is held. Jagatdhatri (literally the nurse of the universe) is another form of Durga, and is represented as an Amazon seated on a lion. The Puja lasts one day and one night, during which buffaloes and goats are sacrificed. It is enlivened by dancing and feasting. There are many Hindus who believe that the Rajah of Krishnaghur introduced this Puja, but they are mistaken, in as much as the worship of Jagatdhatri prevailed in olden times.

কার্ত্তিকে শুক্লপক্ষে ভৌমবাচরে জগৎ প্রসু। সর্ব্বেদেব হিতার্থায় দুর্বৃত্ত দমনায়চ। আবিরাসীৎ জগচ্ছিন্তৈঃ যুগাদৌ পরমেশ্বর। ইতি কূব্জী কাতন্-এবচনং।

কুম্ভরাশিগতে চন্দ্রে নবম্যাং কার্ত্তিকথচ। উযস্ত দ্দোদিতো ভানু দুর্গামারাধ্য যত্নবান্। পুত্রা রোস্ত বরং লেভে লোক সাক্ষিত্বমেবচ ইতি কাত্যায়নীতন্ত্রবচনং।

"On Tuesday the ninth of the waxing moon, in the month of Kartika, being the first day of the Treta Yuga, the great lady Jagatprasu or the mother of creation, manifested herself for the good of the gods, the punishment of the wicked and the peace of creation."

Kubjika Tantra.

On the last day of the month of Karticka, corresponding to th end of October, the youngest son of Durga is worshipped Kartika is represented as the ideal of manly beauty, enthronec on a peacock of magnificient plumage and armed with a bov and arrow. The object of this Puja is to obtain children, fo Kartika is supposed to have power of conferring that blessing Hence he is a great favourite with women, specially those whc are desirous of being in that interesting condition, in whicl "ladies love to be with their lords."

"এবমারাধ্য দেবেশী মিন্দ্র জিদ্রাবণাত্মজঃ। অভবৎ কার্ত্তিকেয়ো বৈ দুর্গামেবং সমার্চ্চয়নঃ। অমায়ং কার্ত্তিকেমাসি তশ্রুবকা সুরঃ নাশকঃ। ইতি কাত্যায়নীতন্ত্রবচনং।"

"Indrajit, son of Ravana, thus worshipping the great goddess and offering adoration to Durga on the new moon of Kartika was born as Kartikeya, the destroyer of the demon Taraka."

Kattyāyani Tantr

বৃশ্চিকস্থ ত্তসংক্রান্ত্যাং পুত্রকামা ব্রতং চরেৎ

"He who wishes for sons should observe a fast at the commence ment of the scorpion i.e. at the end of the month of Kartika.

The Rāsh Jatra festival falls sometimes at the end o Kartika, and sometimes at the commencement of Augran. It i founded upon a legend recited by the *Srimad Bhagbat* relatin to the flirtation of Krishna with the milk maids of Vrindabana The festival lasts three days and is enlivened as usual with musi and dinner. Melas are held during it in several places, sucl as Khurda, Baroepore etc.

The last three days of Pous are set apart for the preparatio and consumption of *peetas* or cakes. The Hindus prepare a endless variety of confectionary and invite their friends to discus the same.

In the following month of Magha i.e. during the present month (and yesterday was the day), Saraswati, or the goddess of learning, together with inkstands, pens, books, and other paraphernalia of writing and reading, are worshipped. The day of this Puja is called Sri Panchami or the fifth day of the moon *par excellence*. The feast that is given on this day consists of a vegetable diet, from which fish and meat are religiously excluded; the goddess being a vegetarian, delighting in simple food and abominating sacrifices of animals or of anything else. The day of of this Puja is regarded at the expiration of winter and birth of spring. In order to celebrate the advent of the latter season, the Hindus put on yellow coloured dhutis and chadars, yellow being the favourite colour of Basanti or the god of spring. The day of this festival is dedicated to boat excursions and the night to music.

The Dol Jatra festival is celebrated in the month of Falgoon. It originated in Krishna's swinging with Radhika under the groves of Brindaban. It is the same as the holy festival of the up-country men. With these it is a Saturnalia. For several days before the actual Puja takes place, they parade the streets and public thoroughfares, singing and dancing and throwing at each other as well as at passengers *Phag* or red powder. So this festival is with them a season of merriment and devilment.

The last day of the last month of the Bengali year is inaugurated by *Charak Puja* festival, of which the barbarous and cruel practice of hook swinging forms a prominent feature. The institution of Charak Puja is not sanctioned by Shastras; it was simply a local ceremony, originally introduced by Ban Rajah in his own Raj, to propitiate Siva, and gradually extended to other places. In some districts this practice is unknown, while in others it has been put down by energetic magistrates and enlightened zemindars, but it nevertheless prevails in great many places. As it endangers human life and is revolting to a degree, I trust it will soon be prohibited by the strong arm of the law. I readily admit that social and religious changes must be effected by the natural progress of society; but the barbarities

of the Charak Puja are not enjoined or even warranted by the Shastras. If Government puts them down, it will have the consent and support of the upper and educated classes of the community, those on whom the ruler in every civilized country naturally relies for the introduction of any measures of general usefulness, affecting the well-being of the entire community. I do not of course invoke the interference of government with the religious observances connected with the Charak Puja. Far be it also from me to discourage the melas which are held in hundreds of villages on the occasion of the festival, where thousands of people congregate, making purchase of edibles, toys, fancy articles, and articles of dress, and interchanging the social amenities of life.

This country is in a state of transition. We live in an age of revolution. The most conservative Hindu cannot fail to perceive that there is not a custom, or observance, or belief, which is not now subjected to the crucial test of impartial criticism. The causes and agencies of progress are now so actively at work among us, that we trust, devoutly trust, the day is not far distant when the festivals of the Hindus may be eliminated of all that is barbarous and superstitious, and rendered subservient to the promotion of their social and rational happiness.

Discussions on the Paper

Babu Grish Chunder Ghosh thought the subject was of the highest interest, so far as it was connected with the religion of the country. At present that religion was doubtless in a state of transition. He (the speaker) could scarcely say whether or not he were an idolator, or whether or not he were a Brahmoist. But however religion might change, festivals could not be entirely swept away. Every religion had its festivals. Even Brahmoism had exhibited its gorgeous procession only a few days since; its propagator had found it impossible to keep his hold upon the people without the aid of some such demonstration. For his own part he could never be otherwise than affected at the season

of the Durga Puja. Durga was to him an incarnation of Semiramis, and his (the speaker's) ideas all went back at the festival to the time of Semiramis. He felt at such times that it was the re-enactment of the struggle between the Syrians and the abbrigines of the country. The scene was laid in the passes from which the invading hordes had always come. He trusted that Western criticism would ere long throw much more light on the subject.

Dr. Chuckerbutty admitted that festivals were very dear to the masses. At the same time there had been a great change in the last 25 or 30 years, and they were now characterised rather as social gatherings than as being connected with worship. Like the festival of Gog and Magog, they would doubtless disappear by degrees, without any violent attempt to put them down.

The Calcutta Ragged School. By J. B. Knight
Read on the 19th January 1869.

How are the masses to be educated, is a problem the solution of which possesses deep interest both for England and India. In both countries there is a large class who are not touched by the ordinary system of education. In the agricultural districts of the mother country the small earnings of the parent leave nothing to spare for education, while if instruction is offered free of charge, the child can take but small advantage of it when, from his earliest years, his labour is required to add something, however small, to the common stock. In the large towns the case is some what different. Here the mechanic and artisan class predominate. Wages are higher and a large proportion are in a position to avail themselves of the advantages of education. But there is also found an element of vice—hidden vice—grovelling in dark courts and alleys, shunning the light of day, rich in the usual concomitants of rags, filth, and misery, which ordinary educational appliances are powerless to reach. Years ago philanthropists enquired what could be done for these children of vice and wretchedness —outcasts from society; and the result of the enquiry was the institution of ragged schools. In India the same classes exist under somewhat altered conditions. The agricultural classes are no doubt, relatively speaking, poorer; but their life is not one of incessant toil from morn till eve. The same obstacles, therefore, which stand in the way of the child of the English labourer, do not exist in this country. The ryots of Bengal are in a position to avail themselves of any education which may be offered to them. But the position of the dwellers in large towns is widely different. Huddled together in filthy lanes and Bustees, shut out from all pleasant external influences, despised by their more fortunate fellow-countrymen ignorant of everything save vice, exist thousands of the poorest of the poor, for whose eleva-

tion scarcely an effort has been made. There are, it is true, certain native free schools, supported with praiseworthy liberality but these are chiefly confined to Hindus, and are not designed exclusively for the lowest classes. I know it is a moot point whether the great ends of education are best promoted by beginning at the lowest grades, but unquestionably these classes should not be wholly neglected. On this subject I may be permitted to quote the words of our respected President, expressing, as they do, so chiefly what are my own views, as well as the objects for which the Calcutta Ragged School was established. At the examination of St. Chrysostom's school, Mr. Phear is reported to have made the following remarks :—

Government was bound to provide education for all classes alike, but he maintained that, if means failed for a complete system, they should rather direct their efforts at the lower stratum than the upper. The result dependent upon the enlightenment of the most ignorant were of the highest moment to society, while the higher classes might be trusted to take care of themselves, and would be undoubtedly stimulated to do so by the advance of those below them.

During Miss Carpenter's stay in Calcutta, she was struck with what she saw and heard of the destitution and ignorance which existed ; and resolved to initiate a scheme for the enlightenment of the poorest and most ignorant ; and it is the detail and results of that scheme ; so far as it has gone, that it is the object of this paper to communicate.

The Calcutta Ragged School has now been in existence for two years. For the greater part of the time it has been supported by voluntary contributions, with the aid of a Government grant of Rs. 20 per mensem. The number of pupils who have attended the school since its commencement is about 150, of whom 110 still remain on the rolls. The average daily attendance has latterly been about 80. The boys are taught reading and writing, arithmetic, geography, and object lessons, together with knitting and rough needlework, for which a durzee is regu-

larly employed. A separate school has also been established, in which English is taught to a certain number of boys who, by diligence and good behaviour, have merited the privilege.

Of course, much of the value of the experiment (as such) depends upon the class of boys who compose the school. It is designed especially for a class whose means of subsistence are so limited, that even the smallest sum demanded for the schooling at the lowest patshala could be shared only by the sacrifice of some of the necessaries of life. And the design has been rigorously kept in view. To this end, a register is kept, in which are noted (1) the names of the boys; (2) their caste ; (3) names of parents and guardians ; (4) their employment ; (5) their monthly earnings. So far as can be ascertained, these returns are to be relied on, and they show pretty conclusively that the boys are what they profess to be—too poor to pay for their own education. Personal inspection of the school confirms this conclusion. The boys are mostly of low type, coarse in feature, rough in voice and manners, veritable street-Arabs. Indeed, many of them have been brought out of the streets in a state of total ignorance. Still, they are sharp and quick enough in learning, and many of them have made very creditable progress. True, it is but a "little learning" comparatively speaking, that they can carry away with them ; but this little, far from being "a dangerous thing". is calculated to fit them the better to fill whatever situation they may be placed in. I cannot but think that even our most menial servants would be the better for the power of spending some of their hours of idleness in self improvement. The gates of knowledge once opened, on us, will devolve the responsibility of caring for their future progress.

One of the chief objections raised against the schools for the education of the destitute classes is the belief entertained by many that in thus educating them we are unfitting them for their position in life. We might fairly ask by what right we would compel any one class of men to perform the lowest

offices ; but this would lead us too far. But we have evidence to show that so far no such result has attended the experiment in the case of the school immediately under notice. We have a list of the greater number of pupils who have left the Ragged School since its establishment, by which it appears that the occupations they have entered on are no higher in grade than those followed by their parents or guardians. Two years is but a short time—scarcely long enough to serve as a test, since it does not afford sufficient education to raise the learner in the social scale : but on the other hand, it must be remembered that but few of the class taught at this school will be able to devote a sufficient number of years to qualify themselves for employment in higher grades.

The experiment, so far it has gone, may fairly be assumed to be successful ; whether it shall be extended, or even continued on its present very limited scale, must depend upon the support which may be accorded by those who regard the scheme with approval.

Dr. Chuckerbutty stated that he had been originally connected with the Calcutta Ragged School, and he thought there could be no doubt that it was conferring a great benefit on the abject population in its vicinity. He maintained that these children had claims upon the community, and it was criminal to leave them without instruction of any kind.

The President (Mr. Justice Phear) remarked that he had also had some connection with the school at the time of its establishment, and though that connection had since been severed, it was not because he did not think that the school was doing good work, but because he thought the Committee had somewhat departed from the original project. The school was originally founded with a view to reclaim what Mr. Knight had called the "Street Arabs" of Calcutta, to whom it was intended to impart an elementary education in the vernacular. An English department, had, however, since been added, and English was taught, if not under the same roof, at any rate in

the same compound. An attraction had thus been held out to a class of boys altogether different from those for whom the school was intended, and he (the President) thought such boys could not under the present system, be entirely kept away. He had at first been led to support the school with the view of securing the fair trial of an experiment of a very special and interesting nature. He thought the introduction of the English class, however good it might be in itself, had materially changed the conditions of the experiment. The school had thereby become practically undistinguishable from many other schools in Calcutta supported by private charity; and that character no longer possessed the same claim to his personal support as it originally possessed. He was not aware whether the English class was still kept up, but he should be glad to hear that the institution had reverted to its original character.

Mr. Atkinson enquired whether English was still taught in the school. He doubted the propriety of a grant from the State, if the school had assumed the character which had been attributed to it.

Mr. Knight replied that he had not visited the school since his return from England, but he believed that the English Department still existed. He maintained that no departure had taken place from the original principles on which the school was established. Those principles were to give gratuitous education to the very lowest class, and he did not think the children should be debarred from acquiring a little knowledge of English, if they could.

Summary of replies received to the enquiries of the Association on the subject of Female Education.

Complied by H. H. Locke, Esq., and Babu Chundernath Bose, M.A., Secretaries to the Section.

(Read on the 20.h January 1869)

The following brief summary gives an outline of the information which has been received from various sources, in reply to the paper of questions on this subject issued by the Association last year. Answers to this paper have been very kindly furnished by :—

Mr. John Buckley, Cuttack.
Miss Britton, Secretary to the American Zenana Mission.
Mr. E. C. B. Hallam, Balasore.
Mr. J. Phillips, Jellasore.
Miss Crawford, do
Babu Madhub Chunder Shurma, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Howrah.
Babu Joykissen Mookerjee, Zemindar.
Lt. Col. Rowlatt, Deputy Commissioner, Western Dooars.
Mr. H. C. Sutherland, Officiating Collector of Backergunj.
Mr. A. Levien, Collector of Dacca.
Mr. C. B. Clarke, Inspector of Schools, S. E. Division.
Mr. J. C. Price, Officiating Collector, Mymensingh.
Mr. W. B. Livingstone, Dacca.
Lieutenant A. N. Phillips, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Nowgong.
Babu Shama Charan Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate, Basirhat.
Babu Rashbehari Bose, Deputy Magistrate, Khulna.
Babu Shib Chandra Deb, Konnagar.
Babu Denobandhu Sanyal, Bhagalpore.
Mr. Browne Wood, Deputy Commissioner, Santhal Parganas.

Babu Peary Mohan Dutt, Head Master of the Zillah School, Purnea.

Babu Beni Madhab Bose, Rajmahal.

Mr. E. Whinfield, Magistrate, Noakhali.

Babu Bhagain Persad, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Purnea.

Mr. A. V. Palmer, Officiating Collector of Monghyr.

Babu Shib Chundra Shome, Head Master, Goalpara School.

Mr. A. T. Bainbridge, Collector of Burdwan.

Babu Jagat Chandra Roy Chowdhuri, Zemindar, Panihati.

Babu Abhoy Charan Bose, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Cooch-Behar.

Mr. Raban, Officiating Collector, Puri.

Babu Bhagawan Chandra Bose, Faridpur.

Babu Kunjalal Mookerjee, Muragatcha.

Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, Central Division.

Babu Pratap Chandra Chatterjee.

Mr. Jenkins, Commissioner of Patna.

Mr. Drummond, Magistrate and Collector of Patna.

Mr. Holliday, Collector of Saran.

Mr. Metcalfe, Officiating Collector of Champaran.

Mr. H. W. Alexander, Collector of Shahabad.

Mr. C. B. Garratt, Deputy Collector of Shahabad.

The subjoined table exhibits the number of existing schools for the instruction of females, the number of scholars, and the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in such schools, so far as is known to the correspondents from whom we have received information.

Names of places where female schools are situated	Total Number of Female Schools	Number on the Rolls	Average Daily Attendance	Number of Male Teachers	Number of Female Teachers	Under Female charge or superintendance or not	For girls only, or for both boys and girls
Central Division	155	4240	3194	100	147	Some are solely under female superintendence	Of both kinds; the majority however, is for girls only
Burdwan (District)	72	1093	861	75	6	Three are under female charge	Ten of these schools only are exclusively for girls
Cuttuck and its neighbourhood	—	874	—	—	—	All under female charge	For girls only
Balasore (District)	2	—	—	—	—	—	Not exclusively for girls
Do Do	1	60	60	—	—	—	
Santipur (near Jellasore)	4	36	30	4	1	under female superintendence	Not solely for girls
Khulna* (Subdivision)	15	204	150	15	—	—	"
Noakhali*	1	6	5	1	—		For girls only
Bhagalpur (District)	1	5	—	1	—		Ditto
Coljaree (Sonthal Parganas)	1	—	—	—	—		
Bongaon (Subdivision)	1	9/10	—	1	—		Ditto
Cooch Behar	3	34	25	—	—		Ditto
Bakergunj (District)	10	85	60	—	—		Ditto
South-East Division	67	938	590	69	8	A few under female superintendence	Ditto
Mooragatcha and its vicinity†	3	49	36	3	—		

* These schools are, perhaps, included in the 67 female schools mentioned by Mr. Clarke as lying in the South East Division.

† These schools are probably included in the 155 female schools belonging to the Central Division.

1. Influence of Caste :—

It appears from an examination of the answers we have received to this question that the prejudice on the score of caste is of different degrees of strength in different parts of the country, being strongest in the north-eastern parts of Bengal. In Calcutta and the districts of Hooghly, the influence seems stronger than in the north-western parts of Bengal, stronger in the North-West than in Orissa, (with the exception of Puri and its neighbourhood,) and stronger in Orissa than in most places in south-east Bengal and in Cooch Behar. In the districts of Hooghly, the caste feeling does not appear to extend beyond an aversion to mix with the very lowest classes, such as *Harees, Bagdees, Chandalas*, etc. In Calcutta itself the strength of this prejudice is somewhat greater than in Mofussil, being such as to prevent the mixture of the most respectable classes of Hindus with castes much higher in social position than those who alone are avoided in the district of Hooghly. There seems to be little or no influence of caste in some places in Central Bengal and in the district of Backerganj. But we think the information we have received is not sufficiently extensive or particular to justify any positive statement regarding these districts. Regarding South-Eastern Bengal, we have received contradictory statements. Mr. A. Levien, the Collector of Dacca, informs us that the influence of caste *is* felt in the admission of girls to schools, while Mr. Clarke, the Inspector of Schools, and Mr. Whinfield, the Magistrate of Noakhali, say that caste has no perceptible influence. From Mr. Livingstone's answers concerning the town of Dacca and its nearest suburbs, agreeing as they do with the experience of Calcutta, we gather that conservatism is more likely to prevail in such places than in the interior of the district. In Orissa, with the exception of Pooree (Puri) and its immediate neighbourhood, there seems to be extremely little caste influence. The prejudice which exists may be described rather as a feeling of nationality—Hindus there being only unwilling to mix with those who are not Hindus. In Cooch Behar, however, there is not even this feeling ;

Brahmanas, Chandalas, and Mussulmans all appear to read together.

2. *Age at which girls generally enter schoods, and length of time during which they remain as pupils* :—

The earliest age at which girls enter school is stated to be 4, and the highest age at which they leave, 14.

3. *Causes of the withdrawal of female pupils from schools* :—

The most general causes of the withdrawal of girls from schools seems to be marriage, and the necessity of zenana seclusion on arriving at a marriageable age. In some parts of the country, it appears that girls, if married very young, are not taken away from school till it becomes improper for them to be seen in public. From one of the replies we have received to this question, it would even seem that there are instances of girls leaving in the manner just mentioned, in the country adjacent to Calcutta. [Some information on this point regarding Calcutta itself would be, we think, instructive.] One amongst the many causes of withdrawal is, according to Mr. Woodrow, "want of appreciation of education". In very many cases girls are withdrawn from school by parents who are not in affluent or even easy circumstances, in order that they may assist their families by the performance of domestic work. [It would, we are inclined to think, be of some use to know how many in any particular school are withdrawn for this purpose, or to ascertain the proportion which the number of girls leaving school for this cause bears to the number of those who leave from other causes.] Another cause, producing something like a general effect upon the withdrawal of female pupils, is the employment of male teachers in female schools. The notion entertained very generally, and spoken of in one reply as prevailing in Mymensingh, that much learing in women is a cause of widowhood, has a great deal to do with the withdrawal of girls from school sooner than would otherwise happen.

4. *The Course of study generally pursued in the schools for females.*

The course of study in the female schools situated within the district of Hooghly, appears to be higher than that in the female schools in the district of Burdwan. The former, in the highest classes, includes Bengali literature (up to Charoopat, Part III ; and Padyopat, Part III.), grammar (up to *krit, tadhit,* and gender), geography (whole of it in the highest classes), history, arithmetic (as far as double rule of three), and natural philosophy (up to electric attraction), the latter, in the highest classes, rises no higher than the course of study in "the 4th class vernauular schools (viz., up to Charoopat, Part I", etc). The course of study in the schools in Orissa seems to be far inferior to that prevailing in the district of Burdwan. In all the Orissa schools about which we have been informed, the course of study is very elementary, and is perhaps of the same character as that which we learn is found in the female schools in the districts of Noakhali and Bhagalpur respectively. In one respect, however,—viz., in the amount or extent of teaching in needlework, knitting, sewing, spinning, and other similar arts,—the female schools under the charge or management of European ladies, such as the Misses Britton, Crawford, and Philips, in Orissa, Calcutta, and Raipore, are superior to the generality of female schools in the different districts of Bengal, Needlework is not yet taught in the female schools in Khulna and the district of Bhagalpur, and it is only beginning to be taught in the district of Noakhali. It should, however, be noticed that the female schools in these places (Khulna, Bhagalpur, and Noakhali) are all of very recent establishment. It is worthy of notice, that out of 67 female schools, mentioned by Mr. Clarke as existing in S. E. Bengal, needlework is taught only in six or eight. In the school at Cooch Behar, mentioned by Lieutenant Colonel Rowlat, the course comprises reading, writing and mental arithmetic, but no needlework. This school, too, we are informed, is quite a new one. With the exception of three or four isolated instances, which can scarcely be regarded in a summary like this, it may be said that English is taught in no female school. The course in the female schools in S. E. Bengal is somewhat inferior to that in the Burdwan female schools, and that in the Cooch Behar and Backergunj

schools inferior to the courses in the S. E. Bengal female schools. The following is a list of districts, divisions, etc., arranged in the order of the progress which, from the information before us, they seem to have made in female education :—

1. Central Division
   (a) Hooghly
   (b) Burdwan
2. S. E. Division
3. S. W. Division
   Orissa
4. N. W. Division
5. Cooch Behar
   (N. E. Division)
6. Sonthal Parganas
   (N. W. Division)

5. *The Progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind.*

Upon this point our correspondents are divided in their opinions. Some say that girls make greater progress than boys; others that there is no perceptible difference in the aptitude for learning displayed by girls as compared with boys; whilst by some it is asserted that boys excel girls in this respect in a marked degree. Mr. Woodrow, for instance, is very emphatic as to the superiority of boys; he says, "the difference is quite striking—the boys progress *much* faster." Mr. Bainbridge and Babu Shib Chunder Deb also say, with respect to this question, that girls cannot learn arithmetic, for instance, either so soon or so well as boys. On the other hand, Babu Bhugwan Chunder Bose is of opinion that, in whatever requires the exercise of memory, girls are found to be superior to boys. Babus Joykissen Mookerjee, Shib Chunder Deb, and Madhub Chunder Shurma, while admitting the inferiority of girls, are of opinion that it may be owing to the fact that less care is taken of them by their parents and guardians.

6. *Extent to which it appears that education is continued after girls are withdrawn from school.*

Our correspondents are almost unanimous in their opinions on this question, and their consentient testimony is that education is continued only in those cases in which the husbands themselves are educated and enlightened; that the extent to which it is carried even in such cases is necessarily very limited, on account of the little opportunity that natives have of seeing their wives in the day time, and what is learnt is not learnt systematically. But, as appears from the answer sent by Babu Shib Chunder Deb, a taste for reading and writing is fast growing in Hindu families. We learn that in Bongong (or rather in the village of Guatulli, Thana Mohespur) there are married girls receiving instruction in their houses from the male teacher of the school which has been very recently established there. Little or nothing seems to be done in Orissa and the districts of Burdwan after leaving school.

7. *Extent to which female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted.*

All those who have replied to this question (with the exception of Babus Shib Chunder Deb and Joykissen Mookerjea) agree in saying that there *has been* progress, but the information on this point is not such as would support such a definite and statistical statement of the extent of the progress of female education within the last five years, as would fairly represent the progress that has been made in this respect in each district of Bengal. Some parts of the country, such as the districts of Purneah and Rajmahal, do not yet possess one single school for the education of girls. In Khulna and the district of Burdwan, the progress of female education within the last five years has been most marked. In Khulna specially, about 15 female schools, containing 204 girls, have been established within the last two years only, whilst, there was not a single school for the instruction of females three years before. All the schools in the district of Burdwan, in number 72, and teaching about 1000 girls, have been established within the last five years, and the course of study in the highest classes of these schools is much the same as that which, so late as 1864, formed the highest

courses of study in the schools in the district of Howrah. It is also said in one reply, that whatever progress female education has made in the district of Backerganj, has been made within the last two or three years. In Cooch Behar, Bhagalpur and Noakhali, female education has just commenced. There is only one female school in each of these three places. The course of study in the Noakhali school is, however, far in advance of that in the Bhagalpur school being exactly the highest course of the schools in the district of Howrah four years ago. This is something very noteworthy, considering that the Noakhali school has been in existence only for the last six months. In Orissa, the progress of female education has been hitherto confined to Balasore, Jellasore, and Cuttuck and its neighbourhood. The course of study is nowhere other than elementary. In some of these Orissa schools, such as that mentioned by Miss Crawford, the number of female pupils is at present six times what it was five years ago. But, in taking this fact, it must be remembered that Miss Crawford's school is one intended for helpless orphan girls, and that, as such, the number of its pupils is more liable to sudden increase in times of distress than the number of pupils in a school which is not, like it, a sort of relief school for the poor. Mr. Raban, writing from Puri, says :— "It is thought that the increase of schools, by limiting home teaching, has diminished the number of girls taught." In the Howrah division, within the last five years, the number of female scholars has not increased in the same ratio as the nature of instruction. The course of reading five years back, in the highest classes of the schools in this division, was that which at present is perhaps the course of study in the third or fourth classes of those very schools. It would appear from Miss Britton's reply that the increase of female education within the last five years, in Calcutta and its immediate suburbs, has been about tenfold. We may here usefully translate the answer returned to this question by the Pundit of the Bow Bazar Hindu Girls' School :— "When, about five years ago, for some purposes relating to the *Shome Prakash*, I travelled over the whole of Bengal, I visited many boys' and many girls' schools. At that time I did not find so many female schools in the vicinity

of the 24 Parganas, especially to the south of the Sonapore station on the Mullah Railway line, as I found in zillas Hooghly, Burdwan, and Nadia, and in Dacca and other eastern districts. But, at present in that part of the country, and especially in Calcutta, many female schools have been established, and it would seem that the number of female scholars in these places is now-a-days greater than it was five years before."

In respect of progress in female education, the S. E. Division of Bengal stands next after the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan. Mr. Clarke, the Inspector, however, speaks of this division in these words :— "Female education is considered to have hardly perceptibly increased in the last five years in this district. The number of pupils has increased, but the nature of the instruction imparted remains as it was."

The following is the remark of Babu Joykissen Mookerjea :—

"The number of girls that can read and write is more numerous now than five or six years ago ; but this little knowledge has not made them more useful members of society."

Newspapers like the *Bamabodhini Patrika* and *Abodhabandhu* have done a good deal to encourage self-instruction.

8. *Comparative merits of zenana and of school education.*

The preference expressed for zenana education has been almost unanimous ; but Lieutenant Colonel Rowlatt, speaking of Cooch Behar and the Western Dooars, says :— "I think that zenana education is best adapted for the upper classes, and those who can afford to pay a governess, but amongst villagers it is evident that schools must be established, as being a less expensive mode of education."

9. *Hindrances to female education, arising from social difficulties generally, and from the Hindu family system in particular.*

The instruction of females in the family house is attended with many difficulties. In the first place, there is the strong prejudice of the elderly women against female education, and

their unwillingness to allow the girls of their families to read and write, possibly to the neglect of the household work. In the second place, young married women, charged with the nursing of their children, and with the performance of domestic duties from morning up to a very late hour in the evening, would scarcely find time for study. In the third place, the opinions of a Hindu family, condemning as they do, all intercourse between the young wife and her husband during the day, are a great hindrance to female education.

10. *Normal Schools.*

Normal schools are considered by all to be a great desideratum. It is, however, marked by Babu Rashbehari Bose, Deputy Magistrate of Khulna, and by Babu Madhab Chunder Shurma, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Howrah Division, that women of respectable Hindu families will hardly be inclined to go to normal schools. The latter makes the following observations as pointing to the necessity of exercising great caution in selecting women who are to be trained as teachers :— "No young woman of a respectable Hindu family, who strictly adheres to the Hindu religion, will enter a normal school. Lower class females are not women of good character ; and if, after receiving a limited education, they become mistresses, they will prove injurious to society, instead of doing any good to it."

Mr. Clarke, the Inspector, and Mr. Levien, Officiating Collector of Dacca, speak unfavourably of the Dacca Female Normal School. Mr. Levien says of the female teachers sent out by it that, although they take Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 each per month, they are not quite equal as teachers to ordinary *gurus* on Rs. 6.

Mr. Price, Officiating Collector of Mymensingh, says :— "If an attempt were made to establish a female normal school in Calcutta, a good many Native Christian females, Brahminis of the progressive party, and widows of respectable family, would, it is presumed, be found willing to attend, and thus a good result might issue."

11. *The selection of female teachers, whether widows or married women should be preferred.*

This question has been answered with reference to two of the most indispensable requisites in an efficient female teacher —a reputation for good moral character, and the possession of a sufficient amount of time. If the question of preference were decided with reference to the first, which is at the same time the more important of these two requisites, married women would, in the opinion of the majority of those who have returned answers to this question, find preference over widows. If, on the contrary, selections were made with a view of getting teachers least liable to be interrupted in the performance of their duties, and having much time at their command, widows would, in the opinion of some of our correspondents, be preferrable to married women. It is thought by some, that widows belonging to good families and above the age of 40 or 50, and therefore past the age of scandal, should be employed as teachers; but "a respectable widow," says Mr. Bainbridge, "untrammelled by house duties, is comparatively a rarily." Mr. Woodrow also adds that a widow, sufficiently enlightened to become a teacher, would not hesitate to remarry.

Lieutenant Colonel Rowlatt is of opinion that widows alone should be trained as teachers ; "for married women", says he, "have generally quite enough to do to look after their own children."

12. *The best means of promoting and extending female education.*

Want of a sufficient number of female teachers, and the poverty of the resources that are at present available for the working out of schemes of female education, seem to be the chief hindrances to the extension of female education in this country. It is, therefore, recommended by most of our correspondents that female normal schools should be established, and that the teachers thus trained should not only be employed in

female schools, but also sent about from house to house for the education of married girls in the zenana. In order to make female education productive of useful results, it is considered by some that needlework should be most carefully and extensively taught. But we are informed by Babu Rashbehari Bose, that the resources of most female schools in the country do not allow of their entertaining separate mistresses to teach needlework. He is therefore of opinion, that to each circle of female schools there should be attached one or two mistresses paid by Government, who should go about teaching needlework from one school to another within the circle. It is remarked by some that the inability of the generality of the people of this country to spend money upon the education of their girls, and to pay subscriptions in aid of established female schools, is one main reason why female schools do not prosper, and why girls are withdrawn from school sooner than they would otherwise be. Thus, for instance, as long as the scholars in the Kalna schools (we quote from Mr. Bainbridge's reply to question No. 10) were presented with half a pice a day, "these schools were full, but immediately this allowance was stopped, the attendance began to drop off, till the schools were brought down to their present comparatively miserable proportions." For the sake of removing the evils arising from this source, it seems necessary to take the following steps :—

1. The establishment and maintenance by Government of free girl's schools, like the Holliday Model Schools.
2. A relaxation of the Grant-in-aid Rules in favour of schools for girls, and in some cases schools maintained solely by Government.
3. The foundation of scholarships for girls after the example of the Ooterparah (Uttarpara) Hitakary Shava, and the payment of monthly stipends over and above the ordinary reward of prizes.
4. The continuance of the scholarship to the pupil in the zenana after she may have left the public school.

Female schools, besides being thus assisted by Government and provided with scholarships and stipends, ought to be very

carefully looked over ; and Babu Shib Chunder Deb recommends the appointment of Inspectresses for the work of supervision. Mr. Woodrow agrees with him.

Captain B. W. Morton thinks that the distribution, free of charge, of vernacular newspapers devoted to the cause of female education, throughout the country, would assist a good deal in educating the women of Bengal, especially such as cannot afford to pay for their education. Mr. Bainbridge says :—"The means of promoting female education are various ; the male population is the chief *point-d' appui,* and it sems to me we should most effectually further the above object by imparting sound and liberal views to the men, and when they, as a body, appreciate the advantage of female education, and become dispossessed of their narrow views and crude notions, the way will be prepared for the successful establishment of schools, normal schools, and a system of zenana education." This opinion of Mr. Bainbridge has been expressed by many other correspondents. It has been remarked by some that the early marriage of gilrs being one of the chief causes of imperfect female education, some attempts should be made to prevent early marriage. We cannot do better than quote here the following observations on this point made by Mr. Clarke, the Inspector :—"It is suggested that the Hindu members of the Bengal Social Science Association should unite with and enrol with themselves all Hindus who truly sympathise with their objects, and form a banded league, solemnly pledged to one another that no female of their own families should be married before sixteen. It is said that the Hindus are much influenced by the example of those who possess wealth and position, and that such a league would soon have plenty of imitators outside." Mr. Clarke is also of opinion that, if educated natives make it a point not to marry ignorant girls, the cause of female education would be encouraged, as parents would, at least for he sake of getting good bridegrooms, be compelled to educate their daughters.

Mr. Clarke and Mr. Prince concur in thinking that a great stimulus to the education of the females of the wealthy classes

might be given by educating the wives of Government wards, out of the Court of Wards' Funds. These women, on returning to their estates, would, no doubt, exert a happy influence on the cause of female education.

In the discussion which took place upon this question,—

Mr. Woodrow took the opportunity to explain the delay which had occurred in the establishment of the Female Normal School in Calcutta. Miss Carpenter had been asked to select a suitable mistress in England, but as she was then on the point of leaving for this country, she was unable to do so. It was believed, however, that a competent lady would be found before long, and the Normal School would then be opened. Its establishment would doubtless be followed by the establishment of a Branch Normal School at Krishnagar, where the people seemed to be much more forward and anxious for it than in Calcutta. Hindu ladies could doubtless move about more freely in the Muffusil than in Calcutta, and the project should be tried where such facilities exist, and where there would be the least opposition to it. At first the students would probably be only *day scholars*, but in course of time, when mutual confidence shall have been established, we might expect to see them board in the school. Most probably also the first teachers would have to confine themselves to the work of zenana instruction, and in this case it would be necessary to appoint Inspectresses to see that the work is really done for which the State pays. But it would be matter of great delicacy and tact to make arrangements for the first supply of teachers; they must not, of course, be sent out friendless and unprotected into the wide world, but places must be selected where they have friends who will look after and provide for them. The selection of the women intended for teachers must also, at first, be very strict.

Mr. Beverly drew attention to the large number of female teachers shown to be now employed in the Central Division. It seemed that in 155 schools there were no less than 147 female teachers. There were also at least 55 schools in which there were no male teachers.

Mr. Woodrow stated that the large number was apparently to be accounted for by *zenana* system in and around Calcutta, according to which the group of houses under each mistress was called her school. Still the number did seem larger than he should have expected. There were, however, certainly more than 55 schools which had only female teachers.

The Rev. J. Long enquired whether the natives objected the practice of educating girls with boys.

Babu Bankim Chunder Chatterjee replied that there was a very strong prejudice amongst native gentlement on the subject, though he was unable to state precisely on what grounds it was founded.

Babu Sashi Pada Banerjee enquired whether education was to be imparted in the Normal School in Bengali only, or in English and Bengali. He thought it was premature at present to think of such a school being a boarding-school. Hindu fathers would not yet send their boys even to a boarding-school, much less their girls.

Mr. Woodrow replied that the vernacular would of course be made the basis of instruction, but if any of the students showed ability and willingness to learn English, she would not be debarred from doing so. The training would extend over four years. He believed the school would in time become a boarding-school. There were several hundreds of boys in the country boarding at school now.

The Social condition of the Muhammadans of Bengal, and the Remedies. By Rev. J. Long.

(Read on the 21st January, 1869).

Three great waves have swept over this country, which have left a deep impression on the people's manners and social condition; first, the Brahminical, which identified itself with caste and the degradation of the lower orders; then the Buddhist, which proclaimed the great doctrine of social equality, and the rights of the masses to knowledge; the next to the Muhammadan, which has left its mark in the feudal system of the land tenure, the languages of the country, and the immuring of women. The last, the Anglo-Saxon, is, we trust, destined to proclaim the great principle of the social elevation of the people, and no monopoly of knowledge to a favoured few.

Our subject treats of the reflex action of the third wave in the social condition of the Muhammadans of Bengal; but the limit assigned to this paper, and the extensive bearings of the question, restrict us mainly to the issues; for as to the facts, it is evident that all over Bengal the Mussalmans are gradually deteriorating.

The finger of decay appears on all relating to Muhammadanism in India, whether we look at their crumbling palaces or debased social condition; their nobility are vanishing like the old French *noblesse*, while the descendants of the once mighty rulers of the land eke out a miserable pittance, living in the light of other days.

This is not a subject for the mere sentimentalist or the investigation of the antiquary; it involves considerations connected with the peace and social progress of the country, as decay leads to desperation, and those that having nothing to lose are ripe for any revolutionary scheme. When the sons of kings become

beggars as I have seen at Janpur—we can understand what the state of feeling is, keeping alive the fire of envy and hatred. Let us not despise the Mussalmans because they are low and poor; for the history of India shows us a Sakya Muni heading the lower orders in a successful crusade against the Brahmins; and a Govindh forming the Sikhs, chiefly of the lower castes; one of the leaders of the Khalsah troops was a barber, another was a bearer.

Among the difficult problems of the day in relation to India, there is none pressing with more weight on reflecting minds than this very question of the social condition of Mussalmans in India, and specially of Bengal. It is a painful truth that they are sinking in the social scale, and that the new rule adopted of requiring a knowledge of English from all candidates for offices of any importance, is plunging them still lower. Hence, in few Government offices in Bengal are there any respectable Muhammadan officials, but plenty of duftries and peons.

Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen—
Fallen from its high estate.

What are the causes of this state is evident; the Mussalmans have lost the employments they held as conquerors of the empire; they maintain a style of luxury and living quite incompatible with their means; profligacy and depravity exercises a baneful effect. Adalut Khan, Munshi of Fort William College, refers in his lecture on Saadi to this: "The love of luxury has ruined us, and made us unfit to assume the name of a nation,—this has humbled the quickness of our reasoning faculty,—this has degraded us to such a pitch that in education, skill, and bravery we are far inferior to other rising nations of the globe; and this—this only—has made our kings mere puppets in the hands of their designing ministers, and lastly hurled them down from their seats of royalty."

Of the Muhammadans in relation to the English, it may be said that though among them they are not of them,—the Mussal-

man stands alone; though he professes a religion in its main features based on Christianity; though in his love for history and actualities, he has more affinity with the European than the Hindu; though his history is connected with European history, in the annals of Spain, the Crusades of Austria and Turkey. And yet of the social condition of the Muhammadan little is known or even cared for: how can it be? Though the Muhammadans are probably 30,000,000 in India, yet how little is attention in England drawn to their feelings and opinions. At the period of the Indian mutiny there was a painful consciousness of the existence of Muhammadans in India; but since that event the knowledge seems to have evaporated, and we seem to be ignoring, with respect to the Mussalmans, that sound maxim of Tod in his "Rajasthan"—"that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindus who is not familiar with their language, manners, and institutions, and disposed to mix with them upon equal and social terms."

Yet though the Moslems have fallen from their palmy state,—no longer the rulers of the land, and the leaders of India,—yet are they not unworthy of our sympathy; we must regard them as a mighty ruin, as the *debris* left by a vast and overwhelming torrent. We cannot forget the noble reign of the mighty Akbar, a monarch ahead of almost all European monarchs of his day. Though ignorant of them, we must not ignore them,—they are too numerous for that, as Sri Richard Temple stated at a late meeting of our society: "In most parts of India, the Muhammadan races still possessed vitality; the lower orders were still military, while the upper distinguished themselves in politics or literature. Wherever administrative capacity and energy were required, there would Muhammadans be found, now as ever. At Hyderabad, where he (the speaker) had spent the last few months, there were Muhammadan administrators and statesmen, one of whom Sir Salar Jung, had a repute which might justly be source of pride to his Muhammdan compatriots and co-religionists." And our President made remarks in similar strain: "It ought never to be forgotten that the Muhammadan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of

their former power in connection with their present want of social imporance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desirable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the dissatisfaction of the Muhammadans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice."

One great difficulty in dealing with this subject is that to treat it properly, it has to grapple with political questions, which are excluded from our debates ; besides the social elevation and education of the Mussalmans is not a simple question for schoolmasters or political economists ; it has much to do with the stability of civilization in India, with the contentedness of a people grounded on the giving them a due share in the administration of their own country.* We know that the reversal of this policy by the Muhammadans in the days of Aurangzebe so incensed the Hindus as to lead to that formidable Mahratta power which, in its struggle of despair, helped to overthrow the Mogul colossus. Let us not tread in their steps.

While politics then are excludeed from our Society, yet there is one subject which even the parent society does not exclude—peace and international relations. A socially degraded people cannot be a contented one ; they may appear so, but it is only the temporary repose of the volcano—the lull indicative of the approaching hurricane.

A knowledge that could make the Muhammadans acquainted with the power, intelligence, and resources of the English Government, would tend powerfully to tranquillise them. We saw the other side in the mutiny, when, ignorant of all European knowledge, the mutineers thought England was a little island in

*The following resolution was sent on August 19th, 1867, to the local Governments of India :—"The Governor-General in Council is fully alive to the urgent political necessity for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India.

man stands alone; though he professes a religion in its main features based on Christianity; though in his love for history and actualities, he has more affinity with the European than the Hindu; though his history is connected with European history, in the annals of Spain, the Crusades of Austria and Turkey. And yet of the social condition of the Muhammadan little is known or even cared for: how can it be? Though the Muhammadans are probably 30,000,000 in India, yet how little is attention in England drawn to their feelings and opinions. At the period of the Indian mutiny there was a painful consciousness of the existence of Muhammadans in India; but since that event the knowledge seems to have evaporated, and we seem to be ignoring, with respect to the Mussalmans, that sound maxim of Tod in his "Rajasthan"—"that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindus who is not familiar with their language, manners, and institutions, and disposed to mix with them upon equal and social terms."

Yet though the Moslems have fallen from their palmy state,—no longer the rulers of the land, and the leaders of India,—yet are they not unworthy of our sympathy; we must regard them as a mighty ruin, as the *debris* left by a vast and overwhelming torrent. We cannot forget the noble reign of the mighty Akbar, a monarch ahead of almost all European monarchs of his day. Though ignorant of them, we must not ignore them,—they are too numerous for that, as Sri Richard Temple stated at a late meeting of our society: "In most parts of India, the Muhammadan races still possessed vitality; the lower orders were still military, while the upper distinguished themselves in politics or literature. Wherever administrative capacity and energy were required, there would Muhammadans be found, now as ever. At Hyderabad, where he (the speaker) had spent the last few months, there were Muhammadan administrators and statesmen, one of whom Sir Salar Jung, had a repute which might justly be source of pride to his Muhammdan compatriots and co-religionists." And our President made remarks in similar strain: "It ought never to be forgotten that the Muhammadan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of

their former power in connection with their present want of social imporance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desirable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the dissatisfaction of the Muhammadans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice."

One great difficulty in dealing with this subject is that to treat it properly, it has to grapple with political questions, which are excluded from our debates; besides the social elevation and education of the Mussalmans is not a simple question for schoolmasters or political economists; it has much to do with the stability of civilization in India, with the contentedness of a people grounded on the giving them a due share in the administration of their own country.* We know that the reversal of this policy by the Muhammadans in the days of Aurangzebe so incensed the Hindus as to lead to that formidable Mahratta power which, in its struggle of despair, helped to overthrow the Mogul colossus. Let us not tread in their steps.

While politics then are excludeed from our Society, yet there is one subject which even the parent society does not exclude—peace and international relations. A socially degraded people cannot be a contented one; they may appear so, but it is only the temporary repose of the volcano—the lull indicative of the approaching hurricane.

A knowledge that could make the Muhammadans acquainted with the power, intelligence, and resources of the English Government, would tend powerfully to tranquillise them. We saw the other side in the mutiny, when, ignorant of all European knowledge, the mutineers thought England was a little island in

*The following resolution was sent on August 19th, 1867, to the local Governments of India:—"The Governor-General in Council is fully alive to the urgent political necessity for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India.

the ocean, not far from Saugur, and that exhausted of men she was sending women in petticoats (i.e., kilts) to conceal her weakness.

Of course, to some it appears a solution of the present policy to say, "Keep down the Muhammadans by the sword." or as Alfred St. Clare says in the "Uncle Tom" of the American slaves, "Of course they must be kept down steadily, consistently." You cannot repress 30,000,000—a population ten times as numerous as that of Scotland. You cannot oppose the great law, that force without enlightenment is the mother of rebellion. You cannot treat this immense number, equal to the population of France, as Helots or Pariahs. One of the greatest writers of the day has said "There is no sure foundation set on blood."

The Mussalmans of Bengal may be weak and without energy, but they are connected by descent, religion, and trade, and above all, by a common misfortune of being equally under the Kafir yoke, with the hardy races of other parts of India. The Afgans for a long period held possession of Bengal. Any one that will look into the mysteries of the Bara Bazar find there a powerful link—an impulse of common thought which vibrates throughout India : the Bara Bazar chain on one side extends to Hyderabad, on the other to Bokhara. In the mutiny they had frequently information of matters of importance even before the Government. Of late we know the correspondence that has been carried on between Dacca and our north-west frontier by the Ferazis and Wahabis.

We cannot carry out the old policy of *divide et impera*. The rail and other causes are leading natives to see the value of combination, that union is strength, and that on certain questions Hindus and Mussalmans can combine. Even the Hindus feel that the Muhammadans settled in this country they conquered, spent their money there, intermarried with the natives, and admitted them to their privileges.

The Ferazis and Wahabis have, like the Irish, sought to extend their influence abroad through want of home sympathy. As

the Irish looked for intervention in their case from France, Austria, and Spain, so the Wahabis fan the flame in Central Asia and our Afgan frontier. The history of the Ferazis and Wahabis clearly shows that Muhammadalism is not dead, but sleeping.

The Wahabis sprung (sic) from that remarkable association founded in the deserts of Arabia a century ago by Abdul Wahib—a species of Moslem Puritanism which has since spread along the Persian Gulf to India, and even to Bengal.* In Bengal, like other sects, they are chiefly composed of the middle classes—of the sons of tailors, butchers, hide merchants, petty traders, shopkeepers and ryots. There are few of the upper classes belonging to them, excepting the Begum of Bhopal and the Nawab of Tonk.

Two years ago, I spent a week at the Nawab of Mursheedabad's palace. I long before had been deeply interested in the sad state of social degradation of the Muhammadans of Bengal, and the remedies for ameliorating it. I made many enquiries there on the subject, and, at my request, the Dewan of the Nazim summoned a meeting of the gentry of Mursheedabad to talk over the question with me. We had a most intersting meeting, which lasted three hours, and in which the gentlemen made their remarks fully and freely, as I wished them to do. The conclusion I came to were, that there was an immense amount of bitterness and discontent existing owing to the want of a career for Muhamadans. Their fall from political power and the English Government making a book career a test for office had left numbers, poor and pround, without any resources, swelling that torrent of discontent which rolls between Hyderabad, Lucknow, and Bokhara.

They admitted the idleness, and false luxury of many, but they complained seriously that the Government did not give them credit for the time they were obliged to devote to Persian studies : the Bengalees had only two languages to study,—they had three.

---

*For an interesting account of them see "Burkhardt's Travels" and that most valuable work, Palgrave's "Arabia". The expenses of Mr. Palgrave's journey were defrayed by the Emperor Napoleon.

What are the remedies for this unhappy state of things?

I. The foremost step, we believe, must be a sincere attempt to remove that veil which hides the Bengal Moslem world from us. We have pursued in this case what may be called an ostrich policy, in following the well-Known practice of that bird, which, when closely pursued, buries its head in the sand, fancying that by hiding the danger it escapes from it. So in India men have shrunk from that question—What will you do with the Musalmans? They are 30,000,000 in India: they are sinking to the level of a Pariah race,—possessing great physical energy, with minds intensely embittered by their position, and hoping that revolutions may bring them some relief.

II. The collecting and communicating information through the agency of this Society, on all points relating to the social condition of the Muhammadans, the following among others :—

1. The numbers and position of those Musalmans of Pathan or Mogul descent resident in Bengal.
2. The points of difference between Muhammadans and Hindus in social life and morals.
3. The unmbers, education, emoluments, and influence of Mullahs and Kazis.
4. The mutual influence of Musalmans and Hindus on each other.
5. The intercourse kept up between Musalman in Bengal and in other parts of India.
6. The numbers and social position of Arab seamen, Afgan traders and Moguls in Calcutta.
7. The past and present social condition of the Musalmans in Dacca, Mursheedabad, Hooghly, Calcutta, Pandua, Furridpur.

The *Seir Mutakherin,* published last century, throws much light on the social condition of Mursheedabad, and the state of the Muhammadans; it is a second clarendon.

Herklots has written well on the manners and customs of the Musalmans, but chiefly those of South India.

The *Memoirs of Lutfulla*, by Eastwick, are also valuable; his first ideas of Englishmen were that they were a race who had no skin, but a thick membrane covering their bodies, which made them appear white, and whose creed was that the Almighty had a wife and a son. The secrets of Harem life have been unfolded by Mrs *Mir Haseyn*, an English lady married to a Muhammadan. Sir H. Elliot's Works are very valuable as to the past.

We are greatly in need of statistics in reference to the social condition of the Muhammadans in Bengal; one fact is patent—they have degenerated, are degenerating, and will sink to a still lower depth, unless steps are taken to remedy what must be an evil attended with serious consequences. Our social structures in India must not be built on a quicksand. You must not turn numbers of people through rank despair into those mysterious but mischievous beings, wandering fakirs; the mutiny records their influence, so did the days of Aurangzebe, when they amounted to 110,000; *gens octerna in qua nemo nascitur*.

The panics in the mutiny illustrate our ignorance of the Muhammadans, as well as those bazar rumours so mysterious in their origin, but so pernicious and widespread in their effects. Look even at a late scene in the City of Palaces, which boasts so of its civilization, or rather English varnish, the lower class of natives in Calcutta were quite in a panic for several weeks, afraid to cross the plain at night because they believed that several hundred heads were being cut off by Government as an offering to complete Kidderpur Bridge. A tailor told a lady of my acquaintance that he saw seven headless corpses lying in the plain, their heads having been cut off to make this offering.

III. Encouragement must be given to the study of Arabic and Persian amongst Europeans. Sir Frederic Holliday, when Governor of Bengal, remarked on this—"To find Europeans in India acquainted with Arabic is now very difficult. The Government has long ceased to encouragee the acquisition of such knowledge by its servants; and it is with great difficulty that an officer can be found capable of superintending the College. Indeed, when Principal Lees visited England last year, the Government was obliged to entrust the temporary superintendence in

his absence to an officer who had some knowledge of Persian indeed, but did not pretend to any skill in Arabic. And if any accident were to remove the present Principal, I am not acquainted, even by name, with any officer competent by knowledge of Arabic to supply his place."

Are we to maintain the policy pursued towards Ireland, where, when queen Elizabeth founded a University, there were chairs of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc ; and though chairs of Italian, German, and French have been established of late, yet, to the present time, there is not an endowed chair of the Celtic language. See on this subject Mathew Arnold's able Lectures on Celtic Literature.

The Marquis of Wellesley's policy was not such when he founded the College of Fort William, and gave every encouragement to the study of Arabic and Persian by Europeans.

IV. The opposing of excessive centralisation and leaden uniformity so popular in India.

We want, like the French Revolutionists, one dead level for all, ignoring the fact as stated by Mr. Bright in the House of Commons :—

"Be it 50, or 100 years, or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that great country, with its 20 different nations, and its 20 languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire ? I belive such a thing to be utterly impossible."

The great question is—Is India to be regarded as one country to which you can apply one great system of centralization, or is it to be regarded as a collection of nationalities, like Europe, to be treated on the Federal principle ? The former has been applied to the Muhammadans, and hence no regard has been paid to their specialities.*

*M. Guizot, in an excellent article in *LaRevue des Duex Mondes* for the last September—"*La France et le Prusse responsable devant l' Europe*"—makes the following weighty observations : —"Not only is the diversity of race and languages in those organised societies that we call a nation or a state, a fact which from the earliest period has been maintained in history, but this fact has powerfully contributed to the moral and social development of men, and to the progress of general civilization ; it enters evidently into the plans, of Divine Providence."

The Moslems resemble the Celts very much in the tenacity with which they adhere to their ancient character and language; the history of Ireland for five centuries, and of Wales even in the present day, as well as of the Highlands of Scotland, illustrate this. Moore, the historian, remarks of the Irish Celts, as a remarkable result, "that after many successful invasions by foreign tribes, the great bulk of the nation itself—its language, character, and institutions—should have remained so free from change, that even the conquering tribes themselves should have been mingled with the general mass."

No one can win such men without sympathy. It has been remarked of the Irish: "We might as reasonably expect the reflexion of a mirror without an original object to produce it, as gratitude and veneration to discover themselves in the hearts of those who have never been treated with benevolence and condescending sympathy." The policy in Ireland was to ignore the Celtic language, and history tells us, in lines of blood, the result; so little sympathy was there for a race whom Lord Lyndhurst styled aliens in blood, speech, and religion, that the ablest Celtic grammer was published by a German, Zeus, while the enquiries into the Welsh literature were due to Mr. Jones, a peasant. Bedell, an English Bishop in Ireland, was one of the few ecclesiastics who advocated the admission of the Irish nation to the ministry. He was opposed to it on the ground that patronage was the privilege of the conquerors, but, Cassandra-like, he told the rulers of that day that hoodwinking the Irish in ignorance was an ill principle of policy, which would be bitterness in the end. He was only ridiculed for this advice, and in the Irish rebellion of 1641 he was the only Englishman allowed to stay under his own roof.

V. Encouraging the combined study of Persian and English.

We are happy to see a recent change in educational policy, which while pursuing the study of English, recognizes the importance of the vernacular and classical languages of India, and that the aim must be not mere Anglicising, but an enlightened Orientalism.

The gratifying success of Sanskrit studies of late, in connecti with the Calcutta University, affords one of the happiest ome for the future.

Surely, without depreciating the English, the Persian ar Arabic have their claim also, as well as the Sanskrit. They a not only brought into the staple of the Hindustani, the *lingu franca* of India, but they form the key for communication wi the majority of natives in North India and Central Asia.

A fatal mistake has arisen in Bengal from the circumstanc that the Bengalis have such a wonderful power of speaking ar writing in a foreign language, that no Native or European equa them in that except the Russians. Even John Bull himself notoriously deficient in his knowledge of foreign languages, every Frenchman and German can testify. Why then appl this test to all, and specially to a class like the Mussalmans, wh hold it a matter of religious duty to pay attention to the stud of Persian and Arabic?

Are we, for the sake of swelling our lists, and gratifying th pride of pedagogues, to enforce the English Test Act, and thu to violate one of the essential principles on which we hold India— the giving the natives a large share in the administration of thei own country, and thus creating a joint interest with us in th land, identifying their interests with ours?

But filling offices with men like books in breeches is hardl carrying out this plan : we want these, but we require also thos with a better *physique,* not only strong in the brain, but also ir the legs. Physical energy is as necessary as mental. If mer book-cram is to be the test, why not allow Bengalis to compet for the artillery or cavalry ? Just fancy a Bengali B.A. leading a charge of infantry !

Sir Donald McLeod, the able Governor of the Punjab, made the following remarks, in reply to an address of the native nobility of Lahore, on the subject of an Oriental University :—

"The great bulk of our scholars never attain more than a

very superficial knowledge, either of English or of the subjects they study in that language ; while the mental training imparted is, as a general rule, of a purely imitative character, ill calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought.

"It appears indeed evident, that to impart knowledge in a foreign tongue must, of necessity, greatly increase the difficulties of education. In England, where the Latin and Greek languages are considered an essential part of a polite education, all general instruction is conveyed, not in those languages, but in the vernacular of the country ; and it seems difficult to assign a sufficient reason why a different principle should be acted upon here.

"And this brings me to the defect,—which I myself more especially deplore—in the system of instruction at present almost excusively followed, viz, that it has tended, though not intentionally, to alienate from us, in a great measure, the really learned men of your race. Little or nothing has been done to conciliate these, while the literature and science which they most highly value have been virtually ignored. The consequence has been that the men of most cultivated minds amongst our race and yours have remained but too often widely, apart, each being unable either to understand or to appreciate the other. And thus we have virtually lost the aid and co-operation of those classes who, I feel assured, afforded by far the best instruments for creating the literature we desire."

VI. Imparting knowledge to the Muhammadans through the vernacular.

While, then, a knowledge of English is of great value, and deserves every encouragement, still, in the *present* state of the Muhammadan mind, it is not prepared to do what the Bengali does—gain European knowledge entirely through a foreign language : you must therefore *at present,* give it to him through his own vernacular, as is the Lahore University plan, and as the Aligarh Vernacular Society has proposed to the Government. Require a high test of knowledge for office, but let it be given through a vernacular medium.

As the Muhammadan student has, besides English, to study two languages Persian and Bengali, whereas the Bengali has only one, the principle of equivalent should be allowed, viz, his knowledge of Persian should compensate for his inferiority to the Bengali in English pronunciation and composition.

The Lahore University movement is, in this respect, on a broader basis than that of the Calcutta University. One of its objects is to give a high course of English *Knowledge,* but in the vernacular language.

Its objects are thus stated :—

"In the examinations and the tuition of the University, 'the comparative method' will be aimed at, in order to form a link between the languages, literature, and science of the East and the West.

"Urdu and Hindi will be the principal vehicles for *direct instruction* to the masses of people.

"Arabic with Muhammadans and Sanskrit with Hindus will hold that place which the classical languages of Greece and Rome hold towards ourselves.

"English will give the opportunity for comparing their own language, literature, and science with our own, and its tuition will thus be rendered a really invigorating exercise for already prepared minds, not a mere word teaching."

This plan has met with the cordial approval of the Governor-General, who in 1865 subscribed Rs 2,000 per annum to it ; Sir Donald McLeod, Governor of the Punjab, gives Rs 1000 annually ; the Raja of Kashmere subscribed half a lakh to it ; and the torrent swells as it rolls.

The results of this oriental movement are thus stated :—

"1st—The establishment of the Vernacular Literary Society of the Punjab, the Anjuman-i-Punjab, and that of a number of either affiliated or independent societies of the same kind in different parts of the Punjab.

"2nd—The establishment of a Free Public Library and Reading in the City of Lahore.

"3rd—The composition, compilation, and translation of a number of valuable treaties in Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian.

"4th—The presence of over 120 candidates from all parts of the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and even Bengal, at the first Oriental Examination held at Lahore. The examination—a very strict one—was in Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, Gurmukhi, Pukhtu, and Persian ; and although only a very short notice of it was given, and the prizes offered were few and small in value, it attracted a considerable number of candidates.

"5th—The establishment of an Oriental and of an Anglo-Oriental University School, at which more than 500 pupils of all ages attend, and the affiliation to these schools and to the Anjuman of a number of smaller schools.

"6th—The great concession made by Moulvis and Pandits to English education in themselves undergoing or promoting a more critical system of studies."

It is likely to end in the formation of a North-West University.

The feeling is still strong among the Moslems in favour of those languages which in their present depressed state they feel to be a glorious inheritance. Hence even here in Bengal, we have instances of Muhammadans who love this knowledge so for its own sake, as to think nothing of begging their bread to great distances, even to Arabia and Egypt, to study the favourite Arabic. They may be said literally to pursue knowledge even to China. Maulvi Abdool Luteef, in his able paper on the Hooghly Madrassah, has stated the case thus :—

"The fruits of English education will show off to the best advantage, in conjunction with scholarships in the Muhammadan classics.Unless a Muhammadan is a Persian and Arabic scholar, he cannot attain a respectable position in a Muhammadan society ; i.e., he will not be regarded or respected as a scholar : and unless he has such a position, he can have no influence in the Muha-

mmadan cammunity. Consequently, a Muhammadan who has received an English education, and has omitted the study of the Persian and Arabic, is little able to impart the benefits of education to the members of his community : he cannot persuade others into an appreciation of the beneficence of the British rule, and the greatness of the British power."

This is not the occasion to dwell on the great importance of the Arabic and Persian languages and literature, which is acknowledged by the leading scholars of Europe, and which are of such great use for political and commercial objects ; we need not therefore be surprised that the Muhammadans are justly proud of the Arabic and Persian languages, which enshrine so vast an amount of valuable literature, and which are associated with the palmy days of their greatness on the banks of the Guadel Quiver or Euphrates, with the times of Harun ul Rashid or Akbar, with the learned days of Spain, and in fact, with the recollection that their literature preserved civilisation in Europe during the middle ages, forming the golden link between Latin culture and modern progress.

If in every country a foreigner's knowledge of the language is the key to the people's heart, why should the Moslems form an exception. Why should we try to adopt towards them the worst features of Irish policy, the endeavour to confine knowledge to the difficult and distasteful medium of a foreign language ? Do we want to revive the policy of William the Conqueror in England, which made Norman French the language of the camp, the court, the law,—the pathway to all honour and preferment ? Yet in vain—the English mind, after centuries of suffering, rose against it. The Moslems themselves in Bengal made Persian the language of court and business ; yet we know the vernacular has risen against it, and thrown off the incubus as the Spaniards did at a later period, in their own country, though the Muhammadans had for ages imposed the Arabic language on Spain. The truth holds—Nations follow the language of the mother.

VII. While, with a proper regard to native wants, able professors have been imported from Europe for the cultivation of Sanskrit; while we have had a Ballantine, a Griffiths, and a Hall at Benares, a Wilson, a Marshall, and a Cowell in Calcutta, who by their influence have given a great impetus to Sanskrit literature; while, on the other hand, professors for various branches of English literature have been drawn from Europe;—what has been done for Arabic and Persian, though professors of these languages are required not merely for philological studies, but also for historical? Persian, as Sir H. Elliot shows, embodies our best materials for the past history of India, and for throwing light on the line of politics.

The Madrassah in Calcutta, richly endowed by Warren Hastings, has scarcely even had European professors attached to give their entire time to it, a measure absolutely necessary to secure success; and even the College of Mahomed Sing at Hooghly, found with Muhammadan money, has been alienated to the Hindus, and no European professor acquainted with Arabic has ever been connected with it.

Sir Frederick Holliday quotes the following remarks of one of the first European professors appointed to the Madrassah, "that the system of study which was actually in operation led to the encouragement of purely dialectical pursuits, and tended to keep up antiquated prejudices and to give sanction to superstitions condemned even by the Islam. The system is, in fact, precisely the same as the one which was in vogue in Europe during the darkest ages; and it produces the same results. The sophistries of dialectics learned in a sacred language puff up the professors with conceit, render them hostile to everything practical or founded on experience, and extinguish in them the sense of art and beauty, and blunt the sentiment of equity and morality."

But Dr. Sprenger was sent elsewhere, and could not carry out his reforms in the Madrassah.

VIII. Scholarships have been abundantly bestowed on Hindus to enable them to continue their studies; a smilar

encouragement is even more urgently needed for the Muhammadans.

The above are some of the remedies proposed for the present state of things, based on the principle of employing Muhammadans more extensively under Government, and applying a different educational test from that for the Hindus.

There are signs of a move among Muhammadans. The Anglo-Persian class in the Madrassa has been a decided success; many students have matriculated from it at the University; two have obtained the degree of B.A. at the Entrance Examination. This year, of eight candidates sent up from the Madrassa for Matriculation, six were successful.

Medical education through the vernacular has been a success in Calcutta, Agra, and Lahore among the Muhammadans.

The Survey Department has given a scope to Muhammadans. The publication and use of an Arabic grammer in India, compiled by Moulvi Adbullah Al-obydi, Anglo-Arabic Professor in Hooghly College, with the commencement of a series of works on this plan, is a sign of progress. The Moulvi is the author also of an interesting prize essay on the subject of Western and Muhammadan learning on their mutual action and influences on each other.

The foundation of a new literature, called the Musulman-Bengali, shows an awakening of mind among the lower orders.

The Muhammadan Literary Society, in its annual *soire'e*, is a success.

The days of Muhammadan stagnation are, we believe, passing away; there are ripples indicating that the current is in motion; with a supply of European professors of Arabic and Persian, the establishment of scholarships, the co-study of Persian and English and the opening of Government employ to the Muhammadans on the terms of a *special* test, there is every likelihood that a new career may be open to the neglected Moslems of Bengal,—a measure conducive to peace, as well as to the

elevation of an important class of Her Majesty's Indian subjects.
Discussion

Moulvi Abdool Luteef acknowledged the increasing interest which was taken by Europeans in the present day in the unfortunate condition of his co-religionists. For their sympathy and good will, such men as Mr. Long were entitled to the deepest gratitude of the Muhammadan community; and on its behalf he now tendered the lecturer his best thanks. He fully concurred in the view which Mr. Long had taken of the encouragement which should be given to vernacular education among Muhammadans; but he ventured to think that such efforts would not be of much practical use, unless they embraced a scheme for imparting to Muhammadan youth the highest instruction in English science and literature. At present there was no provision for this purpose. He thought, therefore, that all who were interested in the social improvement of his countrymen should unite their exertions in the attempt to establish a strictly Muhammadan institution, in which instructions in the Arabic classics might go hand in hand with the English studies of the University.

Babu Chunder Nath Bose, after thanking Mr. Long for his valuable paper, said that, in considering the social status of the Muhammadans, it was of very great importance to bear in mind the historical changes which that people had undergone. There was a time when the Muhammadans were the greatest power on the face of the earth,—when their empire extended from India on the east to Spain on the west,—when poetry and philosophy were cultivated by them with a high degree of success. But the rise of the Muhammadan power, he observed, was owing to the operation of a strong religious impulse and certain other principles, all of which seemed to him to have spent their force. Historically considered, the Muhammadans were, therefore in the predicament of the descendants of the ancient Romans and of the degenerate Greeks of the present day. He thought that the Muhammadans had passed that manhood which nations, like individuals, can enjoy but once; and he was of opinion that having become in a manner fossilised, the Muhammadans could

not expect any new life to be infused into them. He approved of the suggestions which Mr. Long has made for raising the social status of the Muhammadans, and perceived their excellence in connection with the objects aimed at by the lecturer; but he thought that no very sanguine expectations could be founded upon them. The fact of the Muhammadans being a people scattered over different parts of the earth seemed to him to be worthy of serious consideration, in discussing the question of their social status in the light in which it had been brought forward by Mr. Long.

Dr. Chuckerbutty remarked that the subject discussed by the Rev. Mr. Long was of great importance, and the Muhammadan gentlemen present were better able to express an opinion on it than he himself. He understood that the great point insisted on by the author was, as recommended by Sir Donald McLeod, the establishment of an Oriental University for encouraging, through the medium of the oriental languages, the study of European science, history and literature. So long as the object of study remained the same, it mattered little in what language the education was conducted; surely physical truths taught in the vernaculars of India would not be different from the same truths taught in the English language. He would endeavour to illustrate this in the department of knowledge with that he was most familiar. It is true that the first attempt to give medical education in the vernaculars was a failure. But this was because it was conducted with great nervousness, without human dissection, and in constant dread of hurting the feelings of the Hindus. On the contrary, the attempt to impart medical education in English was a decided success. It was soon found out, however, that the success was limited, and that the English classes could never turn out a sufficient number of practitioners to meet the medical wants of the country. This led to the opening of first an Urdu class, and subsequently of a Bengali class. The progress of these vernacular classes, taught much in the same way as the English class, had been most remarkable. Out of a total of more than six hundred pupils, about five hundred belong to these classes; and out of the total number of successful candidates who

take their diplomas every year, a corresponding proportion comes from the same source. The cost of education per man of vernacular students was, he was afraid to say how much, less than that of the English students ; perhaps not more than one-twenty-fifth to one-fiftieth of the cost in their case. Consequently, in the number of students under instruction, in the number of diploma-holders annually sent forth, as well as in the cheapness of cost, vernacular medical education in Bengal had a decided superiority. And what he had said about Bengal was equally applicable to Madras, Bombay, and Lahore ; and more than applicable to Hyderabad, Agra and Nagpore, in these places medical instruction being entirely confirmed to the vernaculars.

Now what is possible in one department of knowledge is equally possible in its other departments ; and if the Muhammadans preferred to receive instruction through their own vernacular or classical languages, they would be no worse than the Hindus. He could not admit that there was any real difference in vitality or intelligence between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. He denied that Muhammadans were in a fossilised state. Muhammadan workmen were as clever in the mechanical arts as the Hindus. In the learned professions, too, when they freely embraced them, the Muhammadans shone quite as much ; and Salar Jung and others named by the author were universally recognized as able and successful statesmen. If they had the benefit of an English education, they would most probably have enjoyed a still greater reputation. He did not agree with Mr. Long that there was any necessity for an Oriental University. The Calcutta University was good enough for all purposes. It encouraged the study of several languages besides English. Let it extend their number and found classes upon all subjects in every one of them. Then the student could use his option as to language he would learn and take his degree in. Mr. Long did not wish to exclude English from the Oriental University. The whole thing after all was, perhaps, a quibble about a name. It mattered little by what name the University was called, so long as it gave fair play to every language employed by the people, besides the English, which must always hold its place,

and could not be dispensed with. All these languages had their advantages as well as their disadvantages. The vernaculars were as yet poor in scientific and historical works. But let them create the demand, and it will be supplied before long. The vernacular medical classes had the same difficulty to contend against ; but he was happy to say, several good books had been already translated or composed, and if the publication was satisfactory, it commanded a rapid sale and was soon out of the market. The same thing would happen in other departments. The English language was rich in scientific, historical, and literary compositions ; but then it was a foreign language, and could not be acquired by an Indian student without many years' application, and loss of time which many people could ill afford, to say nothing of the expense.

Mr. Beverley agreed with the writer of the paper that any improvement in the social condition of the Muhammadans must be based upon a more liberal employment of the higher classes in Government service. But he doubted whether the encouragement of the study of their vernacular was the most suitable means to this end in Lower Bengal. Mr. Long seemed to have forgotten that the Muhammadan vernacular was not the vernacular of Bengal. Urdu was almost as foreign a language in Bengal as was English ; and when there were so many vernaculars to deal with, as Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Urdu and Hindi, it was no wonder that English had come to be so largely used for purposes of administration in the Lower Provinces. He did not wish to be understood to undervalue a knowledge of the vernacular in the rulers of the country ; but he believed that, under existing circumstances, a knowledge of English was the Muhammadan's surest pathway to office. He had himself been debarred from employing several Muhammadan gentlemen solely in consequence of their ignorance of the English language. They were, no doubt, placed at a disadvantage in this respect as compared with the Hindus ; and he maintained that special facilities ought now to be afforded them for acquiring a knowledge of English in their own schools.

Moulvi Abdool Luteef thought that the reason why the Hindus had outstripped the Muhammadans in obtaining posts under Government was, that while the Hindus had no literature of their own to study, the latter were still under the necessity of cultivating their own language and literature. No Muhammadan gentleman was considered to have received a liberal education who had not studied Arabic and Persian ; but these languages were not taught in the same schools and colleges where English was taught, and thence, arose the difficulty experienced by Muhammadans in the study of English. He did not think that any measures which did not aim at providing facilities for the acquirement of the English language would materially benefit his countrymen.

Moulvi Abdur Rauf made some remarks in Urdu to the same effect.

In bringing the discussion to a close, the President remarked that he had little doubt that Moulvi Abdool Luteef had hit the right mark in accounting for the present relation which the Hindus occupied in regard to the Muhammadans. He thought, however, that the argument had not been carried far enough. Under the early rule of the English, almost all the posts under Government were occupied by Muhammadans ; while, at the present day, the case was exactly the reverse. The reason was that the Hindus had been wise enough, or fortunate enough, to acquire a knowledge of the English language with the advantages which attend it. If the Muhammadan is still so proud and staunch that he will not accept that knowledge without his own literature, he cannot explain of the consequences which result. It was not true that the Hindu had no literature ; he had, perhaps, a finer literature than the Muhammadan. He (Mr. Phear) thought we had not yet truely measured the forces which operated in this matter, or gauged the real causes of the Muhammadan's great repugnance to the English language. They had now, however, he believed, seen their mistake, and were anxious to obtain an English education, if they could. This was doubtless the cardinal point. If they could not free themselves entirely from

the idea that Persian and Arabic are essentials of a liberal education, we probably ought to give them opportunities for studying them side by side with English. In reply to an observation of Moulvi Abdool Luteef, the President admitted that until the rise of the English power in this country, Sanskrit literature was not open to the body of the people in the same way as the Muhammadan classics. But this difference did not really affect the comparison, for the Hindu rivals of the Muhammadans who had beaten them in the race, were at first almost entirely Brahman, and moreover, the mass of the Muhammadans who were displaced were not in any sense men possessed of a liberal education.

Thoughts on the Present Social and Economic Condition of Bengal and its probable Future.

By Babu Chunder Nath Bose, M.A.
(read on the 21st January 1869)

After more than a century of rule, the Government of Bengal has expressed its opinion that it is high time to organise some measures for elevating the material and intellectual condition of the great mass of our countrymen. The avowed object of providing education to the poorest tiller of the soil is to rescue him from an intellectual gloom, and to reclaim him from a moral degradation, the consequences of which, whether we regard him as an individual or as a member of society, are equally deplorable. But it cannot be mistaken that the Government of Bengal expects material advantages of no trifling character to result from the education which it is proposed to give to the ryot. A common intellectual discipline is, in our opinion, the best guarantee and promoter of a community of thought and feeling, and a community of thought and feeling, it cannot be denied, is a social power of vast importance. The condition of the Bengal ryot is, no doubt, one of great misery and hardship; but his proverbial ignorance, keeping him, as it does, wholly unacquainted with better modes of life in his own sphere, and the manner of accomplishing them, makes him a stranger to all healthy aspirations, and is the indirect cause of that want of energy and perseverence which makes our peasantry work in a dull unvaried routine, as if devoid of life and incapable of progress. Knowledge, we are sure, by at once opening and expanding the ryots' vision, will not only awaken in his mind desires for the improvement of his material condition, but also enable him to appreciate the importance of measures calculated to ensure that improvement. An enlightened sense of material suffering will excite mutual sympathy amongst our peasantry, and a constant and extensive interchange of thoughts and feelings, which, when educated, they would be able to maintain amongst themselves,

will raise upon the basis of that sympathy a spirit of combination which, by removing that individual, or rather family; segregation which forms a marked characteristic of agricultural life in Bengal, will effect important changes in the economy of agriculture, and succeed, by the force of a resulting opinion, in establishing satisfactory relations between the agriculturist on the one hand, and the landlord and the capitalist on the other. An intelligent peasantry will not remain satisfied with such rude and primitive implements of husbandry as are at present in use. Perceiving the superior efficacy of European machinery and chemical appliances, and the consequent necessity of farming on a large scale, they will probably form either combinations of small capital, like the peasant proprietors of Norway, or associations of their own for the purpose of making large culturable areas by the consolidation of many petty ones. It is worthy of remark that the causes which at present prevent the formation of such combinations and associations are all of them such as education, co-existing with certain monetary institutions, might succeed in removing. Combinations of capital, supposing the will and opinion necessary to accomplish them to be in existence, are at present impossible, simply because the cultivating ryots of Bengal possess no capital whatever worthy of the name. Advances of capital to the ryot, upon the security of his land, or on the hypothecation of its produce, which are at least in the contemplation of our finance minister, Sir Richard Temple, will rescue the poor cultivators from the clutches of the mahajan, and allow of his making some savings out of the results of his labour; whilst the savings banks, which it is intended to establish in the mofussil, will serve as a place for the accumulation of these savings. But banks and loan companies are institutions which cannot gain the confidence of ignorant and unlettered men, and it is therefore necessary that the Bengal ryot should be educated before banks and loan companies can be thought of as likely instruments for the improvement of his material condition. I have every reason to apprehend, considering the position, legal as well as contractual, of holders of land between the zemindar and the actual cultivator of the soil, that the intermediate land tenure of Bengal will oppose serious obstacles to the working of the loan

or mortgage system, even when the cultivator himself has been, by his increased intelligence, prepared for its acceptance; and I am almost of opinion that Government will, perhaps, find it necessary to exercise its legislative power at least for some years after the establishment of that system. But as the education of the ryot is the most important condition which requires to be fulfilled before even the bare idea of any such legislation can be entertained, I think the British Government has established a lasting claim to the gratitude of Bengal by forming the bold resolution to send the light of knowledge down into the lowest strata of society.

Large farming can be carried on only with large capital; and if, by some such process as has been described above, our peasantry can succeed in forming independent capital of their own, they will have realized one of the essential conditions of large farming. But there will still remain to be created, *firstly*, an opinion in favour of this system of agriculture, and *secondly*, the possibility of getting, in the present circumstances of land tenure in Bengal, farms large enough to render improved methods of tillage practically operative. The absence of any opinion in favour of large farming is owing to the entire ignorance of its existence as an economical fact, and of the advantages it possesses over farming on a small scale. We cannot entertain the slightest doubt that the peasantry of Bengal, if educated, will learn to think otherwise than they have hitherto done of the system of agriculture which they practise, and that the creation of model farms on a large-scale, by making patent to them the inferiority of their own system, will be the cause of a rapid growth of opinion against the existing agricultural economy of Bengal. The proverbial ignorance and unletteredness of the Bengal ryot is a great hindrance to the formation of associations amongst the peasantry, and associations, in the face of the small parcels into which the soil of the country is split up, is indispensable as a measure for calling into existence large unbroken areas of cultivation. Now, the ryot of our time is a very simple fact. The plot of land which he holds is not larger than 2 or 3 acres, and his own labour, assisted by that of his children, is generally sufficient for its

cultivation. As a tiller of the soil, he knows none but his own landlord and the mahajan. This simplicity of position is, in one sense, a necessary result of the ryots' ignorance. The ryot's connection with his landlord brings him into some sort of relationship with the latter—a relationship, which may be more or less definite, and the duties of which he cannot efficiently discharge without some knowledge of its legal meaning. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the ryot to learn to read and write, and to make himself acquainted with the ordinary principles of the law of tenancy, in order to be able to fill his own position of a lessee without any material disadvantage arising out of the better knowledge or information possessed by his landlord. And even if the landlord himself be a person of known good principles, it is not very difficult to imagine that the almost brutish ignorance of the ryot would be the cause of mental timidity and suspiciousness, which must prevent him from making his position legally complicated by combining several leases of different legal characters into one agricultural tenure. But as it is indispensably necessary that some such combination should be made for the purpose of obtaining large culturable areas, so long as the lowest intermediate tenures, whether rent-free or not, retain their present minuteness of form, nothing will seem to be of so much importance in making room for the introduction of some vital change in the agricultural economy of Bengal as the diffusion of education amongst our sunken peasantry. Associations of ryots or small jotedars, for the purpose of combining several small tenures into one large farm, will be also impossible without an educated peasantry; for associations like these, consisting, as they must in many cases do, of ryots with different kinds and degrees of rights and interests, will make the position of every member of such an association as complicated as would be the position of a ryot with a combination of leases such as we have described above. It would not, perhaps, be out of place to surmise, that small bodies of ryots, having capital of their own accumulated through the agency of loan companies and savings banks, will in some future time, convert the entire system of our agriculture into one of large farming, and drive out the putneedar and the whole host of rapacious speculators beneath him as an

economical grievance in the highest degree disgraceful to the increasing civilization of Bengal.

These, in short, are a few of the most important changes which an extensive system of popular education, aided by certain monetary institutions, is likely to accomplish in the agricutural economy of Bengal and in the social status of our peasantry. I cannot but regard the whole question as one of a very complicated nature, and I am inclined to think that, when the question shall come to be practically solved, causes of impediment, which the wisest among us cannot now foresee, will appear in view to add to the difficulties of the solution. There will be, I apprehend, great differences of opinion as to the exact economical changes which popular education will help to produce; and I have every reason to doubt whether the particular views which I have stated above will appear to the discerning public to possess any amount of truth or plausibility. But one thing, it seems to me, can be affirmed with very great certainty, which is, that an uneducated peasantry, aware of the existence of different modes of agriculture, will regard their own system in the light of an obsolete fact, incompatible with their increased intelligence, and inadequate as a *regime* for the realization of a better ideal of agricultural life. A peasantry imbued with such notions will not remain satisfied with a system of agrarian despotism. They will not consent to practise a method of tillage which men adopted in the prehistoric ages of the world. They will constitute an opinion against the existing economy of agriculture, whose force it will be impossible to resist. An improved system of agriculture will be gradually established by the peasantry itself; and the ryot, rising out of that abyss of ignorance and poverty, in which a most fatal supineness seems now to possess all his senses and faculties, will stand erect like an enfranchised slave, and look upon the world around him as a matter of some concernment to himself.

We have then every reason to hope that the education of the ryots of Bengal will be the means not only of their moral and intellectual elevation, but also of their progress in wealth and

social importance. But it is at this moment of time of the utmost consequence to bear in mind that the scheme of education which has been proposed is a scheme intended not only for the actual cultivators of the soil, but also for certain classes of our countrymen who, though not leading an agricultural life, are yet, on account of their listless ignorance and poverty, ill-fitted to take care of their intellectual wants. Weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, and members of the other hereditary professions of Bengal, are almost all of them too poor to be able to defray the expenses of their own education ; and even where pecuniary means are present, there prevails an amount of apathtic ignorance, which exercises a more injurious influence upon the cause of education than poverty itself. Persons standing in this miserable category, composing as they do an integral part of the population of Bengal, influence too materially the destinities of the country by their position and circumstances in life to be excluded from a scheme which has for its avowed object the moral, social, and intellectual elevation of our race. But it has appeared to us, from certain considerations based upon well-ascertained facts and indications of experience, that the mere imparting of education to those classes of our countrymen who, like our weavers and blacksmiths, occupy a social position immediately above the actual cultivators of the soil, would be producive of more evil than good. As the question to which these considerations give rise is, in my opinion, a question of national interest and importance,—as it is, moreover, a question specially fitted, by its grave social bearings, to be brought before an Association like this, I think I shall be justified in entering into its absolute and relative merits with some degree of minuteness.

The most important feature of the system of caste as it exists in Bengal is exclusive allotment of distinct callings to distinct classes of the community ; and this feature, especially in the inferior castes, is so characteristic ; that it may be regarded as the only principle on which a large portion of the population of Bengal was divided into distinct sections. As originally constituted, these castes possessed no right to cultivate learning, for the cultivation of learning itself was regarded as a distinct pro-

fession, which none but the members of a particular class, which claimed it as its exclusive property, were entitled to practice. Ever since the organization of these castes, which without entering into any antiquarian enquiry, can be affirmed to be of a very ancient date, the indigenous trades and arts of Bengal have cotinued to be practised exclusively by exclusive castes, and the exclusiveness of these castes, as well as of the different callings attached to them, have been maintained inviolate by the circumstances of the several castes being of several degrees of social respectability. The weaver is more respectable than the blacksmith, the blacksmith more respectable than the potter, and the potter more respectable than the basket-maker. Each of these castes, moreover, is so complete in itself, as to find even the means for the satisfaction of its spiritual wants reserved to itself as an exclusive appanage of separate existence. Most of the inferior castes have each a priesthood of its own, who can no more perform religious offices for the benefit of a different caste than can the caste itself to which they are attached, practise any calling which has not hereditarily belonged to it.

The picture of castism given above represents a social organisation of the most primitive character, and we accordingly find that the working for limited local purposes is the most prominent characteristic of artisan life in Bengal. The distribution of the produce of the various arts practised in this country is even, at this day, of the most limited character; and, indeed, when we consider that the village system of India is, in its economical aspect, based upon the idea of making every village or community of villages self-sufficient for the supply of the ordinary wants of life, we should be rather surprised to find any very large or active system of internal traffic for the distribution of the products of our homely arts prevailing in Bengal. Speaking somewhat roughly; though by no means with any broad exaggeration, it might be said that every village in Bengal, besides containing a certain number of families of the respectable castes, who belong to no particular profession, and who form by far the majority of its inhabitants, is the dwelling place of those artisan classes which are indispensable to the ordinary every-day-life

purposes of the remainder of the village population. In short, any particular Bengal village bears the same relation of similarity to any other village which any particular farm in any part of the country bears to any other farm in any other part; and not only this, but every village in Bengal may be regarded as representing in miniature a large commercial country like England, where a gentleman residing in the extreme south of Cornwall depends as much upon the cutler of Sheffield and the cloth-maker of Manchester as he does upon the valet who serves him to coffee, and the coachman who drives him to his county town. Now this village system, or rather village segregation, cannot, it is easy to see, render the artisan classes of Bengal exclusively dependent upon the resources of their professional industry for the supply of the varied wants of life. For, as internal traffic is almost unknown, the Bengal artisan can take advantage of but a very limited local area as a market for the commodities he prepares, and a limited market can support only a limited establishment, and yield a limited income. But the difficulties of maintenance arising out of the scantiness of his earnings are increased by the circumstances of the Bengal artisan being the *Karta,* and therefore, the only hope of a large joint family. It is true that the women and children of certain artisan classes assist the head of the family in his professional work; but, besides the fact that the assistance thus given is not only not very material, but often very irregular in its character, this cannot be said of by far the majority of the artisan classes existing in Bengal, nor with the same degree of applicability to all of them. The economical deficiencies of the various indigenous arts of Bengal, as so many means for the support of animal life, have, from a very olden time, rendered it necessary for the artisans to supplement the earnings of his hereditary labour by the produce of a more or less extensive cultivation of the soil; and this is the chief reason why an artisan, be he a bricklayer, a blacksmith, or a weaver, living solely and exclusively upon the resources of his own peculiar art, is so rare a spectacle in Bengal. The archaic simplicity of Bengal village life, its entire ignorance of luxury, and its indifference for commodities which in the least civilized country of Europe would be regarded as necessary com-

forts, have not only prevented the material wants of our countrymen from attaining any degree of refinement, but also confined them within very narrow numerical limits. And this circumstance, it is worthy of remark, has had, along with certain other causes, a large share of influence in keeping our national arts not only in a form of primitive rudeness, but also subservient to the village system and caste organisation of Bengal. It might be argued on a well known principle of political economy, that the paucity and simplicity of the material wants of Bengal cannot be considered as any sufficient cause of the poorness and limited extent of our indigenous arts, since a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour. Now, although it is true that the artisans of Bengal might, by preparing new and tasteful articles, have created an extended market for themselves, and enlarged the sphere of their labour, still, in considering the applicability of this politico-economical doctrine to the circumstances of our country, it is of the highest importance to bear in mind that the introduction of new arts, or the preparation of new articles of luxury and convenience, requires, as a preliminary condition, an educated artisan class acquainted with the many diversities of art and with the truths of theoretical and practical science. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the almost cerberean gloom of ignorance which has hitherto brooded over our unfortunate country, and which has received a substantial signification in our simple stereotyped wants and wishes, has helped very materially in keeping our arts in a state of disgraceful rudeness. It behoves us also to consider in this place that the imperfection of our arts is owing also to the absence of any strong motive or necessity for improving them—an absence which, in my opinion, is traceable to that ignorant supineness which centuries of a comparatively painless life, half-agricultural and half-manufacturing, devoid of political stimulus, and undisturbed by the influence of a foreign civilization, have rendered a fixed feature of the Bengal village character. Finally, the mode of life--half-agricultural and half-amnufacturing—which prevails amongst the artisan classes of Bengal, however accordant with our indigenous civilization, is yet, as has been shown before, only a sort of compromise between life and death, and, as such, it is highly un-

favourable to the growth of what might be called a substantial commonalty.

Such, in short, is the character and position of the artisan classes of Bengal whose number, according to an estimate (vide *Indian Daily News,* 2nd September 1868—Letter on Popular Education by Babu Rajendra Lal Mitra) lately made by a highly educated and experienced Native gentleman, might with some approximation to the truth, be fixed at one-eights of the entire population, both male and female. Now the establishment of the English rule in India and the influence of the English nation, as the representative of a typical form of civilization, have called into existence two social phenomena of vast importance in their bearings upon the condition and material prospects of the whole population of Bengal, with the exception of what has been called the *upper ten thousand*. In the first place, the extensive commercial intercourse which now exists between England and India has introduced into this country, all the refined and exquisite products of British manufacture. English broad cloth, English linen cloth, English woollen cloth, the flashing knife. the gleaming razor, the glittering scissors, all of them engraven with the names of the manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester, are now to be seen in the poorest shop of the poorest village in Bengal, and each, with a refined and revolutionary idea attached to it. The blotting paper has displaced the little bag of sand and lime—that indigenous soaker of ink. The fragrant and vari-coloured soap has usurped the place of *khole* and *shuffeda*. High-heeled boots reaching up to the knee have excommunicated the *chuttee,* the national covering of the leg. The earthen plate of China. the electro-plate of Germany, the glass-plate of France, have all conspired against the *thal,* the *rekabee,* and the *deepa* of the brazier. The slate-maker has issued a bull of interdiction against the palm-leaf of India. The chair has ousted the *chatta,* the mat, and the *mora.* The pharmacy of England has thrown into discount the mysterious art of the *kobeeraj*. In short, that glorious triumph of British art and skill which, as Lord Macaulay said in the House of Commons in the year 1833, should be the true object of England's connec-

tion with India, seems in one sense to be well nigh its accomplishment in Bengal. But although well for England, it still remains to be seen whether or not our commerce with that country has affected the condition of a large portion of the population of Bengal. The increasing use of articles of European manufacture has thrown into the background the indigeneous arts of this country, and contributed in various ways to render the earnings of our artisans much less inadequate to the purposes of maintenance than they were, say 20 years ago. It is true that our commerce with England, which is virtually a commerce with the whole of the civilized world, has opened many a new field of labour, and that a large number of persons who, it will perhaps be said, might otherwise have been left to the chances of starvation, have found sufficiently remunerative employment. But, besides the fallacy which is involved in the opinion that but for the commercial requirements of India, an extensive population would have remained without any employment whatever —a fallacy which is contained in the proposition that a demand for commodities is a demand for labour—there is, considering the natural capacities and resources of India, that still doubtful question, whether the non-agricultural community of Bengal, who form no inconsiderable portion of its entire population, can derive any such benefits from our commerce with England as constitute the peculiar merit and distinguishing feature of that economical phenomenon called commerce or international exchange. Most of the articles which India sends out to England are the immediate produce of the soil, and are, therefore, the exclusive results of agricultural labour. It is, therefore, the agricultural population of Bengal who have found in our commerce with England a market for the produce of their labour far more extensive than that which they could command previous to the commencement of our relationship with the latter country, and it is also they who have derived most benefit from our foreign commerce. There are, indeed, some rude manufacturers included in the Indian exports: but it would not be very incorrect to say that more than 75 per cent of the indigenous arts of Bengal are unrepresented in our commerce with England. And this fact, it may be said, fully justifies the remark that our

artisans, regarded as a body of labourers for the great market of the world, are wholly unproductive. But unproductive labour —labour which contributes nothing to the commerce of the world—cannot receive the *entire* benefit of that commerce viewed in the light of a body of international exchanges. Supposing a Bengal weaver to possess a capital of Rs. 1000, it is easy to see that, if the production of cloth for his own country requires only a capital of Rs. 500, the remaining Rs. 500 will be absolutely useless, and therefore incapable of yielding any profit to him. But, if he were allowed to prepare cloth also for some foreign country, the whole of his capital might find profitable investment. I have remarked above that our artisans are commercially unproductive, and I should not, after what I have said regarding the influence which has already made itself manifest of the products of European manufacture of the state of the indigenous arts of Bengal, hesitate to affirm that our artisans are fast approaching the same category in their position as labourers for their own country. It will sufficiently appear from the sequel, that there are at present powerful causes at work to render a constantly increasing number of men of the artisan classes wholly unproductive, in the larger as well as in the restricted sense of the term. Those who have been affected by these latter causes can, it is manifest, consume the products of European art only for the sake of an increasing impoverishment. But to take the case of those who are still engaged in the work of production, it is extremely questionable, and it is well worth our inquiry, whether the agriculturist and the artisan of Bengal have derived any *absolute commercial* benefit by consuming, for instance, the cloth which is manufactured by England. For, reasoning on the principles of the theory of commerce, it might be urged with very great force that English cloth, although cheaper than the cloth of indigenous manufacture, cannot be regarded as an economical advantage to Bengal, if Bengal, with the aid of European learning and machinery, can produce cloth equal to that of England at a less cost than is incurred by the latter in its manufacture. And the probability of such a result will be manifest from the obvious consideration—which is only one out of many—that the prolific soil of India, forming as it were an

epitome of the whole vegetable world, is rich in those raw materials of manufacture which England cannot procure without an extensive expenditure of capital. If, then, India is to be governed for the benefit of India alone, if the triumph of European science and art is to be the object of England's connection with India, it is, I think, the bounden duty of England to establish in India those manufactures the advantages of which, in a commercial point of view, are at present reaped by England alone.

In spite of what I have here said, it cannot be denied that our relation with England has been of immense advantage to us. The cloth which is prepared by the Bengal weaver is much more costly than the cloth which we get from England, and, so far at least as this single commodity is conerned, it must be acknowledged that England has been a source of positive benefit to our country. Bengal might benefit herself in a far higher degree by preparing with her own labour, but with the aid of British machinery, the same cloth which England now manufactures for her ; but so long as she refrains from doing this, the English manufacturer must be regarded as a blessing to a considerable portion of her population. But it is of the highest social and political importance to bear in mind, that the large body of Bengal artisans, who have hardly anything to spare after defraying the cost of bare subsistence, can offer nothing in exchange for the exquisite products of European manufacture, and that, therefore, these products, if purchased at all, must be purchased only for an increasing impoverishment, or, if not purchased, must be to our artisans a cause of chronic discontentedness with their own condition and with English rule in India. It is not so much any actual social status as the disadvantageous light in which it appears when placed in immediate contrast with a better but unattainable status, which constitutes a source not only of personal discontent, but also of political disaffection. England has not so much to fear from the ignorance of the great mass of her Indian subjects as from that widespread dissatisfaction which has been caused by the presence of her own civilization—a presence at once most mortifying and humiliating to the primitive ideas of the country.

It is clear from these statements that it is at least for the interest of a safe governing policy that England should introduce large manufactures into Bengal. England need not be afraid of any material decrease of the income which she annually derives from her commerce with India, for India, as a manufacturing country, will not displace her as the great distributor of the world's riches to all the nations of the earth. And even if any such decrease did actually result from the establishment of manufactures in India, England must remember that the decrease would be, to a considerable degree, made up for by that increased prosperity which the Government of India as a taxing authority might, with a wealthier population subject to its sway, be able to acquire. All such views apart, England ought to bear in mind that, as the voluntary, self-created guardian of India, she cannot, in good conscience, make any other use of India than to supply such of her own wants as can be supplied from the resources of India in a manner which should be least expensive to this latter country. But there are other considerations of far less dignity and altitude it is true, but not of inferior importance, which make it appear very clearly that the establishment of large manufactures in Bengal has become a matter of indispensable necessity. These I will state below.

The caste system of Bengal has violated one of its essential traditional prejudices by cultivating literature and science. I have said before that the inferior castes of Bengal have never thought the pursuit of knowledge to be any part of the privileges allowed to them by the authority which called them into existence ; and I will now add that, till very recently, these castes did not in any material degree violate the spirit of the order which prohibited to them the cultivation of learning and the study of the *shasters*. The Anglo-Vernacular system of instruction, aided by the grants-in-aid method, has, however, opened a new era in the history of education in Bengal. The situation of schools for elementary training all over the country, at convenient distances from each other, and the opportunity which exists at present of receiving education in these schools at a cheap rate, have induced the inferior castes of Bengal to provide their chil-

dren with some amount of knowledge or other. It is, however, of the gravest importance to bear in mind that the motive which is uppermost in the mind of Bengal artisan in sending his children to school is not that they should be enlightened in their understanding and improved in their morals, but that their education should enable them, by engaging in lucrative services, to discharge those heavy duties of family maintenance, which the rapidly declining profits of his hereditary labour make it day after day more and more difficult of performance. How far the hopes of the artisan are realised, seems to me to be extremely questionable : but the mere fact of his forming these hopes must be taken to be highly significant and suggestive. The number of boys of the artisan class of Bengal, who have received an education more or less advanced, is very large, and the extension of the grant-in-aid system, together with the allurement of university distinctions are year after year giving considerable accessions to that number.

Now it cannot happen that all our artisan boys should be able to carry their education beyond that which is receivable in the Anglo-Vernacular schools, neither that all those who have the good fortune to enter the university should succeed in getting admittance into any of the learned professions of law and medicine. And, indeed, it may be affirmed, without any fear of contradiction, that the number of such members of the artisan classes as untimately become practisers of law and medicine cannot be even so much as 2 per cent of the entire number of artisan boys receiving education in Bengal. But as one-fiftieth in a hundred is a proportion too small to constitute any appreciable result, I may justly say that the entire number of artisan boys who have received any amount of education are at present candidates for service, or, which is the same thing for admission into the well-known *keraneedom* of Bengal. I say they are candidates for service, simply because educated boys of the artisan classes feel, for certain reasons which will be stated hereafter, very great repugnance to practise the hereditary callings of their forefathers. But service is now so difficult to obtain, that it may be considered a very fortunate circumstance if 100 out of every 1000

persons find employment in any given year. Nor, if the field of service were large enough to embrace the entire number of those who are desirous of entering it, would that be, in any elevated sense of the term, a happy state of things for Bengal. The discipline to which a *keranee* is subjected is of the most degrading nature. It suppresses all intellectual activity besides that, if activity it can be called, which is implied by a most mechanical method of keeping journals and ledgers, and by a most empirical system of computation. It stifles or expels from the mind all that curiosity which is the most powerful cause of our progress in knowledge and wisdom. It makes a man a mere machine, or a slave, devoid of all sense of honour, of all nobility of thought and feeling.

Men formed and fashioned by a discipline like this can do no good to their country, and might well be considered as civilly dead for the purposes of civilisation and economical progress. There must be in every country, a certain number of men doomed to undergo such a discipline, but it is highly undesirable that England, by preparing for us every commodity we require, should leave to our countrymen no other alternative than that of becoming *keranees* in her mercantile offices. But to take things as they are at present. The vast majority of boys of the artisan classes who cannot get admittance into any kind of service, and who would not, for anything which you might offer them, be induced to take up their hereditary professions, pass their lives in idleness, contract vices of the most degrading character, and aggravate the miseries of their already destitute families. Thus, by becoming educated, they find themselves not only incapable of rendering that little assistance to their nearest relatives which the pursuit of their hereditary callings might have placed within their power, but also wretched victims of all those demoralising influences which force men to lead a life of criminality and penal suffering. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that a large part of the drunkenness and debauchery prevailing in Calcutta and the moffusil represents the debasement of a section of the population who, but for their untimely education would at least have led a life of innocent and sober indigence.

The difficulty met by the educated boys of the artisan classes in finding employment as clerks and sircars is vastly increased by that unlimited competition for service which has been called into existence by those educated members of the higher Hindu castes, whom the different schools and colleges of Bengal turn out upon our over-stocked market of labour in bands of thousands every year. A reference to the minutes of the Calcutta University will suffice to give us an idea, however rough in itself, of the extent of that demand for service which failure at the different university examinations creates every year in Bengal. Now, the circumstances in life of by far the great majority of our countrymen are such, that they find it hard in almost fifty cases in a hundred to allow the education of their children to be carried beyond the highest course of study in the best Anglo-Vernacular schools. The number of those whose education is finished at school must be, therefore, added to the number of those who fall off at the different stages of university life ; and the two together, it is not difficult to imagine, will constitute an amount of demand for service much too formidable in the present state of the labour market in Bengal. The rapidly increasing number of Anglo-Vernacular schools, and the growing popularity of the Calcutta University are year after year bringing a larger and larger number of persons within the influence of education ; and this constantly increasing number of educated men, belonging as they do to *all* classes of the Bengali nation, signifies, in the state of idleness to which, as I have shown above, the majority of our educated youth are condemned at present, an increasing national profligacy, viciousness and criminality. Even the Brahminical class—the hereditary priesthood of Bengal—have forsaken the office which old Manu had assigned to them, and imbibing the ideas of a species of civilisation, the most hostile possible to that of which they themselves are the most characteristic symbol, are swelling the tide of idle extravagance and penurious licentiousness.

The causes which, in our opinion, have rendered unpopular the native arts of Bengal, are three in number. In the first place, the introduction into the country of the products of European

manufacture has, as I have already shown, curtailed the use of the products of our indigenous arts, and thereby lessened their remunerative power. But even if it were assumed that the use of the native products has remained unaffected, still it would not be very difficult to prove that the pecuniary value of our arts has suffered some diminution. For, although it is true that the various articles of food have risen in price, yet, as the wages of labour do not form the only element of the cost of production, and cannot, from the circumstance of their money value not having increased in the same ratio in which the price of food has increased, be considered as *real* wages, it is only fair to expect that the native arts cannot possibly have retained the same *real* value which they bore when food had not risen in price. But leaving aside all politico-economical considerations, nothing, I am inclined to think, can be a better proof of the diminished productiveness of the indigenous arts of Bengal than the opinion which is growing amongst our artisan classes in favour of English education as the only passport to *service*. Again, supposing the profits of our arts to have remained unaltered, still it would follow from what we have said regarding the nature and extent of the market which any particular art can command, that the profits derivable from it can barely serve the purposes of a very rigid mode of living. But educated men, acquainted with better states of life, and naturally ambitious of using the exquisite products of European manufacture, cannot be reconciled to a position which, like that of the Bengal artisan, is almost a stranger to the fine commodities which England brings to India. In the second place, it is of the highest importance, in considering the increasing disfavour into which our arts are falling, to bear in mind that the Bengali nation is a hierarchy of castes of different degrees of social respectability. This circumstance renders the callings attached to our inferior castes contemptible in the eyes of those who belong to the superior Hindu castes, and the practice itself of those callings a mark of social inferiority which makes itself painfully felt in the higher circles of Hindu society. The *educated* youth of the artisan class, who feels himself ashamed of a birth which exposes him to the contempt and derision of all the respectable castes

of his country, naturally turns away from the pursuit of a calling which would not only remind him constantly of his social humiliation, but would also, by excluding him from that enlightened society which he has learnt to regard as a privilege of his education, aggravate the painful feeling of mortification with which he contemplates his position. Thirdly, the almost primitive rudeness of our arts is of itself a sufficient cause of the neglect into which they are falling. In only a few of the arts practised in this country is the artisan required to exercise any amount of intelligence. The education which constitutes a Bengal artisan is of the simplest character, and consists mainly of an empirical discipline of the body. The instruments with which he works are of the rudest discriptions, and bear no scientific value whatever. Division of labour there is none, and the most menial act necessary to be done in the course of his work must be done by the artisan himself. An educated mind cannot reconcile to itself a position which lasts only through ignorance and barbarism. A man whose intelligence is developed, in however slight a degree, if compelled to work like the Bengal artisan, would regard his life as one of penal servitude. He would very naturally consider his education wasted and his ideas insulted. If, therefore, the educated members of the artisan classes of Bengal have abandoned the callings of their forefathers, they have done only what any other man placed in their predicament would do.

It is clear from the foregoing considerations that education has exercised the largest amount of influence in throwing our national arts into a state of decline; and as the decline of the arts has been the immediate cause of that increasing pauperism, profligacy and criminality, which we have described above, it is only just to connect these latter effects with the diffusion of education.

It is now time to consider that although the products of European manufacture have, to a certain extent, displaced the creations of our native artisans there yet remains a wide field for the practice of the indigenous arts of Bengal. The demand for

the products of our national arts is yet sufficient to give employment to a large section of the population, and to enable them to make a livelihood which, however devoid of every feature of comfort and luxury, will at least keep them within the limits of social order and moral sobriety. For in estimating the truth of this latter remark, it is only necessary for us to bear in mind that the life of the Bengal artisan has a basis of simple ignorance and self-edifying honesty, and withal favours a quietism of conduct which serves as a spell against all extravagant and disorderly indulgences. But when we consider how education has already influenced the thought and character of a portion of the men born of the artisan classes, we cannot but entertain the suspicion that the scheme of popular education, which has been proposed, and which, we have every reason to think, is very near its enforcement, will operate much to the prejudice of that still large number of artisan boys whose ideas and social habits are yet of an antique cast.

I do not mean to say that education is a bad thing in itself, or that the ignorance of the artisan and the economy of the arts he practises are features of a form of civilisation whose continuance is desirable as an absolute fact. But being as I am of opinion that any shock given to an established system, when a new and a better system is not ready to supply its place generally attended with the most dreadful consequences to society, I am inclined to think that until a better mode of life has been found out for the artisans of Bengal, popular education, which has a known revolutionary tendency, will only be an element of social and economical disturbance. But the diffusion of education has rendered the adoption of a new system of life necessary not only for the artisan classes of Bengal, but also for a very large number of persons of the higher Hindu castes—a number which is increasing every year almost in a geometrical progression. Bengali life, it is worthy of remark, before it received the ideas and influences of a foreign civilization, was essentially agricultural in its character. Almost all Hindu families had agricultural establishments, which varied in extent according to their own varied demands. But that was a life of primitive simpli-

city, and educated Bengal has learnt to despise it. Archaic village life has thus given way to a life of visionary prosperity, but of real wretchedness, indigence and depravity. It would not be talking the language of the nineteenth century to say, that the exigencies of material living will drive back our educated countrymen upon the mode of life led by their remote ancestors. Agriculture is a noble art no doubt, but it is, by no means, the noblest of arts; and he must be considered as the sworn foe of our race who should say that enlightened Bengal might well be made a nation of husbandmen. But, if ever the educated Bengali be forced to lead an agricultural life, he will think ill of that British nation which, after instructing his intelligence and causing him to cherish noble aspirations, should have left him to follow an occupation where he would find his intelligence as a grievance, and his aspiration as the cruel invention of a spirit of mockery in the dominant race intended to torment his mind. Civilized Bengal will thus become a nursery of personal discontent and a stronghold of political disaffection.

I am, therefore, inclined to think that the same considerations of policy which have led the Government of India to regard popular education as a growing necessity of the age, apply with still greater force to the present economical circumstances of the country. I cannot suggest a better remedy for the economical shortcomings of Bengal than the establishment of large manufactures embodying all those principles of art and science on which they are conducted in Europe. Such manufactures will give employment to every grade of mind in the nation, and make the economical life of Bengal a material counterpart of its intellectual development. They will, by their unlimited extent, supply the entire nation with useful occupations, whose influence on moral character and conduct of our educated countrymen would be most invaluable. They will render a vast system of popular education not only desirable as a civilized institution, but also necessary as a condition of a economical labour. They will rouse Bengal from the state of lethargic indifference in which she has been lying for centuries, and impress our nation with the conviction that life may be made more real, more full of

duties and responsibilities, more full of healthy intelligent activity than they have yet known it to be. They will infuse into the national mind of Bengal a vitality, a sense of civic dignity and independence, such as above, in the absence of political freedom; can lead a vast people on into the path of virtue and greatness.

Want of proper fuel will, probably, be considered as a serious impediment in the way of establishing large manufactures in Bengal. But the experience of certain small manufactories, worked by means of the Raneegunje coal, might induce us to think that our coal can be used for manufacturing purposes. I think I am right in stating that only such coal as contains more than 5 per cent of sulphur is useless in manufacture ; and it has been found in analysis that our coal is not of this description. The following extract from Dr. O'Shaughnessy's Bengal Dispensatory and Pharmacopoeia shows that there are means by which coal, whether English or not, may be made fit for manufacturing use :—"Coke is coal previously heated to redness and freed from all its volatile matters. It consists of carbon and earthly matters alone. The heat it produces is very intense and uniform. Being free from volatile matters, it burns without flame. Coke is much used in furnace operations in the arts."* But supposing that the Bengal coal is not fitted for economical consumption, it will still remain to be seen whether coal might not, if not with any positive advantage, at least without any sensible loss, be brought from England. ,Equal weights of coal and cotton, or of coal and jute, are very nearly equal in bulk, and *prima facie* it could be said that the cost of bringing coal would not greatly exceed that of sending out cotton or jute. Besides, the exportation of cotton is attendent with certain charges, such as gunny cloth, brokerage, godown rents, both here and in England, and the cost of screwing, from which importation of coal would be entirely free ; and the circumstance must argue greatly in favour of the view I am here advocating. I may venture to affirm that the charges just enumerated, excepting godown rent in England, amount very nearly to Rs. 1-13 annas for every

* Bengal Dispensatory and Pharmacopoeia p. 31.

maund of cotton. Moreover, it is well worthy of consideration that, in allowing England to manufacture for us, we have to pay the cost of sending cotton and the cost of bringing it back in the shape of cloth, whilst if we manufactured for ourselves, we should have to pay only the single cost of bringing coal, and that the latter might, in all probability, be at least equal to, if not less than, the other two collectively.

The failure of certain manufactures set up in India was owing, I believe, to the employment of European labour, which is far more costly than native service, and, what is more to the point, much more expensive than manufacturing labour in England. But whether it was so or not, it must be apparent to all that the substitution of native labour would be a source of economy, which might form another means of counteracting any inconvenience which may be found to connect itself with the importation of English coal. But even if any disadvantage remained after making all this comparison, it would behove us to consider that, without manufactures in Bengal, the mental and bodily powers of a very large number of our countrymen—powers that ought to be regarded as wealth more real than gold or silver—would be either wasted in idleness, or frittered away in the apathetic drudgery of *keranee* life. Such a loss might well be set against the advantage of England manufacturing for India, for idleness is in itself an economical encumbrance, and apathy the greatest foe of progress, social or economical. From what I have said before, it has, I think, been clear to everybody that our society is now in a crisis, and our national character in jeopardy.

The ancient Romans neglected agriculture, though by cultivating the soil of Italy they could have saved much of the expenses of their Mediterranean trade. But they thought that the profession of arms was more favourable to the formation of a virtuous national character than the merely arithmetical discipline of a commercial life. A manly character is far more precious than all "the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind", and if manufactories can create a race of Bengalees useful, industrious and

nobleminded, they deserve to be secured at any price. But in making this proposition, I am of opinion that the wise and wealthy men of our nation will have to inaugurate the measure, and that enlightened England will have to assist them with her counsels, and, if need be, with her capital too. I cannot find words strong enough to express the amount of diffidence I have felt in taking up for discussion the subject of the present economical condition of Bengal, and the still greater hesitation with which I have committed my thoughts to writing. I felt it to be act of duty to my country to give expression to what I considered to be a right and honest conviction of my mind, and now it is for those Native and European gentlemen, who are members of this Social Science Association, to discuss the proposition I have humbly advanced in all its various and important bearings.

I will bring this paper to a close by describing, as briefly as possible, some advantages which may be expected to result collaterally from the establishment of large manufactures, and the growth of a manufacturing class in Bengal.

In the first place, the establishment of manufactories in Bengal will open a field of labour, which will invite a large amount of capital which now either remains idle or is spent most unproductively. The number of men who are employed in mercantile and other descriptions of offices is very great. The savings which any of this number makes in a year out of his monthly salaries are often too small to be deposited in banks for the trifling sum of four or five rupees which every one hundred rupees will bring back in twelve months in the shape of interest. Such savings are, therefore, either wasted in idle amusements, or embodied in golden or silver ornaments, which serve no other purpose than that of pampering female vanity. Manufactories will, it is expected, create a most profitable mode of investment for these savings, and their very popularity will, I am sure, cause them to be largely resorted to.

I am, in the second place, of opinion that a class of manufacturers in Bengal will be a power of vast importance in securing the material and intellectual elevation of our peasantry. The

experience of history and the abstract theorems of political economy both concur in providing that the man, who works upon the rude produce of the earth, and fashions it into various forms of grace and beauty for the purposes of gratifying the foolish taste and reckless vanity of the rich and the luxurious, is the man who of all others can best sympathise with the tiller of the soil. The greatest of modern writers on political economy says :—"When a thing is bought not for its use, but for its costliness, cheapness is no recommendation. As Sismondi remarks, the consequence of cheapening articles of vanity is not that is expended on such things, but that the buyers substitute for the cheapened article some other which is more costly, or a more elaborate quality of the same thing ; and as the inferior quality answered the purpose of vanity equally well when it was equally expensive, a tax on the article is really paid by no body".* What has been here said of articles of vanity is true also to a very great extent of articles of necessity. The men of wealth and influence in a nation very generally pass away their lives in occupations which have not the remotest connection with that economy of production, whose results, however disadvantageous, cannot sensibly affect their material condition. Their attention, if ever drawn to the economical state of their country, is directed to someone or more of the numerous facts relative to the distribution of commodities, and is rarely turned to things which are so far removed from the sphere of their action and observation as the economy of production. It is a highly significant fact—a fact which could be witnessed only with a social organisation materially defective in an economical point of view—that, whether in times of absolute scarcity or in times of high prices, the enlightened public of Bengal, whilst calling out for measures of relief to the poor and for a stoppage of the export of corn is never heard to say that our peasantry require to be educated or that our agricultural economy demands a reform. This is only because Bengal is wanting in that class of men who alone can sympathise with the agriculturist ; it is because Bengal has no manufacturer.

* Political Economy by Mill, Bk V, Ch. VI, 2.

England is about to educate the sunken ryot ; England will soon construct roads for the facilities of inland intercourse ; England is about to carry out a vast project of irrigation in Bengal. And why is England doing all this ? Is it not because England is our manufacturer ? Is it not because England deals directly with the Bengal ryot ? Is it not because England, as the direct customer to our peasantry, is vitally concerned to see the latter raised in intelligence and social status ? Is it not because England has understood that a better economy of agriculture in Bengal, by cheapening the produce of the soil, will enable her to conduct her manufactories with a smaller capital than would suffice at present ? There may be, and I have no doubt there is, a motive of benevolence prompting England to do all the good and great things which she is doing in Bengal ; but it would be a scientific mistake to think that motives of interest are altogether absent. It would be no insult to England to say that she is doing good to Bengal in order to educe good there from to her own self. Let, then, a manufacturing class arise in Bengal, and our peasantry will get a body of men who would feel true sympathy for them ;—who would consult their wishes and ascertain their wants, who would advocate their cause, would represent it to the aristocracy of the land and to the Government of the country. With a class of manufacturers possessing a voice and opinion of their own, the intellectual progress and material prosperity of the Bengal ryot will be secured far more easily than they would be if left to the care of our Government or of our aristocracy.

Thirdly, one of the necessary consequences of the establishment of manufactures would be the necessity of imparting to our countrymen a knowledge of the ways and processes of mechanical industry. Schools of art will be required for a very large portion of the population, and even scientific education of a very high order will become a desideratum. Employment in manufactories will be sufficiently remunerative, and in many cases full of honour and public influence. The intellectual training which Bengal will require in order to support her manufactories will thus combine two results very desirable in the present cir-

cumstances of the country. In the first place, the existence of manufactories will enable any system of popular education in Bengal to be so devised as to be capable of producing that taste and those habits of useful occupation without which the education of the great mass of people in a country can be of little personal benefit, and might be of much social harm. For, as a writer on popular education has said, "to allow the pupil to pass whole years in learning little and learning ill, is inculcating, by practice if not by precept, the habits of idleness ; to allow him to pass it in studies, which have no sort of reference to his position, is superadding to idleness, inutility."* In the second place, the various positions of trust and responsibility in a manufactory, requiring as they would do high scientific attainments, will render it necessary for a large number of our countrymen to receive a special scientific training at once dignified and productive of great personal reputation. And this circumstance, it may be justly expected, besides promoting the study of nature in a truly earnest and manly spirit, will do more than anything else to reduce the number of those who, in the absence of any field of labour, lucrative as well as respectable, are at present compelled to enter the learned professions of law and medicine, but who cannot, in consequence of the existence of a competition which is already formidable in both these professions, manage to acquire even a decent livelihood for themselves.

But fourthly, the results of by far the largest and most general importance to the cause of civilization in Bengal would be a wider and freer intercourse with Europe, and especially with England than has yet been found necessary. Bengal, working for England with her own means and resources, finds little need of taking part in that vast international correspondence which gives unity of life and similarity of purpose to all the nations of the civilized world. Bengal has, upto this day, made no use of those various discoveries of art and science which have increased the power of man over material nature, and caused almost everything that exists on earth to serve some human purpose. She has derived but little benefit from the improved ideas

* Education Reform By T Wyse, M.P. p. 51.

of the age ; she has felt not the remotest interest in the increasing thought of the world. She knows what modern civilization means, but she is only ideally civilized. Nay worse, she is yet only a hewer of wood and drawer of water for English civilization in the East. But once let manufactures be established in Bengal, let Bengal once know that the cloth which she wears, the paper on which she writes, and the knife with which she cuts will be no longer prepared for her by England, and she will perceive the necessity of looking beyond the resources of her own art and skill, she will be forced to study the progress of modern art and science, to consult the whole of Europe on the methods of manufacturing industry, to examine nature with a minute and scrutinising eye. When Bengal becomes a country of manufacturers, she will begin to think and to act ; then will she rise in the esteem of civilized Europe ; then, for the first time in her history, will she acquire a position of dignity and importance in the great commonwealth of nations. Then, chiefly, will Bengal find it necessary to cultivate the acquaintance she has formed with England—the great mistress of the commercial world. Then will England herself form with her a friendship more close, more intellectual than subsists at present, and then will that friendship be placed on that basis of mutual esteem and respect without which friendship is a serious misnomer. Then, in the true sense of the words, will that triumph of British art and science be consummated in Bengal, of which Lord Macaulay, as I humbly conceive, gave a narrow interpretation to the Commons of England in his speech on the Government of India, in the year 1833. Then will be fulfilled that *mission*, with which, as it has been said, Providence has sent England to India.

Discussions :—

Dr. Chuckerbutty rose to say that Babu Chunder Nath Bose's paper had made a strong impression upon him. It was very patriotic ; but he begged to differ entirely from the author's views. No statistics had been given to prove his assertions. Dr. Chuckerbutty did not believe that it was a misfortune that the produce of the soil should be exported from India and manu-

factured goods imported into it. Some of the articles exported, such as saltpetre, were very lucrative, and would be useless from their very superabundance in this country. Others paid well to send out as raw materials, and to receive back in the manufactured state, such as cotton and silk. If a certain piece of cloth made abroad could be got for two rupees, no body would be so patriotic as to pay four rupees for the same, merely because it was spun by his own countrymen. If the thing did not pay, it would not answer. But when the producer got a higher price for his wares, and paid less for his consumption, it was obviously to his advantage to export and import. Then a third class of goods, such as opium and rice, were sold to foreign nations for consumption, because they could not get them so cheap in any other market as in India, and because the seller could not get the same high prices without exporting. The exports of the articles named had immensely increased during late years, to the great advantage of the cultivator. The only exception was, perhaps, saltpetre, the trade in which had diminished owing to an enhancement of the duty. The imports were even larger than the exports. The latter put money into the pocket of the people, the former showed their increased capacity to make purchases. It was absurd, therefore, to say that the country would be more prosperous if the raw materials were manufactured in it, instead of going to foreign markets, or if it had no imports and exports.

The author's opinion, that the extension of education to the artisan classes made them more vicious and idle than before, was opposed to all history and common sense. One of the most remarkable facts established by experience was, that the diminution of crime was in proportion to the increase of education. India was in a transition state, and it might be true that persons who were educated did not like to pursue hereditary trades. But that was a consummation which many philanthropists desired ; and if it were an evil, it must, sooner or later, correct itself. When people saw that the only effect of crowding into Government or other offices was to lower their emoluments, and that they could better employ their labour and capital in trades, they

would soon get over their reluctance, and follow occupations for profit, and not as hereditary professions. Popular education might destroy caste distinctions, but that would be a great gain to civilization, and no loss to society. He regretted that the author had not supported his conclusions by figured statements instead of relying on dogmatic assertions.

Mr. Beverley thought that the writer had laid too much stress upon the injury which had resulted to native manufactures through the connection of this country with England. It might be true that native cloths had now been superseded by European piece goods, but the author had overlooked the numerous trades and employments to which the British Government had given birth. To take one instance out of many, the business of printing now employed many hundreds—he might say thousands—of hands, where never one was employed anterior to the British rule. And he need only point to the improved mode of living of all the native gentry, not only in and around Calcutta, but all the Mofussil. as a proof that the trade of the country had been stimulated rather than injured by the operation of the British Government. Even in the matter of piece goods, we were not so wholly dependent on the looms of Manchester as the writer seemed to think. There was more than one cotton mill in Calcutta, and there were at least a dozen companies quoted on the Bombay share list. With the large saving in the cost of freight and duties, amounting to some thing like 30 per cent., it might be expected that the number of those manufactories would increase with the accumulation of capital and the improvement of native skilled labour. The writer had dwelt upon the evils arising from the hereditary character of the occupations pursued in this country. He might sav that a very similar obstacle in the way of industry existed in England till within the present century in the law of apprenticeship, under which no person was allowed to practise a trade in which he has not served an apprenticeship for seven years. This was a very considerable restriction upon the development of trade, so far as it prevented the transfer of labour and capital from one business to another. In this way it bore a very striking resemblance to the institution

of caste in this country—a resemblance closer than was generally supposed. Besides this England had had other obstacles to contend against in the expansion of her trade, among which Mr. Beverley instanced the riots which occurred in the manufacturing districts on the introduction of steam machinery, and the strikes of the present day. The progressive spirit of the nation had overcome these difficulties ; and if there was any vitality in the trade of India, it might be expected to overcome, in a similar manner, any temporary obstacles which threatened to impede its progress.

There was one other fact mentioned by the author which Mr. Beverley could not refrain from noticing, because it brought out a grand distinction between this country and Great Britain. The writer had estimated the number of artisans in Bengal at one-eighth of the population. It might be presumed that the rest were mainly agriculturists. Even if two-thirds only of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, it would follow that two men were engaged in raising food for three in this country, while in England the labour of one man was said to feed twenty-six. This simple consideration showed the vast difference between an agricultural and a manufacturing country.

The President congratulated the lecturer on introducing a new subject which was worthy of being investigated further. It treated of one of those social changes which the country was now passing through. The writer had laid some stress upon the effects of education in India, and certainly there were difficulties attending the subject. In England, agriculture was carried on by *paid* labour ; the cultivator was a man of capital, and merely directed the work, which was performed by hired labourers. Under such circumstances, education might work remarkable results. If the workman becomes dissatisfied, and found that manual labour was better paid in other trades, he could either alter his own condition of life, or at least improve that of his children. Many, again, by refraining from marriage, were able to save money, which would in time improve their condition ; so that the tendency of education in England was to increase wages,

and to give the working man habits of providence and the power of saving. Here, in India, the same principles were not in action. There was not the same paid labour in agricultural pursuits. What could the cultivator do to better his condition ? He might say, "No, I won't pay so much rent, but I'll go somewhere else." But he could not carry off his labour to some other occupation, as in England. And as to habits of providence, it was a result which it seemed to him hopeless to expect would be secured even by education. The force of prejudice, or religious principles, was so strong that the lower classes never thought of abstaining from marriage till they could afford to maintain a family. Thus the result of educating the masses in this country might be totally different from what it was in England.

It was a mistake to suppose that the artisan of this country were not a productive class, and that it would be of no importance to the rest of the world if their work were to be blotted out altogether. It was going too far to say that what is not carried out of a country is not production, so far as the rest of the world is concerned. The exports of India were enormous ; and those who ministered to the wants of those who raise the raw produce which we export, really administer to the wants of the world as much as if their own work were exported. But, in point of fact, there were Indian manufactures which had been distinguished in the markets of the world. Dr. Chuckerbutty's argument was just, that it is better for this country, just as for any other country, that what can be done cheaper elsewhere should be done elsewhere. It was our business really to look after the imports, not the exports. He thought the old error was underlying Dr. Chuckerbutty's assertions ; but the fact was, that the only object of exporting home produce was in order to be able to import foregn produce.

As to the evils of popular education, he (Mr. Phear) thought there was a little confusion as to the cause. So long as education was a rare acquisition, a man would be naturally reluctant to go back into the old family ways, and to take up the occupations of those above whom he had a right to consider himself

elevated by cultivation and acquirement. And therefore partially extended education might be expected to have just the effect which it is found to have, of beating down the wages of Keraneedom. Those who obtained the distinction of education, forsook the business of the class out of which they rose, and flocked to the one employment, which gave scope for the exercise of their new abilities. The remedy lay in the extension of education. If all a man's friends and relatives were equally educated with himself, there would not be the same objection to follow the old pursuits. The result of the present partial system afforded no fair ground for the complaint against educating the masses, which at times was urged with much greater stress than it ought to be.

On the condition of Bengal Ryot

By Peary Mohan Mukherjee

[Read on the 11th February 1870]

The steady raise in the value of agricultural produce, the diffusion of the ideas of the comforts of civilised life and the solicitude evinced by the legislature for the welfare of the masses, would lead one to suppose that the condition of the Bengal ryots is progressively improving. Nothing could be however, more distant from the truth. Whether we look to their mode of living, to the means of communication from one place to another which they command, or to the resources on which they could fall back in years of calamity, we are struck at the almost entire absence of progress, while we look in vain for an easy and punctual payment of rent to their landlords, for a desire for agricultural improvements, or for an increasing demand for mental culture. It is true that this lamentable state of things is in several districts partly owing to the two cylones that have swept over the country within the past few years, and to the ravages of the epidemic fever by which the population of some of the most flourishing districts of Lower Bengal is perceptibly wasting away, but the distress to which the ryots have been reduced by these—what we may hope to call—ephemeral causes shows the want of that elasticity of resources which alone is an unerring sign of prosperity.

Those remarkable evidences of progress which are visible in places in the vicinity of Calcutta and in the principal Civil Stations, are the result of the increase of the wealth of those who, thanks to the spread of education, have been able to secure for themselves lucrative employments and successful careers in independent professions. In those villages brick-built houses have sprung up on every side, new roads have been constructed, tanks have been dug, gardens have been laid out, the clothing of the

people has been bettered, and they have become alive to
necessity of those measures of sanitation the want of which
already cost them the lives of thousands of their countryn
But the case of agricultural villages is quite different. In
of such villages does one meet with any marks of material
gress. With the exception of strong-minded and perse
persons who raise themselves above all difficulties, a husband
of the present day is the primitive being he has always
With a piece of rag round his loins for his clothing, bare
a miserable hut to live in, and a daily fare of the coarses
cription, he lives a life which however disturbed it may
other causes, is unruffled by ambition. If he gets his two
and plain clothing, he is content with his lot, and if he can
a few rupees for purchasing jewellery for his wife and chi
and a few rupees more for religious ceremonies, he will co
himself as happy as he could wish to be. Like his ce
brother of the east, he is the greatest enemy of social re
and like him he never dreams of throwing off any of the tra
which time or superstition has spun round him. He wi
send his son to school for fear of being deprived of his m
assistance in the field ; he will not drink the water of a
tank because he has been accustomed to use the water
one nearer his house ; he will not sow a crop of potat
sugarcane because his forefathers never did it ; he will
himself to be unmercifully fleeced by his hereditary pri
secure the hope of utter annihilation after death, but he w
listen to any proposal which would place within his reach
of the conveniences or of the comforts of life. There ar
cultural villages in which the existence of a school or of
pensary, and the condition of the houses, roads and tank
a happier state of things, but it will be found that in alm
such cases the improvements have been made not by th
but by a rich trader, employer or land holder, who res
the villages or takes an interest in its welfare. The ryots
selves are too poor, too ignorant, too disunited among the
to effect any such improvement.

Among the causes which have kept the ryots in a sta

condition and thrown obstacles in their way to prosperity, not the least prominent is the infinite division of property which is continually taking place by the operation of laws of inheritance. A holding consisting of say 20 Bighas which was in the possession of a single ryot 10 years ago, is now held by perhaps four persons, who individually enjoy only a fraction of the profits enjoyed by their ancestor, while from the fact of each of them having a joint interest in every inch of the land they hold, they are subject to all the inconveniences of a joint holding. It is easy to conceive how the dissent of a single member of the joint family is an effective check to all improvement of the soil, and how differences arising out of the division of labour and the distribution of profits not frequently give rise to disputes and litigation which prove ruinous to all. Occasionally the heirs of deceased ryot make a partition of the personal holding among themselves ; but that does not save them from a division of the profits, or from those inconveniences and disputes which are incidental to a joint liability for rent. A zamindar is not bound to recognise, and does not ordinarily sanction, the division of a holding among the sons of a deceased ryot. It would be suicidal to his own interest if he did so. He used to exercise, however a healthy influence, in lessening the evil effects of these minute divisions and subdivisions of property, by inducing the co-sharers to come to an arrangement to make over the holding in its integrity to one of them for a valuable consideration which enabled the rest of his co-sharers to purchase new holdings or to take to other business. But the rights which have been indiscriminately bestowed upon the ryots by the legislation of 1859, and the relations in which they have been placed with reference to the zaminders, have rendered the latter at present powerless to effect any such arrangements.

A second cause to which the ryots owe their present miserable condition is the manner in which the lands held by each ryot are situated. There is hardly a ryot who has a compact holding of any dimensions. His lands are generally scattered in different places of the same field, and not unfrequently in different fields, and are interspered with the lands of aymadars,

lakhirajdars, and of other ryots. For two bighas of land that a ryot holds in one corner of a field, he has two or three bighas at the other extremity, and perhaps a third plot in another field, so that in a field consisting of 100 bighas there are say 30 biggahs of land in a holding of 8 or 10 ryots with rights of occupancy, 20 bighas in the possession of 5 or 6 tenants-at-will, 30 bighas of rent-free lands in different plots, and 20 bighas of khamar lands in the khas possession of the zemindar. As far as we are aware, there are few fields in Bengal in which the promiscuous intermixture of ryotry, khamar, ayma, and lakhiraj lands does not exist. The impediment which such a system places in the way of all agricultural improvements, and the loss of time and labour which it entails on the ryots, are obvious. Attempts were made by land holders to bring about as much consolidation of each ryot's holding as could be conveniently done without infringing the rights of others, but the law by which possession for 12 years gives a ryot a right of occupancy has placed an impassionable barrier in the way of any such improvement. Any measure which would secure to the ryots compactness of holdings, and the consequent economy of time and labour would be a real boon to the country, but it would be a hopeless task unless the rights of individuals be unhesitatingly sacrificed for the general good.

Another cause which strikes at the root of all progress is the division of most of the agricultural villages into hostile factions, either with reference to the land holders or with reference to some real or imaginary difference of opinion on questions of caste or any other social institution. This gives rise to that love of litigation which is only too painfully characteristic of the agricultural population of Bengal. However trivial the injury or the provocation, it is sure to be followed by a suit of complaint in court. Should the bullock of one ryot browse upon a few seedlings on his neighbour's land, the injured party immediately runs to the Magistrate's cutcherry at a distance of 12 or 15 miles, pays the stamp duty and the Muktar's fees, dances attendance in the court for a fortnight or three weeks and, whether he wins or loses, he has usually on his return home, the mortifi-

cation to see his crops injured by neglect or damaged by his enemy. To retaliate on the person whom he fancies to be the cause of the loss of his crops, becomes with him an agreeable study. He lodges false complaints in the criminal courts, and his antagonists in his turn pay him in his own base coin. A bitter feeling is thus created between the parties, who brooding over real or fancied wrongs take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself of injuring each other. To any one familiar with the ins and outs of agricultural life, instances of such senses will recur as events of daily occurrance. All this trouble, expense and loss of time to the ryots were to a great extent obviated, when the petty disputes amongst the ryots were summarily adjudicated by the zemindar's gomastah and the mondals of the village. No one will deny that the powers which they exercised were in certain cases abused, but it will be admitted that magistrates with hardly any knowledge of the characters of the disputing parties, and with no criterion to weigh the relative value of conflicting testimony, are more liable to be duped with false stories by the ryots than persons resident in the place could possibly be, and we have no hesitation in saying that on the whole the summary administration of justice by the gomastah and the mondal was a much better arrangement than what obtains at present.

The love of litigation has found a new vent by the working of the laws which at present regulate the relations between the land holders and the ryot. All the multifarious matters which the zamindar and his ryots adjusted between themselves must now be done with the intervention of the courts, and the parties interested must undergo all the expenses and trouble which such a procedure entails upon them. It is not therefore surprising that the mutual interest and dependence, which as a general rule formerly bound together the zemindar and the ryot, have gradually disappeared and that the antagonistic relations in which they have been placed by law have created a breach between them, which is daily widening. If a zemindar wishes to protect his rights from being barred by limitation, he must sue for the enhancement of the rent or perhaps for the ejectment of a ryot. Even should the country be devastated by a wide-spread famine, should

it suffer from the violence of a destructive gale or from the effects of a dire epidemic, and although for two or three years there be a bad harvest, the zemindar must realise his dues to the last pie, or his claim for arrears will be barred for ever. Such a state of things was unknown before the passing of Act X of 1959. The records of the courts show that the number of enhancement suits that were then instituted in a district within a year bear an infinitesimal ratio to the number that are now instituted, while ejectment suits were rarely heard of. Before Act X of 1859 came into operation, jummabundis or settlements of rent were made with mutual consent and good will, and after a general enhancement of rent at the nirk rate was made, the ryots were let alone for many a year, generally for one or two generations, before a fresh settlement was resorted to or even thought of. The land holders were driven to the present unnatural and painful line of conduct, when they saw to their utter dismay and astonishment that neglect or forebearance for a few years would create in their tenantry rights which they never possessed, and which would make them co-partners with themselves by the fixity of their scattered and scanty holdings. It is unquestionable that there are villages in which the oppressions of an unscrupulous zemindar or the tyrannical acts of his agents have reduced the ryots to misery and driven them to desperation ; but when we recollect that the interests of the zemindars are so intimately connected with the prosperity or adversity of the ryots, we can easily conceive that such cases were exceptions to the general rule. **There are not wanting, on the** other hand, mischievous ryots, who, by persistant opposition in the realisation of rents and by false criminal complaints, have exasperated the zemindars and driven them to the commission of illegal acts. In thousands of cases, however, even to the present day, the moderation of the zemindars and the good sense of the ryots have avoided that mutual defiance of each other which is the fruit of the well meaning but unfortunate legislation of 1859. In such villages settlements of rent are made and all petty disputes are disposed of without the intervention of court, and the zemindar takes an interest in the welfare of his ryots. The aspect of these villages, the cultivation of its waste lands and the demand for the purchase of its ryotty lands, attest their growing prosperity.

We have enumerated above some of the principal causes, the operation of which has kept the Bengal peasantry in a stationary condition. Whether the education of the ryots would in the face of these obstacles to progress better their position is a problem which remains to be solved. When we call to our minds, however, the evil consequences which have resulted to society by the smattering of instruction given to the sons of carpenters, potters, and others of the artisan class, and the disinclination which they feel to practise the trades and occupations of their fathers, we have very little reasonable ground to anticipate that the mental training and the increased stock of knowledge imparted by education will be applied to the improvement of their condition as ryots, when the opportunity is open to them of bettering their social position by entering new walks of life, to which they will be entitled by their education. It is at least certain that while a majority of the persons of the middle and upper classes remain uneducated, as they are at present, the education of the ryots would have a very limited effect on their condition. The poor ryots with their imperfect education will be ill-fitted to introduce any improvements without the guiding hand of those whom nature and fortune have vouchsafed the influence of example, and we would go even so far as to say that, although the ryots might remain as ignorant as ever, a diminution of the interference of the courts in matters which mutually concern the land holders and the ryots, and the education of the general body of the zemindars and the middlemen, would effect a more beneficial change in the condition of the ryots than could ever result from stringent laws and the sort of education which it is possible to give to the masses. Left to themselves the ryots will appreciate the moderation and the good will of those whose interest it is to seek their welfare, and the land holders will gradually learn to aspire to that power which derives its authority from the confidence and the affection of the people.

Babu Peary Charan Mitra regretted he could not agree with the writer in his conclusion that it was not desirable to educate the ryot. It was well known and admitted that the Revenue Laws, the Courts of Justice and the Administration of the Police,

were defective and calculated to perpetuate the degraded condition of the ryots. If he were not raised by education, how is his condition to be ameliorated? To assert that education should be confined to the high and middling classes and not to be extended to the mass was purely selfish, as no class lived for the convenience of another but all lived for the benefit of each other. Babu Peary Charan Mitra alluded to the proposed measure for the education of the masses and observed that it was not for him to discuss at this meeting its being compatible or otherwise with the permanent settlement or the feasibility of the modus operandi or the special obligation of the zemindars to be taxed for this purpose—questions which would admit of considerable discussion and which it was not necessary to enter into at present; but he (Peary Chand) felt convinced that the education of the masses could not be ignored—it was a duty incumbent on us all, and one from which no one could withhold his support.

Mr. Phear thanked the author of the paper for his picture of the ryots' daily life. He (Mr. Phear) had at previous meetings of the Association given his own views of the condition of the cultivator in this part of Bengal, and it was some satisfaction to him now to find the correctness of them established by the high authority of Babu Peary Mohun Mookherjee. He did not, however, agree with the writer on two of the principal points of the paper. The first had reference to the interference of the legislature between the so-called landlord and tenant. Whether or not the legislation which had been effected was the best possible, legislation of some sort was inevitable. As soon as the ryots obtained rights in the soil or became aware of possessing them, it was necessary to afford him access to courts of law for the assertion of those rights. No doubt, while he was merely the subject of the zemindar, or his interest in the land was a mere matter of contract with the zemindar, all differences between him and the zemindar might well enough be settled by private arrangements. But when it came about, as it had before 1859, that the ryot had acquired rights before the law, hostile to and in derogation of the landlord's full power of enjoyment and had learned the value of them, then a Court of Justice was the only place in which the opposing and independent rights

could be adjusted. The mistake almost universally made in the discussion of these topics in this country was the confounding of the terms zemindar and ryot with landlord and tenant, as the latter are understood in England. The landlord (in the English meaning of the word) as between himself and the tenant is absolute owner of the land, and the tenant enjoys no rights of using the soil in any way except such as he derives by a contract with the landlord of more or less limited duration. Under this system there is but one master of the property, and it cannot be doubted that this is eminently conducive to its being well and productively managed. The authors of the permanent settlement appear to have entertained some notion of introducing the advantages of a like state of things here, but they certainly failed to create a basis for it. The zemindars have never taken the place of a true landlord and discharged its duties. It was probably impossible for them to do so. At any rate they cannot now avoid the consequences of their omission, which is that the occupier necessarily gets what they for any cause have so long abandoned. Precisely the same thing has taken place in Ireland. Although there the parties originally started exactly on the footing of the English landlord and tenant, yet in course of time the land owner has allowed the occupier to obtain a status as of right, which the home legislature is at the present moment engaged in defining.

The second point to which he referred was the opposition which the Babu exhibited to the education of the ryot. It was the old cry over again of the masters in all parts of the world and at all times, who dislike the idea of educating the dependant. There lurked a fallacy in the dread that men generally could be educated above their proper work. Of course individuals might be educated in such a way as to render association with their relatives and fellow workers distasteful to them. But he thought they might safely assume that there was no risk of educating the great mass of the people, namely, the ryots, into giving up the occupation by which they earned their livelihood; and the sooner they were educated into discontent with their degraded condition, the better would it be both for society and for themselves.

On Indian Sanitation. By Miss Florence Nightingale, Read in June 1870.

It is fortunate that the noble address to the people of India, upon the subject of sanitation which we now print has been received from its distinguished author just in time for publication in this volume of the Society's Transactions. Our Assistant Secretary, Babu Nilmoney Dey, has undertaken to translate it into Bengali and it shall be the care of our Council to provide that, before the end of the year, its wise and benevolent monitions shall have free means of access to every native homestead, at least in this Presidency of India.

Norman Chevers
President
35, South Street, Park Lane W.

June 24th, 1870

Gentlemen,

You have done me an honour which I deeply feel, in choosing me to be a member of your Social Science Association. I must try to do my little best to deserve that honour, since I, like yourselves, have never been accustomed to be a "sleeping partner".

I look at your name (Social)—which may I now venture to call our name?—and I think that perhaps, what is most wanted, and most acceptable to you now, is the social aspect of the Indian Public problem,—in other words, placing it before the peoples in their own languages, so that they may understand so much of the subject as may enable them to co-operate with the Government in protecting their own health. I am aware that this has engaged your attention who are able to bring to it far more ability and experience that I can bring. But I venture to send you my very humble contribution. Alas! I know no

Indian language. I must therefore trust to your good offices to make what I write known to those of your members who do not speak and read English in Calcutta and the North-West Provinces. And I trust that I have your permission to do the same through other friends in other parts of India.

I shall send a copy of my little paper enclosed, with your leave, to Lord Mayo who sometimes honours me with his commands on these subjects.

Pray believe me
Gentlemen,
Ever your faithful servant,
Florence Nightingale.

To

H. Beverley Esq. and
Babu Peary Charan Mittra,
Hony. Secys., to the Bengal Science Association.

P.S.

I feel most unwilling that my ignorance of Indian languages should entail any expense on the funds of the Association. I should esteem it a favour if you would allow me to contribute further for the translation, if you do have it translated, of this humble little paper not only, but of other and better works which you translate for the peoples of India.

F.N.

The best proof of my feeling of gratitude for the honour which you, the Calcutta Social Science Association, have offered me of membership, is to show myself a member in spirit, however unworthy, and to send a few remarks, however imperfect, with reference to the health and habits of the great populations inhabiting India, which you know and understand so much better than I do. Yet still I shall succeed if in nothing else, in showing the great interest now felt by public opinion in England in the health, both physical and social, of those to whom we truly feel as to our beloved brother and sister subjects in India.

Since our queen first directed an enquiry to be made into the health of her people in India, very much has been done by the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission which conducted that enquiry.

But the work increases in importance year by year.

I have the privilege of hearing frequently of the proceedings in India. And while on the one side no one subject has more attention than this branch of social condition of the Indian peasantry and dwellers in towns, on the other, no one subject seems to loom greater and greater still and more immeasurable and important, as you approach it, like your own great Himalayas, as you come nearer to them.

There is so constant a relation between the health of a people and their social civilization that, alas ! one of the best, if not the best, indication of the social state of populations is afforded by the members who die year by year.

Nor this only—but the Almighty has so linked together the happiness or misery of all His creatures, that we in Europe can almost anticipate whether Indian Cholera is to devastate the nations of the West by the number of people who are dying of it in Lower Bengal.

If we are not linked together in love and mutual help, as we ought to be, of our own free will, we shall be linked together by mutual injury—the injury inflicted by mutual ignorance and prejudice, and this by the laws of the Eternal Perfect one, who thus leads His children in the East and in the West to know and follow after the right.

To come to the practical :—

It is scarcely too much to say that the future advance of Indian social civilization, and the question of Cholera or no Cholera are little else than one and the same thing.

For, if you in India ever succeed in eradicating this scourge, the whole tone of Indian domestic and social habits will be raised in the process.

But if this scourge be left to follow its own course, the social condition of the people, it needs no prophet to tell us, must inevitably decline.

Cholera, it is true, is not our only scourge. But, where Cholera disappears, diminished by sanitary measures, there is no fear but that fever, diarrhoea, dysentery and the like will disappear faster than Cholera itself.

Here several questions arise to us :—

What can the people do individually to prevent Cholera?

Have they any power to do so?

What are they to do?

Or can Government alone do the work for them?

The work is twofold, as we all know. Part of it is so great that it is quite beyond the power of private individuals to do it. But another part of it is so great that no Government can do it, and it can only be done by the people, acting for their own safety.

Take Calcutta :

The municipal authorities are draining Calcutta and supplying it with water-works beyond the power of private individuals.

But the authorities can never by any process ensure that the people shall attend to the minute cleanliness of their houses, clothes, persons, and habits, which is just as essential a sanitary business, believe me, as any engineering works, however costly. All that a Municipal Government can do by Engineering works is, in most cases, to give the people the greatest possible facilities for keeping their dwellings, habits and persons pure and clean, and for obtaining wholesome water. Everything else must depend on their own exertions.

Take another instance :—

In a most important Report (Dr. Brydens) on Cholera, we have been shown that in all probability this pestilence is a product of the wet, drying up subsoil of Lower Bengal, that the whole country, including the deltas of the Mahanuddy, the Hooghly and the Brahmaputra, is the perennial home of Cholera, and that this is mainly due to neglected subsoil and unused riches.

Here then is a noble field for Government to work in. To drain, to regulate the rivers, to encourage better agriculture, and to introduce improved implements, would be to add another

province to India, and to do a great work in eradicating India's opprobrium.

But, although these advantages could not be obtained without public works, advantages of equal importance would still have to be won by the people themselves. The cultivators of a country are its real health-improvers.

There is work enough and to spare for both Government and people in this enormous field of usefulness.

While those, therefore, who like you are leading this movement should help in forming public opinion, as to introducing arterial drainage works in malaria districts, in spreading over India improved agricultural methods and better agricultural implements in forwarding municipal improvements of drainage, water supply, cleaning etc in cities and towns, there is still a greater work to be done in training the tens of millions of India in improved domestic and social habits. Silver and gold and stone and bricks and steam and cotton are easy to work with in comparison. But men's hearts and minds, their ignorance and their cleverness, their prejudices and their enthusiasm, are not easy to work with, and require a far higher order of genius in those who have to deal with them. So much of the more honour to those whose wisdom and devotion are such that they may be called the leaders of mankind. For, ah ! mankind often abuses the permission to be a fool.

And as we find in all history and true fable that the meanest causes universally multiplied, produce the greatest effects, let us not think it other than a fitting sacrifice to the Eternal and Perfect one to look into the lowest habits of great peoples, in order, if we may, to awaken them to a sense of the injury they are doing themselves and the good they might do themselves.

For instance :—

Is it not true that, in many houses, the accumulated filth of the whole household is scarcely ever removed ?

Is it not true that, in or near to many houses, there are private tanks used for all purposes, washing, bathing and such like, and the water afterwards used for drinking or cooking ?

Is it not true that there are religious ideas prevailing among certain people which favour the drinking of foul water ?

[And would not the pure religion of the one Perfect rather lead the other way?]

Is it not true that in many private houses, the privy and the well are close to each other?

Is it not true that the blood and offal of slaughtered animals are kept within the dwelling places of those who slaughter them, or are left to fester and generate disease round places of sacrifice?

Is it not true that many houses of the poorer class are so crowded at night that the air is poisonous?

Is it not true that the surface drains intended to carry off the rain are made places of deposit for every kind of filth?

Of course every one of you, Gentlemen, could multiply and multiply these instances being so far better informed than I am. I myself could suggest many more.

Perhaps I have not even suggested those which are the most destructive to health. I have given these merely as instances where Government can do little or nothing—where the people can do everything.

It is impossible to read much of the present voluminous "reporting" literature from India without being struck:—

1. With the state in which so many of the people in India live.

2. With their great intelligence (surpassing that of many of the Western nations); the great opening and willingness among so many for education, for improvement for knowledge.

No doubt much of the willingness for education is due to the fact appreciated by them that education makes money. But would not the same appreciation, if enlightened, show them that loss of health, loss of strength, loss of life is loss of money, —the greatest loss of money we know, and we may truly say that every sanitary improvement which saves health and life is "worth its weight in gold" (as in the phrase).

An unhealthy people is always a poor people, a dirty people is always an unhealthy people.

Take for instance the Central Province (and I must just allude to the fact that what is called a province in India has often twice the population of what is called a kingdom in Europe).

We find from a very able Report (Dr. Townsend's Report on Cholera in the Central Province 1869), on Cholera that, in the limited district attacked, there are no fewer than 30, 135 towns and villages containing a population of nearly 8 millions. 4,100 of these villages with a population of upwards of 2 millions were attacked, and 47,848 people died.

Something about these villages we learn—just enough to show that every one of them is worthy of a separate social study.

The people (men, women, and children) and animals appear to live together in many cases. The villages generally are in a most filthy condition. They appear never to be cleansed, and the people are as filthy as their dwellings, and water generally bad and unfit for use, filth of all kinds washed into the shallow ponds and shallow wells, or into the drying up river beds from which the people take water almost poisonous. The domestic habits of many of these men, women, and children seem little better than those of the lowest class of animals.

Is it any wonder that Nature, in avenging her laws, decimates those who transgress them in this way?

But worse than this.

Along course of bad domestic habits moral blindness. The hard and fast link between pestilence and its determining causes is first lost sight of—next ignored and then denied.

Cholera is a bad thing. But there is a worse thing than Cholera even. And that is : that people should feel that nothing need be done—that nothing can be done—that what has always been is best. Even the native Doctors, who ought to know better, have fallen into this marsh of stupidity, we are told in one report. Consider these 8 millions of people in the Central Provinces living in 30,000 groups. Take in the rest of India, what a vast social problem it is!

But there is one hopeful point, and this is that small groups of population of a few hundreds living in separate villages are far more easily kept in health and improved in habits than great masses of population living in cities. It is perhaps not too much to say that the problem of keeping London in health with its three and a quarter millions is ten times as great and difficult as that of the eight millions of the Central Provinces. Yet this has been solved, though much remains to be done. And it has

been solved too with your own great city of Bombay, though much remains to be done. Bombay is at that time healthier than London.

The people are awake to all the causes of unhealthiness and cry out when cholera, fever and small pox appear even in single death, that the causes ought to be removed; whereas formerly half the population might be swept off and the other half think it "all right".

Your own Calcutta though not healthier than London, is healthier than Manchester or Liverpool, since you have introduced your great works.

Shall we have solved the harder problem, and shall we give up the easier in despair? Never—God forbid!

Let us make model villages, as in England we make model dwelling houses (in which good work the great husband of our beloved Queen laboured more than we all). In these Indian villages little or no skilled labour appears to be necessary except indeed where populations live on ground repairing extensive drainage works.

There is perhaps scarcely a village in India, the inhabitants of which might not find among themselves all the labour required for keeping themselves clean and in health.

It is, after all. mainly a question of cleanliness and pure water. It is a true saying that "all smell indicates disease and all smell indicates loss of money", (for it proves the loss of valuable manure).

Sanitary work in these villages would appear to be simple enough and Government is providing efficient District Sanitary Inspectors, who could easily help the people by giving a proper direction to improvements. At first it is to be feared that little good would be done without frequent inspection, without calling dirty people to account and persuading them to do better.

Could you not, Gentlemen, who have formed this Social Science Organisation—perhaps by means of enlightened natives of India, direct the attention of their countrymen on the spot to the need of personal exertion, and personal help in improving the condition of towns, villages and houses?

Merely to tell people what to do, though useful no doubt,

is not all that is required. Enlightened personal influence is, above all, needed as in the West so in the East.

Bring influence to bear at once on the improvement of a few villages by way of trial. A little real work, as we shall all agree, is worth any amount almost of discussion or writing.

We shall also agree on a few main improvements, such as might be introduced at once.

1. Drain away all stagnant water in and about the villages.

2. Fill up all holes and level the ground.

3. Make and improve the lanes and roads in the villages, and in their neighbourhood, so that surface water may run off easily.

4. Dig a well or two in clean new ground away from the houses and deep enough to obtain good drinking water. Build up the well inside and raise a coping all round the mouth of it to keep surface-drainage from running back into it. Cover the mouth of the well and pave or concrete the ground about the mouth. If a pump can not be had, draw the water by a windpass and iron bucket and chain. The water-skin is a dangerous abomination.

5. One of the most filthy and injurious habits in India is fouling the ground in compounds of houses by cess-pits, and the ground in the neighbourhood of villages for purposes of nature. This foul habit is one of the principal causes of Cholera and other epidemics. There is only one way to deal with it and this is to make the people see that their present practice pollutes the air, earth and water, and kills themselves, while the proper use of all manure is to afford nourishment for vegetable life, and by so doing, to keep man and beast alive. Covering and cropping ground which has been used for these purposes, or removing all filth daily and digging it into ground as manure for crops, would remove one of the most serious causes not only of ill health but also of social degradation.

6. Some arrangement should be made for removing dung heaps to a safe distance from villages—and animals from the neighbourhood of dwelling houses.

7. Could a few model dwellings, with proper sanitary appliances, be introduced here and there as examples of what might be done in the construction of healthy houses?

Example is the best teacher, and enlightened native gentlemen, especially land owners, who have influence among the working population in town and country, might work miracles. The munificence in charity of native men of rank of India is well known. Here is an equally noble and patriotic way of exercising charity.

In most country villages, there is said to be provision of some kind for cleansing which might be extended and made more systematic.

To interest the existing races in social questions of this kind, a powerful engine might be found through the schools.

Is there any reason why Indian schools should not give some elementary instruction in Physiology and the laws of health, but especially with reference to the destructive consequences of present filthy habits, to the binding character of natural laws,—Nature never forgives—and the duty and benefit and absolute necessity of acting in conformity with what these laws require, if we are to live and not degenerate, but improve.

The object is that of all true lovers of their country, their God, and mankind. It is no less than rooting out of the vast empire of Indian soil pestilence like those which in former times scourged the world.

The work is still in progress everywhere. Nowhere it is completed. The whole problem is not peculiar to India. Whole regions of "the earth which were formerly devasted by fever, pestilences", dysenteries have long since been free from them, except in the milder forms in which they now occassion part of the ordinary morality, and guided by the light of experience, we see no reason why India should form any exception to the rule, that in proportion as the conditions of health become better known and complied with, these diseases, the opprobria of imperfect civilization.

"Should diminish both in frequency and malignity".

Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Indian Army.

Florence Nightingle
Honorary Member of the Bengal
Social Science Association

1. The Improvement of Indian Women:
by Babu Keshab Chundra Sen.

[Delivered on 24th Feb. 1871].

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—

In order to estimate aright the social and domestic economy of the Hindus, it is necessary to take into account not only their present condition, but also their earlier history. For the Hindus are not a nation of yesterday; they boast a most ancient and glorious civilization; what we see around us today is a fallen nation—a nation whose primitive greatness lies buried in ruins. Its national literature and science, its theology and philosophy, its industry and commerce, its social prosperity and domestic simplicity and sweetness, are almost numbered with the things that were. As we survey the mournful and dismal scene of desolation—spiritual, social, and intellectual—which spreads around us, we in vain try to recognise therein the land of Kalidas,—the land of poetry, of science and of civilization. In order, therefore, that we may understand the real character of the Hindus, in order that we may practically ameliorate their condition, it is necessary to have a correct knowledge of the social institutions and customs which existed in ancient times in this country. A right knowledge of the early history of India will supply a permanent and strong basis upon which to uprear national civilisation. Now that the surges of a most aggresive civilization from the West are beating against native society, it is expedient that all social reformers should endeavour to steer clear of the "Scylla and Charybdis" of opposite extremes. Indeed, there are some who believe that the best way to reform India is to supplant and destroy all that is native, and to introduce Western civilization, and always protest against everything European and foreign. In my humble opinion, the elements of oriental and occidental civilisation should, as far as possible,

be blended together, and neither should be rejected. In spite of her shortcomings and wants, India seems to me to occupy at the present moment a most advantageous position in regard to her future advancement and reformation. Behold her sitting at the confluence of two mighty rivers, and gathering the priceless riches of truth which are flowing down the streams—the products of Eastern civilization and Western thought, of ancient wisdom and modern enterprise. All that is great and good in ancient Asia and modern Europe seems to be coming through these different channels for the benefit of our great country. It is necessary that we, natives of the soil, should take advantage of this circumstance. Whether we undertake the religious, or social or intellectual advancement of the country, we should consistently avail ourselves of both these sources of improvement. It is our duty and our interest to preserve all the valuable truths, all the wholesome social customs and institutions which belong to our country, and at the same time gratefully to accept all that is offered to us by Western Nations. The battle which was strenuously fought here some years ago, between the Anglicists and the Orientalists in the sphere of education, and which at last ended in a compromise, has, I believe, to be fought in every department of native improvement, and must be similarly decided. You are, no doubt, aware how that great controversy has been finally settled by the educational authorities. The Government and the Universities are now trying to afford facilities to the study of Sanskrit, while at the same time the greatest encouragement is given to the cultivation of English literature and science. If we are at all sincerely anxious to promote the true advancement of our country, we should adopt the same principle in every department of reform, and combine the elements of Eastern and Western thought, the civilisation of ancient and modern times. Nowhere, indeed, in the world do we see, such a singular juxtaposition of these different elements as we behold today in India. In their union lies the secret of our future greatness. In this country, reformation, in order to be true and abiding, must not only mean a new civilization, but also a revival. It must not be a mere introduction of Western customs, but a resuscitation into new life of the lingering vitality still to be found in the social organisation of the Hindu community.

Whatever is true of other departments of improvement and reformation applies with peculiar force to the subject which is under consideration this evening. It would be really ungenerous and unfair to say that India has always been opposed to female improvement, simply because a few inhabitants on the banks of the Ganges protest against it today. Transport yourselves back in imagination hundreds of years ago, and you will find in the earlier writings and practises of this great nation emphatic protests against those injurious customs which we are now endeavouring to suppress; and positive injunctions and precepts in support of the reforms which are most needful. In the Vedantic period, in the Brihadaranyak Upanishad we come in contact with sacred and impressive dialogues on immortality between Maitreyi and her husband Yajnavalkya, in which these passages occur: Maitreyi said, "My Lord, if this whole world full of wealth belonged to me, should I become immortal thereby?" "No" replied Yajnavalkya; "as is the life of fortunate people so shall thy life be. There is no hope of immortality by wealth." Maitreyi sald—"What should I do with that which cannot make me immortal?' In a later period we find in the code of Manu high ethical precepts enjoining the necessity of female education, and of respect for the fair sex: "Where women are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonoured, all religious acts become fruitless." "In whatever family the husband is contentded with his wife, and the wife her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent."

"By confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure, but those women are truly secure who are guided by their own good inclinations." We have some excellent passages in Mahanirvan Tantra:— "Rear up a girl also in the same way and give her education with great care." "So long as a girl does not know how to honour and serve a husband, and is ignorant of moral discipline, her father should not give her away in marriage." Such passages as these clearly and authoritatively sanction the education of girls and their marriages at a proper age, and denounce the false logic which supports the custom of seclusion that has prevailed in Bengal and other parts of this country for some

ime past. But it is not merely precepts, but also examples, which we see in the early history of the Hindus. It is impossible to deny that women in exemplary character lived in this country, who adorned and purified Hindu homes, and exercised an ennobling influence far and wide. Their names are still cherished with respect and gratitude, and, I may say, in some cases with reverence, in many a Hindu family at the present day. In the early period of the Upanishads, Maitreyi, whom I have already mentioned, and Gargi, took prominent parts in religious and philosophical inquiries and discussions, and were devoted students of theology. In the two Hindu epics are represented such illustrious characters as Sita and Sabitri, Draupadi and Damayanti, who shed lustre on Hindu mythology, and whose purity and devotion to their husbands Hindu ladies of the present day always reverentially emulate. The scientific requirements of Khana and Lilavati have rendered their names famous in Indian history, and have always challenged admiration. The former was deeply acquainted with astronomy, and her "sayings" are familiar words in every Hindu household. Lilavati had a profound knowledge of mathematics. The work called after her name was written by her father, Bhaskar Acharjya, for her benefit. At the present day many students of mathematics in this country find in that work much to edify them. In later times we find in Southern India the name of Avyar, a celebrated moral philosopher, who was also versed in geology and medicine, and whose moral treatises are still studied in Tamil schools in the Madras Presidency; Mira Bai, an extremely devout Hindu woman, whose religious books are read with great avidity and interest by the adherents of the Vaishnava sect; Hati Vidyalankar, who founded a school at Benares and gave unmistakeable proof of her knowledge of Logic and Metaphysics; and last of all, Ahalya Bai whose administrative ability and philanthropy are well known. Many other such names might be brought forward. Those already adduced are, however, sufficient to bear irrefragable testimony to the progress of female education in ancient times. But alas! many of the good customs of the earlier Hindus have fallen into desuetude in the course of time. The people have greatly degenerated and deteriorated, and there are signs of intellectual and social degradation on all sides. The

present condition of the country it is, indeed, sad to contemplate. Darkness covers the land. The intellect of the nation has been paralysed, and its higher aspirations and impulses have decayed. We no longer see those pure, sweet, and happy Indian homes, where our ancestors enjoyed the pleasures of social and domestic life, and the higher pleasures of spiritual communion. The condition of Hindu women is miserable.

A revival took place exactly half a century ago, when some Christian Missionaries, fixed with zeal in the cause of truth and female improvement, stood forward even at the risk of incurring odium and obloquy, and tried to diffuse the blessings of enlightenment among the native female population in Calcutta. Miss Cook, afterwards Mrs. Wilson, arrived in Calcutta in 1821, and in the course of a year established eight schools, containing 214 girls. She was indefatigable in her exertions, and thoroughly attached to the cause which she took up. These schools were subsequently amalgamated and incorporated into the 'Central School'. This school was established in the year 1826, and it is worthy of remark that an opulent native gentleman, Rajah Baidanath, came forward and gave a donation of Rs. 20,000, in order to help those who were engaged in the cause of female education in establishing a suitable building for the school. Miss Cook laboured under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society for a long time, and it must be confessed, and gratefully too, that her labours were crowned with a large measure of success. But I must be permitted to remark at the same time that the pupils belonging to her District schools were mostly recruited from the lower classes—the indigent classes of native women in and around Calcutta. It was therefore reserved that the Hon. Mr. Bethune, in the year 1849, to erect a building and found an institution for the special benefit of the richer and the middle classes of native women. The school was opened with eclat in this city. Many native gentlemen came forward and assured the founder of their interest in the undertaking, and promised him support. But still, somehow or other, the school did not thrive. Several years elapsed before it gained anything like a sound and firm footing. Gradually the first excitement of popular antagonism subsided, and the native mind began to

appreciate more and more the benefits of female enlightenment, and to realize its importance and necessity. And thus in course of time the cause of female education gradually and slowly yet steadily prospered. During the last decade, we have the most convincing facts and figures to prove that the success which has crowned the efforts of the State, and of philanthropic Native and European gentlemen engaged in the cause, has far exceeded our most sanguine expectations. In the year 1860-61, there were only 16 girls' schools, with 395 pupils ; but in the year 1869-70, the last official year, we find no less than 284 aided schools for girls having 6,569 pupils. According to Mrs. Howell's "Note on education", it appears that there are throughout British India no less that 2,000 girls' schools, and upwards of 50,000 girls receiving education in such schools.

All these facts indicate the sort of progress which is to be seen on the surface. That there are so many schools and so many girls receiving benefits of liberal education is indeed a matter of congratulation. But this is not all we have to say in order to prove the actual amount of progress that has been achieved. The under-current of native feelings and thought, in the direction of progress and enlightenment, are indeed far more cheering and encouraging even than the external progress which we see on the surface, and which may be gathered from official reports. Go into an Indian Zenana, and you will there find Hindu ladies who never came into contact with English Governesses, reading Bengali books, and deriving much benefit with the aid of their husbands or brothers, and not only growing in intellectual knowledge, but also in faith and purity, and in general enlightenment. Is it not gratifying to see native ladies, though immured in the zenana, and beset with all the disadvantages of secluded life, casting away idolatry and all things unclean, along with ignorance and incorrect notions of men and things, and becoming wiser and better? Such things we behold, not in one or two exceptional families, but in many enlightened Hindu homes in Calcutta, and the large towns and stations in the Mofussils. In fact the light of knowledge has penetrated the strongholds of the zenana, and is enlightening those who would never come out to receive it. In the Central Bengal

Division, under Mr. Woodrow, we find 1,327 native ladies receiving regular instruction in the zenana from what are called Zenana teachers. All honour to such teachers! They are acting on a very important and liberal principle,—namely, if native ladies will not come to our schools, our schools must go to them; if they will not seek enlightenment in public schools, we must give them all those means and opportunities and place those advantages and facilities at their disposal, which may enable them to receive the blessings of enlightement in their own houses. Many a zenana teacher goes about visiting native families, and the results of the labours of such teachers are cheering and vastly encouraging. Several books that are on the table here, and also the brilliant specimens of needlework you see before you, show what an amount of progress has been made within the walls of the zenana of late years. Many a Hindu ladies, who have made these things with their own hands, never received any training in a public school; nay, some of them never came under the influence of English Governesses. For these reasons the books and works of art collected here are peculiarly creditable to those who made them. There is also an interesting monthly periodical called the Bamabodhini Patrika, which is published in Calcutta for the special and exclusive benefit of Hindu ladies, and is largely read by them both in Calcutta and in remote provincial stations. Hundreds of ladies are regular subscribers and readers of this journal, and if you open its pages you will find many valuable contributions from the pen of native ladies—charming verses, essays and dissertations upon moral and historical, and also scientific subjects. You will find too on the table books published by native ladies, some of them very highly creditable to the authors: 1—"Hindu Females"; 2—"Hindu Female Education" and 3—"Vishwa Shobha" by Kailash Basini Debi; 4—"Urvasi Natak" by a daughter of a Brahmin; 5—"Padya Kishore" by Bhubun Mohini Dasi; 6—"Kabita Mala" by a Lady of a respectable family; 7—"Nari Charit" by Martha Saudamini Sing; 8—"Monottama" by a Hindu lady; 9—"Vidya Daridra Dalani"; 10—"Nilnolini Natak"; 11—"Chitta Bilashini" by Kristo Kamini Dasi.

These facts indisputably prove that female education has been making steady progress, not only outside the zenana in

public schools, but also in the zenana. These are indeed hopeful signs, and cannot fail to make us sanguine as regards the future of our great country. I do not at all agree with the remarks made by the Director of Public Instruction in winding up his report on native female education. "Altogether" says he, "there is more that is disheartening than cheering in this branch of educational work." Everyone who has had an insight into zenana life must admit that this is far from correct. There are facts which conclusively prove that the mind of the Hindu woman has been roused and awakened to a sense of its degraded condition, and that in many Hindu families earnest-minded, gentle, accomplished and devout ladies are earnestly trying to throw off those fetters of spiritual and social restrictions, imposed by a crafty priesthood, which kept them down for many generations. Many a Hindu girl is beginning to feel that she ought to take advantage of that light of civilization and education which is being freely enjoyed by native boys in public schools. Even the unfortunate Hindu widow feels that she has been grievously wronged, and that she must have access to such means as will enable her to grow in enlightenment and wisdom, and attain social happiness. Amongst adult native ladies, girls and widows, there is a wholesome excitement, which is beyond the shadow of a doubt.

It must, however, be confessed that there are yet serious obstacles in the way of female improvement, which we must successfully grapple with, and, if possible overcome without any further delay. The work of female enlightenment and progress that we see around us is not so real, not so enduring, as it ought to be. The Hindu Female mind is advancing indeed, but it advances only to a particular point, beyond which it cannot proceed. All our attempts and movements in this direction seem to have reached the boundary line, beyond which we cannot, under existing circumstances, take a single step, even if we would. This line must, sooner or later, be obliterated, before the work of native female education can be said to have made real progress. No permanent or abiding benefit can be expected, unless we lay the axe at the root of the tree of corruption and ignorance, and place the native woman in the wholesome atmosphere of

moral and intellectual liberty and enlightenment. I have therefore thought it proper to come forward with a few suggestions of a practical character, which if carried out, will, I believe, give the Hindu women that amount of real enlightenment and culture which they urgently require, and which enable them to advance unfettered in the path of progress.

The first means to which I have to draw your attention is the establishment of Normal Schools. I am glad to inform you that two such schools have recently been established in the metropolis, one in connection with the Bethune Female School, and the other in connection with the Indian Reform Association. The latter institution at present contains thirteen adult ladies, who receive regular instruction in Bengali, English, and needlework, and I believe, if they continue for a year or a year and a half only, they will be enabled to go out as tutoresses, and either take charge of girls' schools or give instructions to zenana ladies. There are two other such schools, one at Dacca, and the other at Rampur, which I am told, are not properly managed, but I hope they will improve in future. The importance of such schools is apparent and undeniable. We all feel the necessity of well-trained native female teachers, who would give instruction to zenana ladies, and also serve in the capacity of superintending mistresses in public schools, governmental and private. The dull and dry teachings of male tutors are not suited to the female mind, and are not at all calculated to impart that special training which it needs. It is female teachers alone who can properly develop, exalt, and purify the female mind and reform female life. The necessity of such teachers, therefore, is manifest to every one who has thought over the subject at all, and has had some practical experience in the matter. I cannot leave this part of the subject without mentioning, with cordial thanks, the name of Miss Carpenter, who while here, gave a great impetus to the cause of female education, and open the eyes, both to the educational authorities of this country and the Government, to the importance of Female Normal Schools. It was on her recommendation that the Government sanctioned an annual outlay of Public money for the purpose of establishing and sanctioning Native Female Normal Schools in the Presidency towns in India.

Secondly, an Inspectress is very much needed, who might go and visit Hindu families, and see how the zenana teachers are doing their work. She should also inspect Government Public Schools for girls, and send periodical reports to Government as to how these schools are being managed. Such an Inspectress would do an immense amount of good, which cannot possibly be achieved otherwise in the present circumstances of the country. At present the Government cannot possibly take any notice of what is being done in the zenana, and no improvemet is possible, simply because there is none to go there and report matters to Government and the Public. If we have well trained and efficient Inspectress who look after the Government and aided schools, we must likewise have well-trained and competent Inspectresses who would keep Girls' schools, and especially the zenana agency, in a state of efficiency.

In the third place we require Adult classes. So long as the pernicious custom of premature marriage exists in this country, Hindu girls must leave public schools before they have received anything like a sound education. They begin their education at the age of seven, and give up their studies probably at the age of nine or ten ; and when they have gone back to their own homes they find themselves surrounded by an atmosphere of ignorance, folly, and superstition, which paralyses their energies, arrests the growth of their intellects, and prevents their prosecuting their studies further. Thus native girls renounce their studies at a very early age, when in fact, in civilized countries, they are found to begin them. The only way to meet the difficulty of the case is to open adult female classes in central and convenient localities in large towns. We must take circumstances as they are. It will not do to say native girls must continue for five or six years more in public schools, if they wish to receive the benefits of enlightenment. We cannot be inexorable dictations in a matter like this. In the present state of Hindu society, native girls must submit to the injunctions and directions of their parents and guardians, and, in conformity with the customs of the country, get married at a premature age, and shortly after seven, sever their connection with public schools. If this is inevitable, and it must be so for some time to come,

some means should be devised to meet the difficulties of the case. If the girls must enter the zenana, and make up their minds not to come out again, we must send teachers to them and give them the means of continuing their studies. Let the girls of five or six neighbouring families be collected together day after day in a house of respectable native, and let a competent female teacher be appointed to give them systematic instructions. Thus we may have twenty or thirty small adult classes in different parts of Calcutta, where ladies of advanced age will be enabled to prosecute their studies freely, after leaving school, for any length of time they like.

Fourthly, we want secular teachers for the zenana. I have already given zenana teachers the credit which is due to them. I have given them the sincere and fervent thanks of my heart for what they have so nobly done and are doing. But at the same time we must not be blind to the fact that they are giving education with a view to make their pupils converts to Christianity. Certainly they are bound to do so, according to the light which is in them, and we should be ungrateful indeed if we went to the extent of interfering with their freedom of action, or throwing obstacles in their way. Let them have their course by all means; but at the same time we must call upon the Government to show their regard for that principle of religious neutrality which they are bound to carry out in all circumstances, not only for the education of males, but also for the education of women. It seems strange that in the present state of female education in India, there are no means or appliances whatever for giving secular instruction to the zenana ladies, under the auspices of the Government. The Government ought to employ competent and efficient European female teachers who would go about visiting Hindu families, and give secular instruction in literature and sciences, just as has been done for many years—systematically and on principle—in Government schools and colleges for boys. If our boys receive secular education, why should not our girls receive it too? Is it not unfair that the Government should deny the zenana ladies secular elightenment while it is freely accorded to boys? I do not mean to say that the Government should spread godless education far and

wide, but I do believe that moral and secular instruction, if imparted in a truthful and devout spirit, will tend not only to purify the minds of native boys and girls, but also reform the Indian household and adorn it with all those charms and embellishments of a moral and spiritual character which are at present most needed. I do believe the result of Government education has been the awakening of the native intellect to such an extent, as to draw it away from idolatry and superstition, and lead it into the path of liberal reform; and may we not expect the same favourable results in the sphere of female education? I think the educational authorities in India ought to take this matter into consideration. In fact, I cannot account for this anybody, except on the supposition that the matter was never fairly represented to the Government. Now that the matter has been brought to public notice, I hope and trust that this great evil will be remedied, and this great want will be supplied without any further delay. It is to be hoped that a body of competent female teachers, English and native, will be trained up, who will give liberal education, in the strictest sense of the term—unsectarian, liberal, secular education—to Indian girls. Fifthly, I propose visits to interesting places. What is being done at the present moment in England for the benefit of the working classes, ought to be done in India for the benefit of Indian women. Those who attend the Working Men's Institutes in England are now and then placed under the charge of competent and experienced scientific men, under whose guidance they go and visit public museums, libraries, and other interesting public places, and with whose aid they are enabled to learn many important scientific and historical facts. A similar experiment may be tried with great advantage in our country. Competent and experienced English ladies may occasionally invite together five and twenty native ladies and proceed with them to such places as the Asiatic Museum and Botanical Gardens, and explain to them the varied and interesting objects that are to be found there, for the benefit of their minds and hearts, with illustrations. Such practical lessons will do them immense good, which no mere amount of book knowledge will ever be able to achieve. At present, immured in the zenana, they can have very little idea of what transpires outside the house; but if thus now and then

they are introduced into such places as I have mentioned, they will be able to see with their own eyes the repositories of wisdom in the departments of art and science which have been handed down from generation to generation; and in the amplitudes of nature, they will survey flowers and vegetables, rocks and rivers; and whatever is beautiful and sublime in creation, which will expand their minds, destroy their prejudices, and make knowledge interesting to them. Lastly, I should suggest periodical examinations and distribution of prizes to accomplished and intelligent native girls, at stated times, under the auspices of the Social Science Association. This will no doubt afford great encouragement to Hindu ladies. They will be greatly encouraged if they learn that we are sincerely anxious about their welfare, and that we are ready to assist them with books and scientific instruments and apparatus as a reward for merit. There are many girls and ladies of advanced age in Calcutta who, under the auspices of the Bamabodhini Society, now receive handsome prizes for proficiency. I think, Government and such influential public bodies as a Social Science Association ought to co-operate in a manner like this, and encourage merit with suitable rewards.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have placed before you six simple and practical suggestions, which I hope and trust will be carried out without any difficulty. I honestly believe that they are not impracticable or Utopian. Nor do they require a large outlay of money to carry them into effect. If we sincerely feel the necessity of female improvement, I think it is quite possible, if we set together to devise proper means and take prompt steps to give effect to these proposals. If we cannot do anything in the matter, let us go to those who can help us with money or otherwise. Let us make proper and respectful representations to Government, if needful. With private liberality and aid and with the countenance and support of such a society as the Social Science Association, and, above all, with earnest and vigorous personal action, much I believe may be done, and much I hope will be done in due time.

A few words to my countrymen. Very little indeed can be said on a stock subject like this. You have heard hundreds

of discourses and lectures on female education. You all admit its necessity and its paramount importance. You entertain no doubt about that. It would be doing injustice to you, it would be a scandal to your intellect, to suppose that any appeal is needed at this moment to your feelings or your understanding in order to move and quicken you with a right motive to action in this matter. You all feel, in your every-day life, the necessity of giving proper training and education to the intellectual powers and moral sentiments of those who are near and dear to you. You cannot with impunity keep down your ladies in a state of mental, social, and moral subjection. Any attempt to do so will recoil upon you with a terrible rebound. It is a matter in which our interests are identified with those of our wives, and sisters and daughters. If we do them injustice and deny them their rights and privileges, such a course of conduct will inevitably and assuredly jeopardize our own best interests. It is not merely a question of charity and fairness, that we should educate our ladies. Even if we were to view it from a lower standpoint that of mere self-love, we would find that it is our interest at the present moment, and merely our incumbent duty, to educate and reform our wives and daughters. What John Stuart Mill has said with reference to female society in England, applies with peculiar force to our country. "The time has come", he says "when if women are not raised to the intellectual level of men, men must be pulled down to the mental level of women." Or, to use the well-known words of the Poet Laureate—

"Woman's cause is man's ; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

Do you not feel in your daily life that your wives and mothers are great impediments, sometimes insuperable, obstacles, in the way of your own intellectual and moral improvement ? How many of you are anxious to go to England at this moment ! But you cannot do so, because there are caste difficulties in the way, and the ladies of your household insist upon your strictly observing the rules of caste. There are many of you who would cut as wider at this very moment all those ties and fetters which bind you to Hindu idolatry and superstition. But you dare not take a step in advance, simply because your ladies are in your

way. Give them education, and they will prove helping hands. They will not only learn what is right, they will not only accept right convictions in their own hearts, but they will also render you valuable practical aid, and prove your companions in the higher enterprises of life. At present there are educated fathers and uneducated mothers, enlightened husbands and illiterate wives. There are conscientious and pure minded and earnest-hearted fathers, but their daughters are being trained up by their superstitious mothers in the midst of falsehood and impurity. Try to remove such anomalies, and by educating your mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, bring them to your level. As you are marching forward and endeavouring to place yourselves in the front rank of civilisation, take your female relatives with you; then the amelioration of the country will be complete. At present only half of the population of India is receiving culture and enlightenment. But the effects of such reformation among the male section of the community are to a great extent neutralized by the want of education among the women. By educating women we would reinforce our own energies, and with mutual co-operation elevate and reform our country. I do not exhort you to adopt rash and premature steps in furthering the work of female improvement. Do not force upon your ladies anything like false refinement. Do not endeavour to bolster up a meretricious refinement upon the unstable basis of outlandish customs. Try to establish the roots of reform deep in the soil of India. As in religious, so in social reformation, try to make the work of advancement gradual and steady, but on the whole, national and enduring. Anything that you do from no higher motive than the imitation of foreign nations, must sooner or later die away; but if you call forth the latent resources of the native mind you will promote true and solid national civilization. It has been my good fortune to study the secret of English domestic purity and social happiness in England, and my observations and experiences have fully convinced me that England is what she is on account of the superiority of her ladies. I had the pleasure to associate with accomplished and devout ladies in many cities and towns in England; and indeed I naturally felt inclined to transfer to my country those exemplary traits of female character which I saw with my own eyes in that distant country.

But how can that be done? Not if you merely imitate the exterior of England life; not if you try to adopt the superficial refinement of outward customs and manners, nor if you convulse native society into spasmodic movements with fitful outbursts of youthful zeal. It is your duty to enter into the spirit of true English refinement, and judge for yourselves whether England's greatness consists in observing the outward laws of social life, or in conforming to that system of moral and spiritual discipline under which every heart ought to be placed. Introduce that system of domestic discipline into your country, improve the minds of your women and quicken their souls with true moral and religious impulses; and bring them under the salutary restraints of moral discipline. Convince them that true emancipation means deliverance from the fetters of corruption and untruth; and that true liberty means the power of acting freely according to the light of God in the soul, and to discharge our duties to ourselves, to others and to our God without any hindrance. These are the great things which your women require at the present moment, and if you teach them moral and intellectual discipline—if you make them understand the value of truth, and science, and religion,—you will establish that social quality and purity without which Indian reformation would be merely superficial refinement. If you wish to give India true civilisation, infuse purity and instil right ideas of duty into the native female mind.

Village Communities in India & Russia
By The Rev. J. Long
(Read on the 26th March 1872)

The subject of Village Communities has long been considered one of great and vital importance to India, and decentralisation is the order of the day, as respects administration and finance, in Russia and India ; both countries have groan under the evils arising from centralisation, and the concentration of all powers in their respective capitals ; they have suffered from plethora in the head, and are now finding that real reform must begin from below, from the village, as a unit—details must be settled by local authorities. A late despatch of the Duke of Argyll also affirms this principle by enjoining that local taxation shall, as far as possible, be collected and expended by the people who pay it ; this implies an organisation like the village system.

To treat the village system as its merits require would fill a large folio volume. There are most valuable papers on this subject buried in the archives of the State, and it is to be hoped that the Government of India may ere long give us a volume containing a digest of what has been recorded of the village-system in its present state and past conditions throughout differents parts of India. On the eve of starting for Europe, and leaving India, probably, for ever, I cannot refuse contributing my mite to what I believe a most vital measure for this country,—the revival or extension of village municipalities. While some are advocates for violent organic changes both in England and India, it is pleasing to see the increasing tendency of the public mind is more in favour of social reform, and especially on land question, the giving to the peasant the fruits of his labour by security of tenure and corporate action, without which other reforms, religious or social, would be of little avail.

It is surprising how few writers on Indian reform have touched on this question of village municipalities, which lies at the root

of the whole Indian social structure. We have on the other hand plenty of reforms cast in the Saxon mint utterly unsuited to an oriental race, and involving serious issues on the future, while we overlook what is adapted to the genius of the people. We want more local and less legal knowledge in our legislatures; we need not plans shattering and dislocating native society, we must regard the soil we sow in, building on a good foundation in the soil, allowing time for the tree to grow, not led away by the mystification and cockneyism of lawyers, bearing in mind that important remark of Montesquieu "no nation ever attained to greatness, but by institutions in conformity with its spirit." A little attention to this might have saved us from the imposition of the Income Tax. "The Bombay Statesman" well acquainted with native opinion remarks on this subject :—"The people in the villages of this Presidency resent strongly, we are told, the imposition of the Income Tax, and upon a ground that is somewhat striking. They say with perfect artlessness and great force, 'Who ever before heard of taxing a thing that no one can see? Tax our heads if you like, and according to their size; but how can you tax our *incomes* which no one sees, and no one knows but ourselves?' The idea of making an honest return to the Collector, as a matter of duty and obligation, never enter their minds at all."

One of the saddest thing about our administration of India is the recklessness with which the English administrators have allowed the village system to go to decay. Even our predecessors, the Mahomedans, early saw the policy of not disturbing an institution so complete, they did not inter-meddle with the minor details of civil administration, and they availed themselves of the local influence of those officers to reconcile their subjects to their rule; they never claimed the proprietary right of the land, even in the proud days of Aurangzib; they claimed to be lords of the revenue, not lords of the soil—though they confiscated all the Church lands, they meddled little with private property. When the English got a grant of land near Calcutta in 1718, they were required to compensate the undertenants, but on their assuming the reins of power themselves like a bull of China shop they kicked everything about, uprooting oriental

institutions and giving the people gimcracks of Brummagen were, creating that class of middlemen which are equally the curse of India as of Ireland.

All I aim at within my limited space is simply to introduce the subject of the village, and to give a peep into the storehouse rich in treasures of great value to humanity and especially to that class who, different from town populations, have suffered much in silence; who have not had like those in cities the means of making their wants known; in India the ryot has been well called a *dumb animal;* caste and the want of sympathy in the upper stratum of his own countrymen have left him to rot and moulder away in silence.

But the ryots' day is coming, a ground-swell has gone through Europe, up-heaving the masses. In France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, peasant proprietorship* is established by law, and with it the village commune, without which the isolated peasant is a rope of sand. See a valuable work on this—"The Social Condition and Education of the People", by J. Key, Longman & Co., in which the author gives a full detail of the benefits of peasant proprietorship on the Continent of Europe. Laing's works are also very valuable in this respect, they as well as Key's show how peasant proprietorship contributes to public morality, to improved houses and education, to habits of prudence and economy, as well as to better clothing. Mr. Laing maintains "that a peasant proprietor must have an educated mind, whether he can read or write, or not", that a spirit of independence and self-reliance must be fostered by a system which makes a man the architect of his own fortune.

There is a movement beginning even in England in favour of peasant proprietorship, and of the establishing village Municipalities, "wherever 500 or more people dwell together on an

* By peasant proprietorship is meant a system which gives to each cultivating proprietor an amount of land sufficient for the support of himself and his family. Peasant proprietorship is not identical with that subdivision of the land in France and Bengal which turns it into pauper warrens. In Bengal we have owners of the one-sixth of a mango.

area of a square mile, they shall be required to organize themselves for self-government, the community shall vote by heads of families, and shall choose a Mayor". The first French Revolution emancipated the peasantry of France, then Prussia took up the cry, and under Baron Stein released from feudal chains her peasantry whose blood had been shed so copiously in repelling French invasion ; then in 1861, the great and noble example was set by Russia in smashing those fetters of landlordism which had so long repressed the energies of an enterprising people ; England at last has done tardy justice to the Irish peasantry and will soon have herself to consider her own peasantry.

On this question of Irish tenure a very valuable work has been published by the Hon'ble G. Campbell, now Lieutenant Governor of Bengal : "The Irish Land". He adds another to the many examples of the service rendered to European questions by men of ripe Indian experience, though it was *formerly* the custom to ridicule them under the sobriquet of old Indians. Mr. Campbell was the first to point out that *the original Irish land tenure was similar to the Indian having the village corporation and joint-property system.* We shall give a few extracts from a book which deserves an extensive circulation and careful study—what oceans of human blood might have been saved had the Irish land question been viewed three centuries ago in the calm dispassionate tone of Mr. Campbell.*

> "There can be no doubt that the village system formerly prevailed in Ireland. The whole system of settlement and valuation is based on it to the present day, the town-lands being exactly preserved, though the villages have generally dissolved into separate firms. Davies,

* The new law in Ireland giving tenant right is working well. Take the following as a specimen. The *Dublin Post* describes the recent sale of the Marquis of Waterford's estates as the most remarkable ever witnessed in the landed estates or any other court. The property was set up in 121 lots, and the total proceeds amounted to upwards of 3000001. By far the largest portion of the property was purchased by tenants, some of whom offered at the rate of fifty years' purchase, others at forty years, and none of the bidders of this class offered less than thirty years' purchase, so eager were the tenantry to become proprietors.

in some passages, speaks as if there was then a still subsisting system of constant repartition of the lands among the villagers—and this is no doubt the system of which there are abundant traces in India and elsewhere—but I suspect that in Ireland as in India, it had gradually become rare, or fallen into disuse ; for Davies, in other passages, very fully and particularly explains how the village land descended by inheritance under what he likens to the custom of gavel kind, that is, the law of equal partition among the sons, common to Ireland, India and most Aryan countries, where the feudal system has not prevailed over it."

* * *

"The Restoration and Revolution only still further unsettled Irish tenures. The native system, however, seems to have long maintained its ground. The Right Hon'ble Judge Longfield was good enough to point out to me a passage in Vallancey giving an account of, I 'think', Westoneath in the year 1682, from which it is evident that the village system was then in full force. The system of village management—the division of land into shares called ploughlands—the distribution of burden according shares", "all is described exactly as if it were the description of a village in Northern India. The villagers seem to a certain extent to have managed their own affairs, and to have paid in the lump ; but they are already, it appears, more quarrelsome and unsettled than Indian villagers usually are. The functions of the landlord are said to have been principally to receive his dues, and to settle the quarrels constantly occurring between the villagers."

* * *

"The external pressure which keeps the village system together being removed, that system gradually went to pieces and fell into desuetude. Great absentee Lords, being unable to deal directly with large numbers of small tenants, generally let large tracts to middlemen as is also the case in Bengal and Oudh. The middlemen, in pursuance of the native idea of improvement, covered the land with small cultivators who squatted, upon the understanding, that they were to pay the customary rents, without special contract. The potato gave great facility for small holdings, and the lands of the Irish ryots went from father to sons, being equally divided among sons, and a dower being provided for the daughters, according to the laws regulating the descent of Irish and Indian property.

* * *

"The whole case in Ireland is, in this respect, analogous to what has occurred in Russia. In Russia the people were in agrarian sense serfs, they were "adscripti glebae". They were emancipated. The landlords said, "We let you hold land because we wanted your labour, now that you are free from any obligation to labour for us, we claim the right to do what we like with the land". The people said, "No, we will not have emancipation on these terms, we have always held the land, and we are entitled to keep it, paying you a fair rent in lieu of the old compulsory labour", and the ex-serfs have gained their point."

Respecting the village system in the North-West Province of India, there is an able article in the *Calcutta Review for* 1850, "Village Schools and Peasant Proprietors in the North-West Provinces" which describes the village *bhayacharyea* or brotherhood—a great contrast to Ireland. "Bound together by the ties of blood-connexion, and above all common interest, like the bundle of sticks they are difficult to break. Draughts may wither their crops; famine and disease may depopulate their houses;

their fields may be deserted for a time, but when the storm blows over, they are certain to return. If an accident happen to any individual, he in assisted and befriended by his "bhybunds" (relatives). But above all, the grand advantage of this tenure over the zemindary is, that the entire profits are their own, and not strangers'. In the hands of the biswadar, the rent becomes capital, which directly or indirectly goes to improve his property, or is available on future occasions, while that of the zemindari is too often a mere revenue-saving to support a position in the adjoining town, and to keep up idle servants, elephants, horses, and surwarri (equipage). In a flourishing pergunnah on this side of the river (Jumna), we have no large zemindar with his lac, or two lacs of annual income ; but on the other hand, we have thousands of small proprietors, each with his brood mare, his buffaloes, his oxen ; in short, with everything that makes a comfortable position in life."

We fear this picture is not quite applicable to the present state of things ; feudal notions in officials—the corroding influence of the userer and the increase of rack-renting landlords are tending to break this bond of brotherhood.

Had England with her feudal notions on land only understood the village system of joint property, the New Zealand war, with all its atrocities, might have been avoided, for the New Zealanders held their land on the *tribal* and *communal* principle, and denied the right of any *individual* to sell what belonged to a corporate body*.

---

* The Hon'ble Mr. Fox, Member of the New Zealand House of Representations, wrote in 1860 a pamphlet called "The War in New Zealand", in which he brings the subject out very clearly. The native tribe (Iwi) is sub-divided into "hapus". There is a head chief of the tribe; inferior chiefs, the heads of "hapus"; and individual "tatua", or freemen. Every tribe owns large tracts of land. These are the common property of the tribe. Particular hapus, as individual freemen, appropriate by occupation, cultivation, and otherwise, small portions of the common estate. Such occupation vests in them the ownership of the portion appropriated, and gives a right of separate ownership, as *against* all other individuals. But it does not give the right of *absolute alienation*. To

In Bengal the Sonthal rebellion was mainly provoked by thus meddling of individuals from Bengal with land that belonged to the tribe, and there is at the present time among them the uneasy feeling in connection with the land question owing to this infringement of tribal rights, which may lead to another outbreak, if justice be not speedily done. In 1832, the Kols of Chota Nagpur were driven into insurrection mainly owing to the attempt to dispossess them of their tribal lands.

On this question of land rights the Indian Government must move warily, for there is a strong tendency on the part of officers in the Forest Department, and of Collectors and English Griffs, to disregard the rights of the people to village lands. What incalculable mischief has been inflicted in Bengal by the

---

other members of the tribe, the hapus as an individual may alienate. But they cannot alienate from the tribe without the consent of the tribe. The power of giving this consent is usually vested in the chief, who is a trustee of the rights of the tribe. This limitation is founded on reason; the political status of the tribe, as a whole, depending on its maintaining the integrity of its territory, and on an exclusion of foreigners who might be members of a hostile tribe. "The cultivation of a portion of forest land renders it the property of those who cultivate it, and this right descended from generation to generation. But this individual claim did not give the individual the right to dispose of it to Europeans." Thomson's Story of New Zealand, Vol. I, p. 97. "Many persons buying land in New Zealand have fancied that when they attained the consent of one or two individuals, their title was complete, whereas the great art of making a secure purchase is to be careful that you have every possible claimant before you, and unless they are satisfied, the purchase cannot be considered complete." Mr. Bushy, the British Resident in New Zealand, before a Committee of the House of Commons, 1840: "The sale of territory, to be valid, must be effected by the chief of the tribe, and all the chiefs of the various hapus acting together. Such a sale, whatever be the price given, would never be disputed." Arch-deacon Hadfield, a missionary of 23 years' standing, in a letter to Sir George Gray in 1845, states that through this ignorance of *joint property* in land, the Governor was led to sanction the purchase of land by a European from *one* native when there were more than 20 *co-sharers. This led to war which desolated the country, upset the work of civilization and missions, and tasked to the utmost the energies of* 3000 *English soldiers, all because of sheer ignorance of village rights.*"

ignoring last century of the rights of the village communities, ruining equally the patriarchal zemindar and the hereditary ryot! This 'meddling and muddling' with the land may one day lead to serious complications, if not checked in time; for no people on the face of the earth cling more tenaciously to their rights in the soil than do the Indian peasantry, and the monstrous doctrine, not even derived from the Moslems, that the State is proprietor of the soil, is one that has never been recognised in any way by the Muhamedan rulers.* Happily, we have not wanted in India, many examples, on the other side in such men as Munro in Madras, Thomason and Bird in North India, who worked at the question of security of tenure, and as its guarantee, the restoration of the village system.

But the vital step now to be taken is the establishment, or, rather revival of village municipalities all over India, in order to give the people a bulwark against local oppression and official bureaucracy, to afford the Government easy and special means of knowing the feelings and opinions of the masses † and to serve as a check on the collection and distribution of taxes. It is

---

* See the valuable evidence brought forward on this subject by Colonel Briggs in his *Land Tax in India*.

† Even the Russian Government now refer questions of State for the opinion of the Zemstovs, or Provincial Assemblies, composed of peasants, bourgeois and nobles; the great military reform proposed for Russia has been discussed by them, as also the question of abolishing the capitation tax. It is singular these *Zemstovs* have voted in favour of an income-tax as preferable to a capitation tax.

The English Government in India, by carrying the people with them through village municipalities could do many things otherwise impracticable. We know how sacred the monkey is regarded, and Europeans in former days have run a risk of their lives in attacking them; there is an anecdote of the way a village municipality can deal with the subject.

"An a special meeting of the Municipal Commissioners of Wallajapett, in the North Arcot District, a *Mahazarnamah* or a representation by the inhabitants, *enmasse*, of that station was considered, the complaint being "that the number of monkeys has of late considerably increased; that they are very mischievous, having bitten more than six persons in one month; and asking that measures should, in consequence, be taken to get rid of them."

valuable specially in relation to land, for though the peasants may seem ignorant and degraded, there is nothing they cling to stronger than the land; they will stand almost any amount of oppression rather than be ousted, and this extends throughout the East from the plains of India to the steppes of Russia. The Russian peasants' cry has always been *Zemli i Volie,* the land and liberty; they used to say to their landlords in the worst days of serfdom—we are yours, but the land is ours. Similarly in India, Colonel Tod in his interesting Annals of Rajasthan tells us :—

"The ryot (landholder) is the proprietor of the soil in Mewar. He claims it as his *bapota* (patrimony), and compares himself to the *d'huba* grass, which once taking root in the soil, can scarcely be effectually eradicated. He has ever in his mouth the common, though expressive adage, *"Bhogra dhanny raj ho, humra dhanny maj ho,* the tax belongs to the king, the land belongs to me." Sir J. Malcolm, in his "Malwa", gives an interesting anecdote illustrating this :—

"In Malwa many villages have been depopulated for thirty years. The inhabitants fled several miles off, and dispersed in different towns. They, however, maintained friendly intercourse with each other, continued to intermarry, and on restoration of order (in 1818) they all flocked to their own country. Under all the miseries and oppressions they suffered, they never gave up hope of returning to their paternal lands. At the restoration, infant patels (hereditary village chiefs) even were re-instated: each site of a house, and every field, was instantly recognised and re-occupied by the real owner, without dispute. More than a hundred villages were re-populated in a few weeks." Again, he observes, "I was desirous of giving the ruined villages of

---

The worthies of the Municipality, after deliberating upon the matter, "resolved" that "a Maistry be at once appointed for trapping monkeys and deporting them to the jungles, and that a sum of rupees two hundred be left with one of the Commissioners for paying coolies, etc, who may be employed for the purpose." Europeans could not have meddled with this question without giving great offence.

Bassin to some Bhils. The ministers declared the proprietors must get possession if they returned. All attempts to discover them failed, and *Bhil Tija* was established with his clan. Three years afterwards, a boy put forth his claim as patel, or chief of the village, and his right was voluntarily restored by the Bhil." The Hindu chiefs, in speaking of these hereditary officers, declared to Sir John Malcolm, that they would become Mahomedans twenty times over, rather than give up their lands.

We shall now glance at this village system of India, and then compare it with that of Russia especially, referring to similar ones in other countries. Comparisons often bring great truths to light. What wonderful progress has been made by *comparative philology* from the days of Leibnitz and Bopp, its founders, down to Max Muller and Eichhoff, its popularisers. What light it has spread on the origin and extension of nations, it is a clue where history fails. Similarly, what a powerful instrument *Comparative Anatomy* has been, in the hands of a Cuvier, or a Lawrence, enabling them by examining one bone to know the whole structure of the animal. We have *Comparative Mythology* connecting India in its religion with Greece, Rome, and Germany. We have *Comparative Proverbiology* tracing out the affinities and the origin of proverbs, and with them many curious points in the sociology of widely-scattered nationalities; attention is now being directed to the *Comparative Sociology* of various countries, for manners and customs like language leave traces which remain for centuries deeply stamped on social institutions*.

Examining the Indian village system then in comparison with that of other countries, it has been the habit of English writers to derive the municipal institutions of Europe from Roman origin, but recent researches are showing that we must go down much earlier, even anterior to the Greek and Roman era, and

* Prof Max Muller, in a lecture at the Royal Institution, has in a similar spirit entered on a comparison between the fables of various countries and ages, throwing light on their origin and affinities.

trace them to the plateau of Central Asia, where there was a common village system, as well as a common language among the ancient Celts, Slaves, Teutons, and Indians who lived there together. Even to the present day the village system survives on the banks of Oxus, and the Russians, in their new acquisitions in Bokhara, are extending it; the village system, then like the Indo-Germanic languages, has come down to us as a relic from before the days of Manu, 3000 years ago. Sir H. Maine, in his "Village Communities of East & West" has shown their affinities, as has the Hon'ble G. Campbell, in his "Irish Land", he has traced out the village system in the far isles of the West.

I intend to take up comparison specially with respect to two countries whose respective Aryan races had once a common ancestry, but have since been widely divergent, viz., India and Russia; there classical languages, the *Sanskrit* and *Slavonic* have both a strong affinity in their roots*, and there are many customs similar, but it is specially in the village system, the village republic, the microcosm, the little world of the peasant, that the closest connection is seen. I spent five months in Russia in 1863, and was very much struck with the resemblance between the village system of both empires; and as I intend to spend this summer in Russia, I hope to glean further information on this deeply interesting subject. Of course, in India, much of the village system has been effaced owing to the feudal influence of Mahomedanism, and the feudal views of many English rulers. Similarly in Russia, the autocracy of the Czar and the bureaucracy of the nobles overshadowed it. But in both empires the Governing Authorities are now working at its revival; in Russia the great and glorious pyramid of social and political reform originated by the present Czar, who has been justly entitled Alexander the Liberator, is based on the village system as a unit and the peasant in it is recognized fully as "one of our own flesh and blood"; he can rise to be the mayor of the village, and to take his seat in the provincial assembly, vested with equal authority and power of voting as the noble his former oppressive

---

* See Appendix A.

master. The whole Russian press is unanimous on the importance of the commune as the basis of all reform. Even the Emperor Nicholas was so convinced of its great and immense value for Russia, that he thought it ought to form the foundation of any new judicial organisation in Russia. In India, too, municipalities are the order of the day; from Cape Komorin to the Himalayas, it is felt by the Authorities that local taxation can only be carried out safely in connection with the revival of the village *panchayats,* or council, and the village *mandal,* or mayor. Even in Bengal, an important movement has been made in this direction by the *Chaukidarry bill,* and the *municipal bill* lately introduced; these in their working may ultimately assist in giving a serious check to the oppression of the police and of middlemen, and they may form a basis for some system of national representation.

This village system has spread not only to countries widely divergent as Russia and India, but also to England, Ireland and Germany.* Until lately, few dreamt that, even in feudalised England, the village system of collective property formerly prevailed, and that the village system was "the proprietory and even political unit of the earliest English society", but it is so, and we are indebted for this, as for many another discoveries, to the search of Germany. Professor Nasse of Bonn has discussed this subject at great length+. Professor Nasse's researches have shown that the English terms common, open fields, cut-meadows,† indicate that, up to a late period, there were in many districts common arable fields which were distributed to different owners in rotation at Lammas Day in a sort of legalized tumultuary assembly. Common fields were, as Sir H. Maine points out, until lately, numerous near London, Cambridge,

* Sir Henry Maine, in his interesting work *"The Village Communities of the East and West,* has done much to bring this subject to light; this book is calculated to popularise a subject rather alien to the English mind.

+ Uber die Mittelalterliche Feldgemeinschaft im England—Bonn.

† In Scotland they were called *commonities.* The same existed in Scandinavia, in the Orkney & Shetland Islands.

Oxford ; in Huntingdonshire, out of a total area of 240,000 acres, 130,000 were commonable meadows, commons and common fields. But "the barbarousness of the agriculture perpetuated in the common arable fields, the quarrels and heartburning in the shifting severalities" along with the numerous Parliamentary Acts for enclosures have swept these away.

We give a few extracts from Sir H. Maine's work to illustrate the remains of the village system in England which has now become so feudal.

> A Mr. Marshall wrote much on agriculture last century, but had no idea of the collective form of property which prevails in Russia and India. He simply writes about England. "A very few centuries ago, nearly the whole of the lands of England lay in an open and, more or less, in a commonable state. Each parish or township (at least in the more central and northern districts) comprised different descriptions of lands ; having been subjected, during successive ages, to specified modes of occupancy, under ancient and strict regulations, which time has converted to law. These parochial arrangements, however, varied somewhat in different districts, but in the more central and greater part of the kingdom not widely ; and the following statement may serve to convey a general idea of the whole of what may be termed *common-field townships* throughout England. Under this ingenious mode of organisation each parish or township was considered as one common farm, though tenantry were numerous." While the bleakest, worst-soiled and most distant lands of the township were left in this native wild state, for timber and fuel, and for a common pasture, or suit of pastures, for the more ordinary stock of the township, whether horses, rearing cattle, sheep, or swine, without any other stint or restriction than what the arable and meadow lands indirectly gave ; every joint tenant, or occupier of the township having the nominal pledge of keeping as

much livestock on these common pastures in summer as the appropriated lands he occupied would maintain in winter. The appropriated lands of each township were laid out with equal good sense and propriety. That each occupier might have his proportionate share of lands of different qualities, and living in different situations, the arable lands more particularly were divided into numerous parcels of sizes, doubtless, according to the size of the given township, and the number and rank of the occupiers.

And, that the whole might be subjected to the same plan of management and be conducted as one common farm, the arable lands were, moreover, divided into compartments as fields of nearly equal size, and generally *three in number** to receive, in constant rotation, the triennial succession of fallow wheat (or rye) and spring crops (as barley, oats, beans and peas), thus adapting and promoting a system of husbandry which, howsoever improper it is become in these most enlightened days, was well adapted to the state of ignorance and vassalage of feudal times when each parish or township had its sole proprietor, the occupier being at once his tenants and his soldiers, or meaner vassals. The lands were in course, liable to be more or less deserted by their occupiers and left to the feebleness of the young, the aged, and the weaker sex. But the whole township being in this manner thrown into one system, the care and management of the livestock, at least, would be easier and better than they would have been under any other arrangement. And at all times the manager of the estate was better enabled to detect bad husbandry and enforce that which was profitable to the tenants and the State, by having the whole spread under the eye at once than he would have been had the lands been distributed in detached enclosed farmlets ; besides, avoiding the expense of the inclosure. And another advantage

* This division prevails in Russia.

arose from this more social arrangement, in barbarous times, the tenants, by being concentrated in villages, were not only best situated to defend each other from predatory attacks, but were called out by their lord with greater readiness in cases of emergency.

(Marshall pp. 11-113)

Sir H. Maine finds traces in certain burghs in Scotland also ; he states some of them. "The arable mark, cultivated under rules prescribed by the town council, shifts periodically from one part of the domain to another, and the assignment of parcels within the cultivated area is by lot. It is interesting, too, to observe that the right to land for purposes of tillage is inseparably connected with the ownership of certain plots of land within the township. A similar connection between shares in the common field and certain ancient tenements in a village is sometimes found in England, and has been formally established at law (see the bitter complaints of Marshall, 'Rural Economy of Yorkshire', i, 55). On the other hand, a group of persons more loosely defined has the right to pasture on the part of the common in grass, and this peculiarity occurs also in England. I am informed that most of Scottish burghs have recently sold their "commonities" ; but it is to be hoped that all traces of the ancient customs of enjoyment have not been quite obliterated."

Sir H. Maine gives the following as the conclusion of his researches regarding the village system in England : "Upon the evidence collected by Nasse, supplied by the works of Marshall, and furnished by the witnesses examined before the Select Committee of 1844, and upon such as I have myself been able to gather, the villages of a Teutonic village community, which remained before the inclosures of the last century and the present, may thus be compendiously described : The arable part of the domain was indicated—(1) by simple intermixed fields, i.e. fields of nearly equal size mingled together and belonging to an extraordinary number of owners, so that, according to Mr. Blamire's statement, in one parish containing 2831 acres, there were (in 1844) 2315 pieces of open land which included 2327 acres,

giving an average size of one acre (Evidence, Select Committee, p. 17, q 185) ; (2) by fields of nearly equal size arranged in three long strips and subject to various customs of tillage, the most universal being the fallow observed by each of the strips in successive years ; (3) by 'shifting severalities' of arable land, which were not, however, of frequent occurrence ; (4) by the existence of certain rights of pasture over the green baulks which prevented their removal. The portion of the domain kept in grass was represented : (1) by 'shifting severalities' of meadow land, which were very frequent, the modes of successive occupying a definite area of land. Thus far it resembles the old cultivating communities, but it differs from them in being held together by a variety of subordinate relations to a feudal chief, single or corporate, the lord. I will call the new group the manorial group, and though my words must not be taken as strictly correct, I will say that a group of tenants, autocratically organised and governed, has succeeded a group of house-holds of which the organisation and Government were democratic. Leaving the meadows and turning to the lands under regular tillage, we cannot doubt that the freeholders of the tenemental lands correspond in the main to the free heads of house-holds composing the old village community. The assumption has often been made, and it appears to be borne out by the facts which can be established as to the common fields still open as comparatively lately enclosed. The tenure of a certain number of these fields is free-hold ; they are parcelled out, as may be shown to have been in the last century parcelled out, among many different owners ; they are nearly always distributed into *three strips,* and some of them are even at this hour cultivated according to the method of tillage which are stamped by their very rudeness as coming down from a remote antiquity. The *three-field system* was therefore brought by our Teutonic ancestors from some drier region of the continent.

It is a very remarkable fact that earliest English emigrants to North America—who, belonged principally to the class of Yeomanry -organised themselves at first in village communities, for purposes of cultivation. When a town was organised, the

process was that 'the General Court granted a tract of land to a company of persons, the land was held as property in common'.

In Ireland the old village system prevailed, and it was owing to landlords of the Cornwallis-type endeavouring to oust the peasantry from their old heredity lands, that the land war of three centries has lasted to the injury of both countries and the nourishing Phenianism in America. Of the village systems, formerly existing in Ireland, similar to the Indian one, Mr. Campbell has stated what will appear very strange to many Englishmen.

In Germany, this village system prevailed as shown by Von Maur's Researches. The township was "an organised self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common partnership over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain as a common system and sustaining itself by the produce". Sir H. Maine points it out as existing in Tacitus' time under the name of vicus. The German system, consisted of heads of families, standing in a proprietary relation to common property in a district which was divided into three portions,* owned in common and appropriated according to the number of families with a periodical redistribution. †

In America the principal (sic) of co-operateive farming is coming into practice, being found to contribute materially to the prosperity of the small farmer.

---

* This three-fold division exists in Russia, it allowed of each field being fallow once in three years. In England the common fields were generally divided into three long strips belonging to a small division to different proprietors; in one case the pasturage was 80 acres in a strip only three yards wide. The periodical redistribution has prevailed wherever the Aryan race has spread.

† See Die burgerliche Gassuschaft von Riche which treats of the municipal system in Germany at full length, also Baron Steins Leben, he was the Wilberforce of the German peasants, but for his efforts in emancipating the peasants, Germany would not be the country she now is.

I shall now enter into details of the Indian system. The *Hindus* when they entered India appeared to have brought with them Municipal Institutions. One of the earliest notices we have of them is in Manu, 3000 years ago, referring to the King he states :—

> Let him (the King) appoint a lord of one town (village) with its districts, a lord of ten towns, a lord of twenty towns, a lord of a hundred, and a lord of a thousand. Let the lord of one town certify of his own accord to the lord of ten towns, any robberies, tumults, or riots which arise in his district (township) which he cannot suppress ; and the lord of ten to the lord of twenty. Then let the lord of twenty towns notify to the lord of a hundred, and let the lord of hundred transmit the information to the lord of a thousand townships. Such food, drinks and other articles as by law should be given each day by the inhabitants of the township to the king, let the lord of one town receive as his perquisite.

Manu's idea of landed property was a very radical one, akin to that of Mill's and his School of Economists :—

> "Sages who know former times consider this earth (Prithivi) as the wife of the King Prithi ; and thus they pronounce cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it, and the antelope that of the first hunter who mortally wounded it."

We have a recognition of village boundaries :—

> " On all sides of a village or small town, let a space be left for pasture, in breadth either four hundred cubits (200 yards), or three casts of a large stick and thrice that space round a city or considerable town."
>
> Within that pasture ground, if any cattle do any damage to grain in a field unenclosed with a hedge, the King shall not punish the herdsman.

Its state in subsequent times is fully described by Colonel Briggs and Grant Duff. The former in his Land Tax enters fully into the question of the village system in olden days, and he gives its constitution.

"Each village in India contains within itself the seeds of an entire Republic or Government ; wars, deluges, pestilence or famine, may break it up for a time, but it has a tendency to reunite which nothing can prevent. It consists of an agricultural corporation owing all the land, at the head of whom is a chief *elected by the corporation*. It has also at least one individual of all the crafts necessary to agriculture and essential to the comforts of rural life. It consists of a head of the village, originally elected by the people, whose office is confirmed by the King and is hereditary in the same family. This officer in the ancient law books is termed *Gram-Adhikar**, while his deputy or record-keeper, usually of the class of Brahmin, is styled *Gram-Lekhak*. The other village officers are denominated *Balautā*, and are twelve in number ; viz, the carpenter, the black-smith, the shoe-maker, the mhar (watchman and porter., the cordwaiver, the potter, the barber, the washerman, the priest of the temple, the schoolmaster and astrologer, the bard or village poet, the distributor of the water. Besides these, there are twelve others denominated alautay. Part, if not the whole, of these officers exist in every village from Ceylon to Kashmir*. The land belonging to every township is accurately defined, and the village officers above mentioned are retained on the spot by the assignment of a portion of it to each. These lots are usually situated on the borders of the village limits, in order to give to the hereditary officers a perfect knowledge under all circum-stances of the boundary of the township. The whole land seems originally to have been divided into ten, twenty or more shares each bearing the names of the first settlers. The Government

* The Gram-Adhikar is the Bhumea of the Rajputs, the Reddy of the Northern Sirkars, the Talkari of the Mahrathas, the Nayr of Kanara, the Mirasidar of the Karnatic, the Jeth Rayat of Bengal, the Patel of Gujrat.

* It is no longer the case.

portion was originally paid in kind, and its amount was taken from the grass produce, estimated according to the quantity of seed sown, or according to the actual crop. Each cultivator also contributed something as fees to all the village officers, who received these fees in addition to the lands they occupied free of tax to the king.

The Gram-Adhikar, or village mayor originally elected by the people, was at the same time the representative of the inhabitants and of the Government. He decided disputes, either in person or by convening a court of arbitration : he was the head of the police : and the whole community was bound to produce to the Government either the property or the thief, in case of robberies, and the guilty in more serious cases, such as of murder. Besides the government-tax an extra contribution was made for village expenses, not unlike that of the parish rates in Europe. The most minute details of the transfer and sale of land, of rents and contracts, as well as of receipts and disbursements, were recorded by the village clerk, or Gram-Lekhak, under the authority of the Gram-Adhikar, whose accounts are always open to inspection. Thus each village was in itself a small state, several villages formed a district, over which also presided a chief denominated Desh-Adhikar and under whom was also a record keeper, denominated Desh-Lekhak. The former superintended all the villages of his department, as the Gram-Adhikar presided over the concerns of his village ; and the Desh-Lekhak, received from the village clerks their accounts, and presented an abstract to the Government. These latter officers were usually conciliated by the villages, by assignments of land from each, and were paid by the Government by a percentage of the collections. The proportion of each remuneration was not defined, and seems to have differed in various parts, though for the most part a tenth of the revenue divided between these district chiefs, appear to have been the fee of office.

As the *Bhaiband** or brotherhood this village system does

* The Biblical idea of a separate church was implied in this brotherhood equivalent to the Saxon one of parish.

not seem to have existed among the aborigines who occupied the plains and were reduced by the invaders to the condition of serfs or the outcast watchers of villages. Manu at a later period doomed them to have their abode out of towns ; their sole property to consist of dogs and asses. The *Chandal* was to be the slave of the Brahmans, though these men entering India as hunters and herdsmen, formed large communities and founded kingdoms. We have them in Bengal as Beng, who gave the name to Bengal and extended their influence upto Delhi ; many are now Mahomedans. They are out-castes, but very brave. Numbers of them live near Dacca ; the Tirhus were expelled from Tirhut by the Domes who once held Kumaon ; the *domes,* once ruled from Kumaon as far as Kuttuck ; Gondwara, one of their most ancient kingdoms, was under the partriarchal rule of chiefs. The civil institutions of the aborigines are patriarchal, while those of the Hindus are municipal, though the aborigines were and are very tenacious of their rights to the soil as the Sonthal and Kol rebellions have shown.

The institution of common property in villages and of periodical redistribution is now decaying in Northern India ; the usurer and shop-keeper have penetrated the chinks of the village armour.

We shall now notice the village system of Madras being indebted for our information to a high official there deeply interested in the rural population.

The village system prevails throughout the Presidency of Madras, except in the districts of Malabar and Canara. The whole of the country was parcelled out into villages, and all the lands of every village were the absolute hereditary property of

---

* This assertion of proprietary right of the uncultivated area of the village was very stoutly resisted by the brotherhood of Mirasadars or hereditary co-sharer proprietors in some parts of the country in the earlier parts of this century : but the Government refused to admit their claim beyond allowing to them the right of pre-occupation before any outsider who might wish to take unoccupied land for agricultural purposes within their respective villages.

the inhabitants. The only reservation which, so far as is known, was in regard to the occupation of the waste lands of the village,* for while the rights of the villagers to these lands as pasture was undoubted, it was necessary that the permission of the ruling power should be obtained before they could be cultivated, but, once cultivated, they became, like the other lands of the village, the absolute property of the hereditary villagers. Every village was divided into a certain number of original shares, and the number of shares appears to have been governed by the number of families originally settled in the village. Each share was a saleable and divisible property, and it frequently happened from the action of the laws of inheritance and sale that while, in some villages, in consequence of the original families having died out, or having sold their shares, several of the original shares were held by one person, in other one original share was divided among several persons or families.

In every other part of the Presidency, the village syetem forms the basis of rural society, and has given its character to the state of property and landed tenures throughout the country.

But while in the main an entire identity of the principal (sic) existed, there seems to have been a good deal of diversity in the circumtances of this institution in different parts of the country. In the Telegu ceded districts, Bellary, Kuddapa Kurnul, the village concerns were managed by single headman. It is probable that self-defence, at least in later years, brought the village communities more or less under single headmen.

Among the Tamil nationalities in the south, and likewise amongst the Telegu races on the northern and coast part of the Presidency we find village communities like as in Agra Presidency. taking the form more extensively of brotherhoods, in which several families hold a co-equal position. In these parts, and more especially amongst the Tamil nationalities, the area of the village is much smaller and though in a fair proportion of these villages, single proprietors hold the *quasi* ownership of the entire village, in the great bulk of them the land is being much subdivided. In some, the ancient shares or *pungu* are still traced, with their

distribution of bad and good, and the families of the old co-sharers and their transferees are the acknowledged proprietors of the bulk of the land. But in others all trace of these original sub-divisions have been lost, and the land is distributed amongst a number of small peasant proprietors who are practically free-holders, or to use an English parallel copyholders under the State as Manorial Lord.

The precise degree, but as before said under the Ryotwari system, the possibility and necessity of continuing this state of things have both disappeared, and the property in cultivated land is absolute.

The use of uncultivated land and stubble after the removal of the crops for purposes of pasture is practically communal throughout the country, and the village woodlands have from time immemorial been subject to communal uses for firewood, timber for houses and farm buildings, implements and the like.

The boundaries of each village are carefully ascertained and zealously maintained ; in most parts of the country a hereditary communal servant is maintained for observing and preserving in tact the village boundary.

The Government asserts a proprietary right in the unoccupied waste, subject however, to this condition that when taken up for agricultural purposes by the ryots, the proprietary right passes to the occupant. He is not a mere tenant. If he withhold the revenue demand, the State has the right of a first creditor on the property and may sell the land.

The precise bearing of the village system on the internal social condition of these little societies has been very inadequately examined. In almost all parts of the country, there is a village purse for the discharge of communal observations, for the village pagodas, etc. etc., the religious ceremonies, village alms-givings, amusements, fees and presents to public servants and the like, to which all contribute and which is managed by the heads of the community.

The reason of the d*ecay* of village system in the Madras Presidency are in the first place the State under a Ryotwari system recognises no common influence on the land ; it deals direct with each peasant proprietor, and herein has set aside communal administration and communal responsibility.

In the second place, the English Government resumed in the early part of the century, the small contributions in kind which were made for the annual repairs of tanks, and works of irrigation, and adding them to the revenue demand have undertaken nominally, for they do not fulfil the obligation, the repairs and improvements of communal works which were formerly a matter of joint interest and a bond of union among the village community.

And lastly, the Government have treated the more important member of the village services, that is, the headman, village accountant, watchman etc., as *State* servants and by occupying them largely in the collection of revenues have weakned effectually the people's interest in their maintenance, and the dependence of these persons on the village communities. Further, a very serious blow is now being inflicted throughout the country by destroying the individual recognition of the ancient Hindu villages. With a view to increase the funds available for the payment of the different members of the village service, the Government are clubbing together several villages and appointing one set of servants for the union ; ere long the Hindu village may be a thing of the past, and an English union will take their place.

A Madras civilian in observations on land tenures gives the following account of the threefold division of the land in the Madras Presidency.

> "The lands of every village which were held in severalty of the owners of shares were divided into three classes, and the right of a shareholder in each class was the uncultivable waste land, the second was the actual land in cultivation, and the third was the cultivable waste land. The first included the site of the

village, its suburbs, the burial-grounds, all rocks, beds of rivers, tanks and water-courses, and for this land no tax whatever was paid, though the shareholder's right in the quarries, mines or fisheries which might be found in it, was unquestioned. In the second class were included all the lands of the village, which were ordinarily brought under cultivation, and a certain proportion of the produce of these was the property of the State. The third class was untaxed until cultivated, and in that case it was at once transferred to the second, but the shareholder's rights to the pasturage, firewood or other profits derivable from this class of land, was as complete as his right in the cultivated lands."

In the North-West Provinces of India, which are so much ahead of Bengal in the condition of rural population, the land was generally owned by large families or tribes who held separate portions within the common boundary: each man was the proprietor of his own lot; responsible for his own portion of the revenue assessed on the whole property, he had a voice in the commune, he may have under-tenants, but they cannot vote though they have a right of occupancy. When the Government made a settlement with these people, it was on the spot by juries drawn from the neighbours under the superintendence of the settlement officers, at a meeting held in the open air. The ryot elect the headman who transacts all revenue matters between them and Government. This system "has converted a needy, plundering peasantry into a well-clad, well-fed, well-conducted body of men. The people are well-off and prefer the profits of honest industry, so that the crime of robbery by open violence has almost disappeared in the North-West Provinces. It continues rife in Bengal where the cultivators are all subject to the rack-rented.*

---

* See a valuable work *The Land Revenue of British India* T. H. Robinson 1858.

One of the most satisfactory measures in the North-West is the registration of the peasants' rights by the Government ; one well acquainted with the subject in an article published in the *Calcutta Review* on the Village Settlements of the North-West thus states regarding it. "To English ideas, it might appear almost preposterous in theory and impossible in practice that a Government should undertake the Herculean task of recording the names, rights, interests, and holdings of every landholder ; and every cultivator in a country held by peasant proprietors. parcelled out in minute divisions, and containing seventy-two thousand square miles (that is, as large as England and Scotland put together), comprising eighty thousand *muzas* (townships or villages) with an agricultural population of between fourteen or fifteen millions. Besides this, every field in these provinces is to be mapped and classified according to the produce it yields. In short, the Government possesses just as accurate and detailed information regarding every State in these provinces, as is possessed by any landlord or farmer at home, regarding his individual property. Organic as the undertaking may appear, Government is steadily persevering towards its accomplishment. Much has been already done, and final completion cannot be very far distant."

The Bombay village system is amply given in detail in Elphinstone's *India,* Malcolm's *Central India,* Grant Duff's *Marhattas* and Brigg's *Land Tax.*

In the Bombay Presidency we find it reported in 1821 respecting the villages. "The mukuddum is "the key-stone" by which other (village) materials have remained compacted. He was, and is still, a magistrate by the will of the community as well as by the appointment of the Government, he enforces the observance of what in England would be termed the bye-laws of the corporation ; he formerly raised by contribution a sum of money for the expenses of the corporation as such, and for the support of his own dignity as its head ; he suggested improvements for the benefit of the association, and marshalled the members to aid him in maintaining public peace ; he dispensed and still dispenses civil justice as a patriarcha, to those who choose

to submit to his decision as referee or arbitrator, or he presides over the proceedings of others whom either himself or the parties might nominate as arbitrators in their disputes. His privileges of drawing on the purses of the corporation for village *saderwarid* expenses, appears not to have been in any way controlled, until the time of the settlement of the Kumal in A.D. 1758 and 1760 ; whence the village *saderwarid* takes its place in the *jummabundy* settlement of Government, which only then seems to have taken on itself the right of regulating this exaction, and keeping it within bounds. I enclose a list of the authorised items it comprised when thus brought to light, as extracted from an account just after the Kumal was established. The mukuddam, in virtue of his being president of the corporation, originally had conceded to him the management of its affairs, and the regulation of the village feasts, churches and corporation dinner ; and like most other such presidents, he turned the money of the corporation to his own advantage, and by degrees introduced a new item or increased the amount of an old one, until he burdened his corporation pretty heavily : a good reason why he should not be allowed to do so till the end of time."

"In the country like the Deccan, subjected to several centuries past to perpetual revolutions and disturbances, many villages must have found the benefit of their being thus constituted into a society ; where all the members are bound to support each other, and to share the misfortunes, and to be at last relieved from burdens by the success of each other. The spirit of association is attested all over the country by the walls round villages, and by the brave defence of them against even large enemies. It is remarkable that this concert of design has never tended to the erection of public works that would have improved the agriculture of the country. The chance of violent disputes about the participation in such benefits may have been one obstacle, and the fear that the demands of Government would have been increased, may have been another."

We have thus far glanced at the antiquarian and historical point of view of the subject ; we now proceed to the practical part and the nature of the village system in its various compart-

ments—of the village watch, the village chief, and the village jury. In Bengal, the Municipal principle is of great consequence on the maxim of union being strength, the village commune ought to be to the ryot the bundle of sticks. Of course, it would take considerable time to bring it to satisfactory working, but everything must have a beginning. It would eventually check some great evils, in giving important aid where the police system is a signal failure, the detection of crime—it would prove a bulwark against that corroding evil of Bengal the grasping and blackmail of subordinate agents who prey both on the landholder and peasant, without remorse, fleecing both. The revival of the office of *Patwari* or village registar is contemplated by the Bengal Government, and would be a great boon, he would record the subordinate rights in land ; as village notary he would be a good source of information giving a clue through the labyrinths of the sub-division of property, no trifling work in Bengal where a mango tree is sometimes divided into sixteen shares. The Patwari would also serve as a link between the Government and the peasants, and the revival of his office would help to remove what is a stigma to Bengal contrasted with other Provinces, viz., Bengal has not been able to furnish to Dr. Cunningham, the Sanitary Commissioner, any vital statistics, though the Punjab and even Burma have contributed their quota. Village school masters might in some districts be utilised as *Patwaris*. Lord Moira, sixty years ago, revived the office of *Kanango* or village registrar, but it fell into disuse owing to zemindary influence : it appears that at the time of Permanent Settlement, the majority of officials were in favour of retaining the Kanango, but Lord Cornwallis vetoed their proposals.

History tells us what the Municipalities of the middle ages did on the banks of the Rhine, and similar benefits may be reaped on a smaller scale on the banks of the Ganges ; while in those days of change and revolution, it is important to remember the observation of Haxthausen that the rural population forms a dam against the flood of a revolutionary spirit*.

---

* Colonel Galloway in his *Observations on the Law and Constitution of India* remarks with reference to existing Municipal Government in Bengal. Continued in the next page]

While in Bengal the old village police were of some use in the detection of crime and might have reformed, a new police has been substituted useless in the detection of crime, hated by every honest man and supervised generally by Europeans who know little of the people or language—it has been in fact a refuge for destitute Europeans. A Bengali newspaper gives what is generally the native view of it—a correspondent of the *Hindu Hitoishini*, writing from the town Sherpur, says :—"We all know, and it is written in law books also, that policemen are guardians of the peace ; but we do not see this put into practice. The rule is, they ought to go about at night in all directions and keep a look-out on what is going on, but they do it not. They are almost always to be seen by twos and fours at the doors of the houses of ill-fame."

The Chaukidari or village police system has occupied the attention of the Bengal Government last year, and has led to

---

"In Bengal, where shall we look for the constitution of an Indian village ? The brotherhood, all independent of, but all interest about one another ; giving and receiving mutual aid, mutual kindness, sympathising with, and receiving consolations from one another ; confident and secure of their possession, on the simplest of all tenures, the easiest perhaps, of all terms, a definite and moderate share of their labour, as a return to the State for protection. If sickness overtook one, he relied on the help of his brother ; if death left a widow or an orphan, in every house the fatherless had a father, the widow a protector. The accumulated bones of generations were mingled in the same cemetery, or consumed at the same funeral pile, and the pious peasant fancied that the pure spirit of his father yet hovered around his peaceful abode."

Mr. Fortesque, in his report on the Delhi Territory, 28th of April 1820, gives a description of the village community ; which as it corresponds with the above, leads to the belief that, as yet, the demolition of the ancient frame of society is limited to the permanently settled districts of the Lower Provinces. "If", says the intelligent officer, "a sharer (of the village) die, the other sharers are bound by an acknowledged principle of morality and duty to take care of the widow and children ; especially to get daughters married. The widow may occupy the land, and the other sharers will assist her."

the enacting of a law by which the villagers have restored to them the election and payment of the rural police*.

Mr. McNeil of the Board of Revenue has written an elaborate report on the village watch in Bengal. A committee of the legislative council sat on the subject and following is some of the information they furnished. "The chaukidar was originally purely a village servant, employed for the protection of crops and property of the villagers. In some places he was paid altogether by the villagers themselves, in others he was supported by a small assignment of land ; but, however remunerated, he was exclusively a village servant, and was employed only upon village duties. With the state he had no concern, beyond being the link of communication in matters connected with crime between the village and the constituted authorities of the country. The only person, besides the village community, who had any claim upon his services, was the village zemindar, to whom in many instances, the right of nomination and dismissal belonged. It is not difficult to imagine how this right was acquired. Where the zemindar had granted land for the maintenance of a chaukidar to guard the crops and property of the villagers, he would naturally be so far interested in the Government as to see that the man who enjoyed the land duly performed the services required of him. A grant once made to a village would not of course be resumed ; in thinly populated districts, it would hardly be worth resuming ; but the grantor and his heirs would naturally retain the right of seeing that their grant was not misapplied." The duties of the village watchman are shortly

* The Government have lately published a report of the Rajshahi district in which the Act is working well. "The members of the panchayats have as a rule behaved well. The people were eager to take advantage of it ; the people are obliged to pay the chaukidar regularly, and they insist on his keeping watch in return for his pay." One of the Deputy Magistrates reports "a new law is always regarded by the people of this country with suspicion, but when they see that the change is all for the better, that representative men in the villages manage and control the chaukidars, and the Government have not the most distant idea of deriving any benefit from the surplus at the credit of the chaukidari fund ; they will vie with one another to serve on the panchayet, and hail the act as a decided improvement."

defined in sec. 21 Regulation XX, 1817, and may be arranged under three heads :—

1st—To make periodical and special reports at the police station.

2nd—To arrest heinous offenders, and to give instant information to the police of the occurrence of any heinous crime.

3rd—To keep watch in the village.

The penalty for neglect of duty or misconduct is dismissal from office by the order of the Magistrate, and punishment under the general regulation for specific acts of criminality. The present position of the chaukidar has been thus described by a District Magistrate. "In this district the chaukidars are nominated by the mandals of the village, sometimes with, sometimes without the consent of the zemindar or his gomasta. On the appointment of the chaukider, a list is given him, containing the names of the villagers and the amount which each men has to pay. I have hardly ever found that any man contributed more than one anna a month. The rate generally varies from two pice to four pice a month. The assessment in most cases is glaringly unfair. The richer people in the village invariably pay far too little, while the zemindar and his gomasta pay nothing at all. It is only in the large bazars and gunjes that chaukidars are paid their wages in money; in the rural village they are almost always paid in kind. Half their wages they receive in Bhadro, i.e., the early harvest, and half in Pous, i.e., the winter harvest. Owing to the inequality of the assessment, the bulk of their pay is levied from the poorer classes of the village, from men deeply in debt to their mahajuns, and who would be constantly on the parish did such a thing as a parish law exist. No wonder then that the chaukidar's wages, nominally fixed at from Rs. 2-8 to Rupees 4, are always in arrears." In every village in Bengal, there is some one who is looked upon as the headman, whether from his position as patwari, paramanik, mandal, or other dependent of the zemindar, as on account of his wealth and character; there is no difficulty in ascertaining this; only ask and you are told at once. Most villages have a chaukidar

of their own, but some have one in common; be that as it may, no magistrate would have any great difficulty in getting a list of villages, with the names of the headmen, and chaukidars of such, in every thana. All then that you want is a simple law, that the headman, and chaukidar of each village can be punished for not reporting a crime which had occurred in their village." "The appointment and dismissal of chaukidars should rest entirely with the panchayet, subject to an appeal to the Magistrate. It is necessary that the Magistrate should have some control over the action of the panchayet otherwise chaukidars might be dismissed for really doing their duty. At the same time the magistrate should avoid all petty interference, and should take care to leave to the panchayets the show and as far as possible the reality of power. As a rule, the chaukidar should be selected from the residents of the village." As Mr. Robinson observes in the Report we have already quoted, "the one great good of a village chaukidar is that he is a villager, and that being friends with his neighbours, he hears all the village-gossip and knows all that is going on. We would not interfere in any way with his status as a villager. If he liked to hold land should he be permitted to do so, subject of course to the approval of the panchayet. By *giving the leading men in each village a recognised position, and by holding them equally responsible with the landholders for reporting crime, we shall make them feel that they have a post assigned them in the general administration of the country*, and that they cannot neglect their duty without incurring the penalties of the law."

Sir T. Munro states with regard to this class :—

"In every village in India there are hereditary watchmen whose business it is to guard the property of the inhabitants, and travellers from depredation, and to exert themselves in recovering it when stolen, and there is, perhaps, no race of men in the world who are equally dexterous in discovering thieves; they are maintained by the produce of an *enam* (tax free) land, by a trifling tax on each house, and by a small allowance from travellers when they watch their property at night; no war or calamity can make them abandon their inheritance; if driven

from it they always return again, and often live in the village when every other person has forsaken it ; and this long and constant residence, together with their habits of life, makes them perfectly acquainted with the character and means of livelihood of every person in it.*

We come next to the Patel or the head of the village so called as being the official grantor of *pattas* or leases for vacant lands in the villages ; under the Musalmans, he received the title of *mokuddam* or head. Colonel Sykes in his interesting paper "The Land Tenure of the Dekkan" gives an account of a meeting of the Public Authorities in six districts, comprising thirty villages with the Deshmukh and Despandus (chief of districts) to decide a dispute about the Patel's office, it being one of great emolument and importance. The Patel was personally responsible for the Government revenue, he had power to fine and imprison, to seize criminally,—he presided in the village Council, superintended the village police and regulated its internal economy. Colonel Briggs gives the following as his duties. "The Patel is the hereditary mayor or chief of the village , his duties are two-fold ; on the one hand, they are due to the community as the superintendent of the collections and disbursements of the village expenses ; on the other hand, as the organ between the people and the State, as the representative. He is the chief Magistrate of the village-court, the head of the police, the chief coroner of all inquests" and of the principal landholders of the corporation. On the part of the Government, also, he aids in forming

---

* At the period of the Permanent Settlement, there were 50,000 pykes or village watchman forming a relief of stationary village peons, everywhere indispensably necessary, maintained on an allotment of ten bighas of ground to every individual. In other villages where there was no land for maintenance, the chaukidar was remunerated by voluntary contributions in cash or in kind from the villagers known by the name of *Chakrani*. These *Chakran* lands have been appropriated by the zemindars, against this the ryots have protested, as the rent paid by the ryots of the present day represents nearly three-fourths of the produce of the land, though Manu has pronounced that the "cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared and cultivated it."

the assessment ; in collecting the revenue, for which in some measure he is responsible, as also for all robberies and for the production of criminals or enemies of the Government residing within his township. To exercise these functions, he must be armed with considerable authority, and possess the confidence of the Government and the village community."

In Bengal, the village chief will have to act between three different parties with opposing interests, the Government, the zemindar and the ryot.

Sir T. Munro thus details the position of a Patel in the Madras Presidency as it was sixty years ago. The powers of the Patel, as Magistrate, though not defined by any written law, are sufficiently limited by the custom of the country, to prevent their being converted into an engine of oppression. He has every facility for apprehending offenders, but he is rarely permitted to inflict even the most trifling punishment. In petty affrays or assaults, he may confine in cutchery for one or two days, and take bail for good behaviour. Where the conduct of the aggressor has been particularly outrageous, he may put him into the stocks for a day, or punish him with two or three strokes of a cane ; but the stocks and the cane are seldom resorted to. In offences of magnitude, such as house-breaking, robbery or murder, he apprehends, examines, and reports, but cannot punish. The proceedings on such occasions, are usually as follows : when a robbery happens within the limits the village, information is immediately brought to the Patel, who, if robbery had been perpetrated by a gang, and resistance is expected, puts himself at the head of a large number of armed inhabitants and goes in quest of the bandetti ; but if there were only one or two robbers, he instantly calls the village watchmen together and despatches them in pursuit. They repair to the spot where the robbery has been committed, and are guided by such intelligence as they can obtain there. If they can procure none, they shape their course by their knowledge of suspicious characters in the neighbouring villages, or they endeavour to trace the mark of the robber's feet in the sand ; and when it passes their own boundary, they shew

it to the watchmen and patel of the village within whose limit it has entered; who are then answerable for the apprehension of the offender. But if he is taken within the jurisdiction of the village where the robbery has been committed, he carried before the patel, who with the *Kurnum* (registrar) investigate the matter publicly, in a Kutchery."

The Bengalis recognised the importance of the Patel or village chief's office as shown in the following proverbs* :—

1. The chief is king of the village.
2. Do not act lordly as the village chief.
3. Even if the story or drama is ended, begin it for the village chief.
4. He is like a fat-bellied village chief.
5. He is chief of broken down village i.e., an assumed chief.
6. The village respect him not, yet in own opinion he is the village chief.

The Panchayet or the Hindu system of arbitration by a village jury of five or more persons selected by the parties themselves is one of the oldest Hindu institutions, existing long before the period of Alfred, when the English are said to have had a jury system first somewhat akin to the village council : the idea of deciding disputes by a council is one congenial to the Hindus.

Sir T. Munro, Governor of Madras, a man who gave special study to the people, as he lived among them, thus reports sixty years ago regarding the panchayet. "It appears that, under the Hindu administration there were no courts of justice, excepting the cutchery of the patels and aumildars, and that all civil cases of importance were settled by *panchayats*. The number of mem-

---

* The Bengali for a village head is *moral,* Sanskrit *mandal,* i.e., a circle : in some places he is called *mukh* as the mouth-piece of the king or government or *mokuddam* the head. The English word Colonel conveys a similar meaning, i.e., the coronel or crown of that regiment.

bers comprising the *panchayat* was not limited by any rule; it was five, ten and sometimes twenty, but most usually eight or ten. There was no limitation as to the value in suits tried by the *panchayats* assembled by the Patel or aumildar. It was left entirely to the discretion of the parties, who, if they thought that a sufficient number of persons properly qualified to give a decision, were not to be found in the village, repaired to the town in which the district aumildars resided, or ordered a panchayat either there or in other place that they desired. *The native who has a good cause always applies for a panchayat, while he who has a bad one, seeks the decision of a Collector or a Judge, because he knows it is much easier to deceive them.* The native cannot, surely, with any foundation, be said to be judged by their own law, while the trial by panchayat, to which they have always been accustomed, is done away. The code profides referees and arbitrators: but these are not what the native wants; he has most probably had recourse to them already, and when he comes forward to complain publicly, he expects a panchayat. Fully to understand the character and manners of the Hindus, requires one to have lived and been educated among them as one of themselves; and I conscientiously believe that, for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the entire life of the most acute and able European judge, devoted to that single object, could not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindu panchayat, which is an admirable instrument of decision."

It is also highly spoken of by Sir John Malcolm, another great Indian authority; in his *Sketch of the Sikhs,* after stating that, "trifling disputes about property are settled by the heads of the villages, by arbitration, and by the chiefs," he in a note to the word "arbitration" adds, "it is usual to assemble a panchayat or a court of arbitration in every part of India under a native government, and as they are always chosen from men of the best reputation in the place where they meet, this court had a high character of justice." In the Sikh Empire, the panchayat held a prominent position; each regiment had its panchayat which acted as a Colonel did in an English regiment,

it to the watchmen and patel of the village within whose limit it has entered; who are then answerable for the apprehension of the offender. But if he is taken within the jurisdiction of the village where the robbery has been committed, he carried before the patel, who with the *Kurnum* (registrar) investigate the matter publicly, in a Kutchery."

The Bengalis recognised the importance of the Patel or village chief's office as shown in the following proverbs* :—

1. The chief is king of the village.
2. Do not act lordly as the village chief.
3. Even if the story or drama is ended, begin it for the village chief.
4. He is like a fat-bellied village chief.
5. He is chief of broken down village i.e., an assumed chief.
6. The village respect him not, yet in own opinion he is the village chief.

The Panchayet or the Hindu system of arbitration by a village jury of five or more persons selected by the parties themselves is one of the oldest Hindu institutions, existing long before the period of Alfred, when the English are said to have had a jury system first somewhat akin to the village council: the idea of deciding disputes by a council is one congenial to the Hindus.

Sir T. Munro, Governor of Madras, a man who gave special study to the people, as he lived among them, thus reports sixty years ago regarding the panchayet. "It appears that, under the Hindu administration there were no courts of justice, excepting the cutchery of the patels and aumildars, and that all civil cases of importance were settled by *panchayats*. The number of mem-

* The Bengali for a village head is *moral,* Sanskrit *mandal,* i.e., a circle: in some places he is called *mukh* as the mouth-piece of the king or government or *mokuddam* the head. The English word Colonel conveys a similar meaning, i.e., the *coronel* or crown of that regiment.

bers comprising the *panchayat* was not limited by any rule ; it was five, ten and sometimes twenty, but most usually eight or ten. There was no limitation as to the value in suits tried by the *panchayats* assembled by the Patel or aumildar. It was left entirely to the discretion of the parties, who, if they thought that a sufficient number of persons properly qualified to give a decision, were not to be found in the village, repaired to the town in which the district aumildars resided, or ordered a panchayat either there or in other place that they desired. *The native who has a good cause always applies for a panchayat, while he who has a bad one, seeks the decision of a Collector or a Judge, because he knows it is much easier to deceive them.* The native cannot, surely, with any foundation, be said to be judged by their own law, while the trial by panchayat, to which they have always been accustomed, is done away. The code profides referees and arbitrators : but these are not what the native wants ; he has most probably had recourse to them already, and when he comes forward to complain publicly, he expects a panchayat. Fully to understand the character and manners of the Hindus, requires one to have lived and been educated among them as one of themselves ; and I conscientiously believe that, for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the entire life of the most acute and able European judge, devoted to that single object, could not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindu panchayat, which is an admirable instrument of decision."

It is also highly spoken of by Sir John Malcolm, another great Indian authority ; in his *Sketch of the Sikhs,* after stating that, "trifling disputes about property are settled by the heads of the villages, by arbitration, and by the chiefs," he in a note to the word "arbitration" adds, "it is usual to assemble a panchayat or a court of arbitration in every part of India under a native government, and as they are always chosen from men of the best reputation in the place where they meet, this court had a high character of justice." In the Sikh Empire, the panchayat held a prominent position ; each regiment had its panchayat which acted as a Colonel did in an English regiment,

but they were not adapted for military purposes. Equally under the Marhatta Empire, notwithstanding the lawlessness of its rule, almost all civil affairs were decided by the awards of a *panchayat* or arbitration regularly summoned from the classes of merchants.*

With myself the panchayat or personally village jury is no more theory derived from books. I have seen in villages the advantage of this panchayat system. I have constantly employed it when I wanted a subject investigated, and I have been often surprised at the acuteness evinced by these simple people, and the shrewd way in which they sifted evidence. The panchayat is still used by the Hindus in investigating offences against case, and the penalties are fine or expulsion ; the members may be seen sitting on a mat under a tree, by the roadside or in the market place, administering what scripture calls justice by the gate, their decision is final, and should they, for instance, sentence a man who had lost a cow by accident, not to be shaved by the village barber, even a judge's order would not be sufficient to get a hair taken from his chin.

The following Bengali proverbs illustrate the value set on panchayat or native jury system :—

1. Whatever ten* persons meeting decide on, whether it is successful or a failure, there is no shame.

---

* The *Smriti Chandrika*, a celebrated work on Hindu law, gives a list of *Sabhas*, or courts of different classes composed of foresters, merchants, military, chosen by the parties themselves. *Gramavasa Sabha* composed partly of the villagers, and partly of strangers or of military and civilians together. *Gram Sabha* village court where *Mahajanas* or heads of caste met to decide disputes arising in the village city court. *Sreni Sabha* composed of lower classes of barbers ; washermen, to decide disputes among themselves. These simple courts were like those of arbitration—setting matters in a cheap and simple way under a tree, thus avoiding the law's "glorious uncertainty and delay", and rescuing the poor man from the clutches of attorneys. The superior courts were composed of Brahmans, but even there, *Sabhasads* or assessors were allowed, and some of them might be merchants who judged of the facts and law of the case whether the king and other officers presided in the courts or no ; in the language of *Smriti Chandrika* "the chief judge interrogates, the king executes, the assessor judges of the facts, and the law determines punishment."

* The Village Council was often composed of ten.

2. If ten persons agree, then Bhagavan is a ghost.
3. If each person among ten gives a stick, it will make a bundle for one i.e., a joint-stock contribution.
4. To go in the steps of another is often easy.
5. Where ten persons are gathered together, God is in the midst.
6. If ten persons upbraid one, his life is vain.
7. I will go where ten go.
8. What ten persons say has a foundation.
9. The power of ten persons is equal to a lion's.
10. From the mouth of ten person's truth.
11. Ten flowers together make a bunch or nosegay.
12. If five persons are not entertained by him, he is not a householder.
13. If seven or five deliberate the work is done.
14 Seven thieves assembled can divide even peas.
15. If seven persons discuss, five will decide it.
16. Seven weavers work at a cloth, but each to his own interest.
17. A good person brings five persons to eat with him.

Thus far of the village system in India, we shall now glance at that of Russia. Hitherto Russia has been regarded from an Indian point of view as a mere military power ; the northern Colossus swallowing up whole empires, while she on the other hand has looked upon us in the same light. The canal of Suez will, however, gradually have a great affect (sic) in altering this view, as it is bringing India and Russia into close connections of trade, a vast opening is presented to India in supplying Russia with cotton, tea, indigo, spices ; the best indigo of Bengal has for some time gone to Russia, and 20,000 tons of cotton are exported annually. Trade will lead to travelling and social intercourse ; and we see in the case of our American cousins how such trade checks warlike propensities on both the Atlantic. The *Delhi Gazette* has lately expressed a great truth of this question. "Instead of fighting the Russians we shall find it far more pleasant and more profitable to trade with them, if they have no objection. Bombay cotton and Hongkong tea have gone already by the Red Sea to Odessa, and thence by rail to Moscow. Thus

we find a door open to all the markets of the Russian Empire. Let us hope that no misunderstanding or mismanagement may close it. The prospect to businessmen in India and China is at present magnificent. Nothing but political folly on one side or other is likely to prevent its realization. To rival each other in the arts of peace is the true glory of nationals." In this day of quick communication among peoples, the time is surely come when we may without jealousy look at each other's Empires, calmly acting in the spirit of those glorious words of Haxthausen, "both nations had received from Providence in this respective spheres of action, one and the same mission, that of spreading Christianity and civilization throughout Asia—Russia by land, England by sea ; sooner or later they must meet in that quarter of the globe, but not necessarily in a hostile attitude. By means of commerce both nations carry the produce of their industry into Asia, and disseminate the elements of modern civilisation ; in this manner also the manners and customs of life are gradually changing and preparing for the greater political and religious transformations which evidently await Central Asia."*

Social questions relating to Russia are among those which may with advantage be discussed even in India, but none with more advantage than the village system of Russia. The village system is the foundation-stone of the organisation of all Eastern Europe, wherever the Slavonic race have gained a footing, but Russia is the country where it has developed itself as the basis of all substantial reform. Hence, when the Czar began his great reforms, his principle was, if you are to have no revolution on high you must begin with reform from below. He took a widely different view from Lord Cornwallis and the feudal party—whose maxim was to work downwards. Had the Czar adopted the principle of feudalism, i.e. working downward or, as it is phrased,

* The last volume of the Royal Geographical Society of London's Proceedings contains several valuable papers written by the Russians on Survey & Explorations in Central Asia. Severtsoff on the Thian Shan range, Osten Sacken on the Trans Narya country, Fedchenko on the Zaraphan valley are interesting contributions.

filtering down to the masses,—self emancipation would have been the work of a century.

Russia has until lately been for two centuries the most autocratic country in Europe, and yet, she has had in her bosom a most democratic institution ; village republics or rural municipalities, which have existed ever since the nation emerged from the plains of Central Asia and moved towards the setting sun. The equal division of property in the village resembles the joint family system of the Hindus, with this important exception that Russia, though there is a joint village possession yet there is individual cultivation and individual profit. Haxthausen remarks on this joint property in land, "Equal division springs from the most ancient constitutional principle of the Slavs, that of joint and undivided family possession, and periodical sharing of the produce ; this probably existed among all the Slavonian races, and is still to be found in Servia, Croatia, etc., where it is the practice, in some parts, not even to divide the land every year, but to cultivate it jointly under the direction of the "elders", and only to share the harvests equally among the members of the commune. Equal division prevails in Russia, even among the private serfs, who in great Russia were formerly always, and still are generally, placed upon *obrak* (money tax). It is, however, somewhat modified in the case of those who have to perform *corvees* for the proprietor."

The village system will serve hereafter as the basis for a constitutional Government of Russia, but the minute division of the land is opposed to any scientific cultivation of it and entails great waste of labour. This equal division has, like the joint family of Bengal, a tendency to encourage idleness and to check improvements in agriculture, and it is not likely to last long. France and Ireland are being examples of its evils, but above all Bengal, where a mango tree has sometimes sixteen co-sharers. Even Miliutine, the great exponent of the Russian system admits, "*L'Exploitation communale elant un usage elementaire. elle devra necessairment faire place avec le temps, a la profit individual.*" In Prussia communal lands have been given up and it will soon be a similar case in India. Ekart in his valuable work on Russia

has written much on this. Haxthausen has clearly shown the evils of it, the peasants themselves in parts of the country called the periodical allotment the *tchernoi peredel* or black allotment.

To Haxthausen in his *Russian Empire, its people, intitutions and resources,* Europe is indebted to the discovery of the village system of Russia ; like another Layard he went down to explore Russian social and rural life, and brought up as a trophy this village system, redolent of antiquity with the hoar of three thousand years upon it. The book has been extensively circulated in the French and German languages, and ought to find a place in every Indian library :* but it should be borne in mind, Haxthausen wrote of Russia twenty-five years ago. Since his time there has been a vast improvement. The serfs have been emancipated, and the village system is made the basis of all other reforms, gradually developing itself as a "bulwark of self-respect and well-regulated freedom, a system of self-government, that the people might be released from the despotism and avarice of the officials "; and as village municipalities in India existed long ere the Moslem invader set a foot on the soil of India, and enabled the humble peasant to feel that unity was strength, that by combination, the feeble could present a bulwark against feudalism in all shapes ; so these peasant republics in Russia have done and are doing good services in their day. The peasants live on land of their own, protected by a chief of their own electing. The position of Russia in dreary wastes and vast forests renders combination necessary as a protection against wild beasts, marauders, and inclement skins. The soil is the golden link of union

* Haxthausen published in 1869, another work on serf-emancipation in Russia. Monsieur Miliutine, brother of the Minister of War, has laboured indefatigably in this subject, as have Prince Cherkaski, now Lord Mayor of Moscow, and Monsieur Samarin. Milieutin's work Etudes sur la question de la abolition de Servage in Russia gives a very valuable digest of the prepatory steps taken for serf-emancipation and in organising the commune. Milieutine has been to Russia what Thomason was to North India, the friend of the village commune and the peasants' rampart against oppression. Bodemstedt's Russissche fragmente zur Kenntris des Staats und Volkslevens is also full of valuable materials. Instances are known of men absent twenty years from his village, returning and claiming his share.

in a Russian community; the soil is owned in common, and in equal shares, all are equal. The head of the village is elected by the heads of families for three years; he presides over the local courts, levies fines, and is the only official who can of his own will inflict corporal punishment, and in conjunction with the heads of villages, he can deport a man to Siberia. I have myself attended those courts and seen a peasant fined for abusing his wife. The village tribunal can make a man an out-cast as effectually as any Panchayat of Brahmans can, and a court of law can afford no redress; he remains a vagabond.

The land question is becoming the question of the day even in England—how to check pauperism and proletarianism. The land question of Russia is therefore worth studying in this point of view. The Russian view on land is admirably given by Haxthausen I, pp. 132 34.

"The St. Simonians would abolish all private property in land, and the right of inheriting it, substituting only a life interest in its place. In Russia this arrangement actually exists. Among the people, individuals have usually no property in land, not even a certain fixed occupation: they have only a claim to the usufruct; there can, therefore, be no inheritance. The principles, however, which lie at the base of this social condition are different from those upon which the St. Simonians would establish their modern polity. They are completely national, and adapted to a Christian monarchy. According to St. Simon, the land belongs to the spirit of humanity, as the God of the earth. Every man is a temporary emanation from this Deity; and therefore, so long as he exists as an individual in the world, and has not yet flowed back into the universal spirit, he has a right to a certain amount of what the earth produces. This right, however, is wholly personal, not an inherited claim to a portion of the earth's produce. The Russians, on the other hand, say that the earth belongs to the Creator, and has been granted by Him to Adam and his descendants. Successive generations inherited the possession; and their numbers increased, they occupied a greater extent of the earth's surface, which they shared under the Divine guidance in the worlds history. The country now called Russia fell to the

progenitor of the Russian ; and his descendants, remaining united under the head of their race, and thus constituting a people, spread over the territory which has thus by the providence of God become their property. The disposal of it, as in a family, belongs to the father, the head of the race, the Czar : an individual has a right to share in it only so long as he lives in unity with the Czar and his people. The soil is the joint property of the national family, and the father or Czar has the sole disposal of it, and distributes it among the families into which the nation has in the course of time been divided. A joint occupancy of the whole could only exist while the people led a nomadic life ; when they became settled, a portion was assigned to each family, which occupied its share under a separate head. The right of the family thus arose in a manner quite analoguous to that of the nation. The property is a family property, belonging equally, but undivided to all the members of the family—the father having the disposal and distribution of the produce. If a member insists on a division, he receives his portion, but loses all claim upon the joint possession ; he is paid off and excluded, and henceforth constitutes a new family. The families thus remained for many generations under their respective heads, and became family communes : hence arose the communal rights."

I spent five months in Russia in 1863, mainly enquiring into the working of serf emancipation, it was my privilege to meet with some of those who were the leaders in carrying out the Government measures, and I found that the basis of all lay in land secured to the peasant on certain conditions, and the elevation of the peasant in the social scale by giving him according to the old Slavonic system a share in the village administration based on elective system. The Russian commune has occupied many Russian pens,* it is the idol of the Philo-slav+ party whose aim is to elevate Russia by her own indigenous systems.

---

* The estimation in which the *Mir* or village commune is held by the Russian peasants may be judged by their proverbs. We select a few as illustrations from Dahl's *Poslovitsoi Russ* or 25,000 Russian Proverbs, Moskva 1862.

1. The voice of the people is the voice of God.
2. What the commune has arranged is God's decision.

The reform party of Russia also base their other reforms on this. Haxthausen remarks on this subject of the Franco-mania in Russia "nowhere are the dangers which accompany our modern civilisation so evident as among the Russians. In the educated classes there are many who have acquired the highest European culture; they may be judged according to the proverb—'half philosophy draws a man away from God; perfect philosophy conducts man to God': when half culture touches the Russian he is ruined; it is said that when he shaves off his hair, lays aside the kaftan, and puts on a European coat, he becomes a knave. The Russians who have acquired the usual West European cultivation are called lackered barbarians; this is inaccurate; they are no barbarians, but a healthy, vigorous intellectual people, of noble race, religious and moral; if however, they are brought suddenly into contact with and receive the taint of modern culture, their natural virtues vanish; their religion and morals, simplicity, and honesty are destroyed, and nothing remains but the animal nature common to man. The Russian, however, then becomes worse than those who bear the poison of civilization more easily, from its having been longer united with their existing manners."

---

3. The Commune is a great personage, a great work.
4. Over the commune there is no judge, God alone judges the commune.
5. The *Mir* is the surging wave.
6. The neck and shoulders of the *Mir* are broad, it will carry all.
7. The *Mir* sighs and the rock is rent asunder.
8. A thread of the *Mir* becomes a shirt for the naked.
9. What belongs to the *Mir* also belongs to the little son of the mother.
10. The *Mir* is answerable for the country's defence.

† The movement of the Philo-slav party are deserving of close attention; while the Pan-slavists are political in their objects aiming at the federation of all the Slavonic race under Russia as its head: the Philo-slavs are social in their views, they consider that Russia as a Slavonic country has her own special field, that she has been injured by the servile imitation of German and French liberalism and manners. The heir to the Russsian throne belongs to the Philo-slav party, which represents pretty much what the oriental party is in India.

The Mir* or Russian village municipality is presided over by a *starasta* or elder, elected by the heads of families, he has to deal with village lands, the poor, the police, the schools ; the *starasta* in connection with the heads of families elected according to the amount of their land, presides over the communal assembly. He is village judge and head of the police, he can fine to the amount of a couple of roubles and imprison for two days, but he is subordinate in these points to the district elder, and even the allotment of land takes place in an assembly of the whole commune, including the women and children ; there are in such commune skilful land surveyors,† without any education, but what has been acquired from the traditional habits of the place, who execute the work of division. Next on the scale is the *volost* as district as district assembly, composed of from 300 to 2000 families, at their head is the *golova* or head aided by the village councils, composed of the *starastas* as village head, as well as the assistant *starastas* of the different villages. In matters of importance he summons the district assembly composed of the different communities chosen from every ten heads of families : they have charge of taxation and recruiting matters, and control the officials of the villages. The *starasta* is subordinate to the Justice of Peace or Honorary Magistrate**. Magistrates to the number of twelve are chosen from the district assembly which is composed of deputies from the village ; their jurisdiction extends to civil matters under 100 roubles, and the punishing of trifling crimes ; they have no control, however, over

* The Russian word *Mir* means world, and corresponds in meaning to the *mandal,* village chief, i.e., the centre of a circle among the Hindus, whose sphere is a mundus.

† It would be well if we had that class in Bengal for the *amins* or native land surveyors are the plague of the country, his measurements are too often regulated by the amount of bribe he receives. The Government of Bengal is adopting a good plan to check this. by requiring a knowledge of land surveying from subordinate Government officers.

** The Judge de Paix, or Honorary Magistrates of Russia are 1400 in number. They are elected by the community of the district from among the nobles, and landholders in that or the neighbouring districts, etc., they can fine to the extent of 300 roubles and sentence to three months' imprisonment.

the landed proprietors who are under the jurisdiction of the regular police. The associating principle takes a wider range in Russia than in India, for in the latter country at the time of the mutiny, the peasants being isolated could not combine for the defence of order ; in Russia, on the other hand, every ten villages send deputies to form a *volost* or canton, and ten or twelve cantons form a district, the members of which are chosen by peasants, merchants, clergy, nobles, each apart and each free.

At the top, crowning the pyramid, is the *zemstvo* or provincial assembly composed not only of delegates from *volost* or districts, who hold regular sessions and administer the affairs of a country, in matters relating to roads, education, prisons, fisheries, imperial taxation, conscription, spirit licenses. These provincial assemblies have also charge of the construction and maintenance of public buildings, mutual insurances, the promotion of local trade and industry ; materials required for the civil and military administration, postal arrangements, the levying of taxes imposed by law, the management of property, capital and income belonging to the country districts, proposals relating to matters of public local necessity. The Government with wise foresight are entrusting to them gradually enlarged powers, so as ultimately to form the germ of a real representative assembly in Russia, a House of Commons for which she is not yet fit. The Government find this system very convenient in eliciting public opinion and levying taxation, as well as an admirable training school for self-government*. The landlord interest is strong in the provincial assembly, the peasant interest in the district assembly. An impetus has been given by them to railway extension, and their advice has been of great use as to the line

---

* In looking through some files of recent Russian newspaper, we find the *zemtvo* occupying an important position ; railway projects have been submitted to their consideration, the Government have consulted them on the period of military servive, and the classes it ought to embrace. In the district of Khersen the *zemstvo* has taken up the question of storehouses for times of famine. The *zemstvo* of Novo Amzenne in the Samara government, have voted 38,000 roubles for village schools ; it has voted, on the shole, 152,000 roubles in the Annual Budget, out of these 61,000 are obligatory, the rest discretional.

ked by them.

Hepworth Dixon in his 'Free Russia', a book which presents
ny interesting points relating to Russia and which well deserves
usal, though commenting freely on certain defects of these
al communes, such as,—the exercise of arbitrary power by
orant men, their tendency to ostracise an able man, their
ering a parish spirit separating village from town, strengthen-
the ideas of caste and class, and placing the idle on the
e level with the industrious—admits, however, that the village
mmunes have some virtues. "A minister of war and a minis-
of finance are keenly akin to those virtues, since a man who
es to levy troops and taxes in a quick uncostly fashion, finds
asier to deal with fifty thousand *starastas* (village heads)
with fifty million peasants. A minister of justice thinks
comfort of the host of watchful eyes, that are kept in self-
nce on such as are suspected of falling into evil ways. These
es are not all, nor nearly all. A rural system in which
married man has a stake in the soil, produces a conserva-
and peaceful people. No race on earth so clings to old
or prays for peace so fervently as the Russ, where each
is a landholder, abject poverty is unknown, and Russia
cant need for poor laws and work-houses, since she has no
misery in her midst as a permanent pauper class. The
unes present an organic coherence and compact social
gth which can be found nowhere else, and yield the incal-
le advantage that no proletariate can be formed so long
y exist with their present constitution. A man may squander
e all he possesses, but his children do not inherit his pover-
ey still retain their claim upon the land by a right not
ed from him, but from their birth as members of the com-
. Everybody has, a field, a cow; perhaps a horse and
Even when a fellow is lazy enough, and base enough to
himself, he cannot ruin his sons. They hold their place
commune: when they grow up to man's estate, they will
their lots and set up in life on their own account. The
an dies and leaves to his province no legacy of poverty

and crime. The communes cherish love for parents, and respect for age. They keep alive the feeling of brotherhood and equality, and inspire the country with a sentiment of mutual dependence and mutual help."

Russia has for its towns an institution on a similar principle called the *artel,* an association for workmen following the same craft for mutual protection and support ; they choose their own chiefs, and regulate themselves by rules framed by themselves, inflicting their own fines and punishments. They are to the town what the commune is to the country. There is also one of lower grade of cooks, petty shop-keepers, working men on the same principle, a Russian trade union ; these are recognised by the Russian Government*.

The institution has been found very useful in Russia ; you want a confidential clerk in an office, you obtain him from the head of the *artel* who is responsible for his character, and will compensate you in case of fraud by the employed, the *artel* being responsible for any defalcation ; the number will hunt the defaulter down like a wolf.

Such an institution might be of great use in India where persons suffer so much from the fraud of servants. A proposal to this effect was made some years ago in Calcutta by an English merchant, who had lived some years in St. Peterburg, and saw the good working of the *artel* there.

He thus describes the *artel* in St. Petersburg :—

"These 'Artels' are establishments consisting of companies of from 30 to 70 members (peasants) from the interior of Russia,

---

* But the idea is not a new one to India : every class of tradesmen or mechanics has a *chaudri* or head, he guide them as a *manji* does a boat, or a sirdar the bearers, he was a *paramanik,* the process was summary *viva voce,* no attorneys employed.

who are written up as citizens, paying to the Government as tax of Roubles 6, say Rs. 7-8-0, each man. A head or elder is chosen from them twice a year, one for the summer months, and the other for the winter : they also choose a secretary or writer for themselves, who is not changed very often. Every new comer as a member has to pay in a sum of Roubles 300, say Rs. 375, which sum is added to the fund of the company, as also a certain percentage of the yearly earnings. These sums are deposited in the Imperial Bank, and out of which any losses that may occur are paid, the company being responsible for everyone of their members. After the percentage from the earnings of the Artel Chicks (i.e. members) is deducted and placed in the Bank, the remainder is divided among them in proportion to the time each of them has been in the Artel. For their labourage there is a regular rate according to which each merchant pays by the Artel ; the accounts are rendered monthly. Each employer (merchant) has a right to have three Artel clerks if he wishes, at the moderate rate of Roubles 11 per month, each man, say Rs. 14, they providing their own board and lodging if need be. The duty of these Artel clerks is to act for the most part as sircars do in this country, to see that the labourers do their duty in loading and discharging vessels and lighters, in passing goods through the Custom House, and in receiving and delivering goods from merchants' warehouses, etc."

The following is his plan for Calcutta :

"It is proposed to incorporate the coolies plying for hire on the river and amongst the warehouses of Calcutta, within boundaries to be defined, into a guild or craft, having a monopoly of porterages and lumping within such limits, at rates for which they shall be held liable to give service subject to penalty in case of refusal. The guild, so formed, to be under the direction of leading European and native merchants, who, in concert with the officers of the port, and keeping in view the profits of trade and the tonnage of exports and imports on the one hand, and the cost of food and other necessaries of life on the other hand,

should from time to time regulate the rates to be paid per ton *for the different classes of labour to be performed.*"

"The money so earned by the coolies to be realized by the Committee above specified, on bills to be presented weekly or monthly; and each cooly (or gang of coolies) to receive his proportion according to the number of hours worked, after deducting a percentage to be invested in Government securities as a Reserve Benefit Fund for the purposes about to be described."

The advantages he points out are the following:—

"The intervention of middle-men being thus dispensed with, the cooly would receive either immediately in cash, or eventually in benefit, his entire wages, after defraying the expenses of management; and the merchant, when all details are scheduled, would know to a rupee what the due charge on his goods for loadings, discharging, and porterage, should be; thus avoiding all dispute with banians, sircars, and landing agents, and becoming independent of their services."

"The Benefit to the cooly would further be a certain provision for himself and those of his family dependent on his labour in the event of sickness, casualty, or stagnation of trade, and a guaranteed superannuation allowance in old age or premature infirmity."

We must now close this interesting subject, but the following points are deserving of fuller enquiry.

1. What traces of the village system are to be found in the Vedic writings.
   Ditto in the Puranic.
   Ditto in the Buddhist system.
2. Proverbs from various parts of India illustrative of the village system.
3. How is the *threefold* division of village lands observed in various parts of India, it exists in Russia.

4. How far is the plan of Sir B. Frere practicable in Bengal of having species of popular representation, beginning with the village unit and having district assemblies as in Russia.*

---

* Sir Bartle Frere laid it down in a recent lecture that we know little of the public opinion of India, and that it is very desirable to know more of it. In two cases, the Afgan war and the mutiny, he contended, we should have avoided mischievous errors of conduct, had we known what that opinion was. India, he said, was no longer, as it used to be, an India of perpetual conquests; it is becoming not only a peaceful, but a thoughtful and an educated country; and if we want to govern it successfully, we must censure its public opinion, especially in finance, which lies at the root of national contentment and discontent.

After adverting to the fact that the native press of India represented the merest fraction of Indian public opinion, Sir Bartle Frere proceeded to build up on Sir Donald McLeod's admission a plan for enabling the governing race in India to consult the opinion of the native population. He would begin with the Indian village, which already had its little council and its headman; and this body he would encourage to make its wants and wishes known to the district officer by an occasional memorandum or petition. Once a year there should be a mere formal meeting of the village council to report briefly on local wants and requirements, and to elect delegates to the district council, the next step is Sir Bartle Frere's new organisation of India. These district councils would resemble our country meetings in England. They should meet once a year, be presided over by the district native officers, who would report their proceedings to the superior authorities. To this district council Sir Bartle Frere would—let me, however, quote his own words "entrust ourselves unreservedly the management of all district funds for roads, schools, and police, and I would consult them on all matters affecting or relating to the district. I do not mean," he continued "that I would put the initiative or the control of everything into their hands, but I would ponder well their advice, and hear their comments on every measure affecting them, and relieve all on every proposed re-settlement of the land on revision of other items of revenue." Above the district council would come the provincial council, the composition and functions of which were thus defined by Sir Bartle Frere: "The provincial councils might consist of one or more representatives from each district council and from each great city municipality not included in a district, all chiefs and larger jagirdars, all collectors and magistrates, and political agents and selected officers from the public

The most difficult problem to solve in Bengal is—who shall appoint the village head—the people are weak and cowardly by nature, and ages of feudal oppression have not lessened this—on the other hand the Government functionaries are too far removed from the people, and too much encumbered with other questions to be able to nominate the proper persons ; we believe the heads of families are the best after all for this, they may make many blunders in the beginning but they will be gradually trained to self-government. We see in the case of Russia that in spite of the autocracy and bureaucracy of former years, popular election has now its sway.

---

works, educational, railway and canal departments. They would be summoned annually, or oftener if necessary, and should be presided over by a revenue or political officer of the highest grade, such as the Revenue Commissioners in Bombay, or a member of the Revenue Board, or a selected Commissioner of Revenue in other parts of India...."These provincial councils I would consult unreservedly regarding the apportionment of all imperial funds allotted to the province, and I would adopt no great measure affecting the masses of the people until it had been thoroughly discussed in these provincial assemblies. To them I would also entrust the selection of a limited number of representatives to be summoned to the local legislative council, where their functions would be like those of the other members, not merely consultative or suggestive, but legislative."

The brief discussion which ensued was adjourned when the Chairman of the Meeting, Sir Vincent Eyre, in expressing his admiration of Sir Bartle Frere's scheme, spoke of it as approved of, not only by Sir William Muir, but by the Viceroy himself.

APPENDIX A

In confirmation of the affinities of the Village Communities of India and Russia, we shall give some illustrations of their language affinities.

The Russian language—so important in connection with its rising, and singularly interesting literature—as well as in its increasing influence over Central & Northern Asia, has hitherto, by its strange characters and almost unpronounceable words appeared to Englishmen like the Chinese—a tongue requiring a life-time for its study; even the Germans, such indefatigable philologists, seemed to have quailed before it; hence they are known in Russia by the title of *N'metz* or dummies, i.e., those that do not know Russian.* Comparative Philology, however, leading from the known to the unknown enables them to scale the walls of even this fortress.

A Russian Dictionary has been published by Reiff on an etymological basis, giving the words in order as derived from Slavonic roots, with their affinities in other languages. Any one that will study the works of Bopp, Westergard and Benfey, on this subject, must rise with the conviction that the Russian priest, in the Kremlin, and the Brahman, in Benares, speak essentially the same language. Wedgwood in his Dictionary of English etymology has traced out the affinities between various English and Russian words. Russian writers, Homiakoff, Hilferding, have written on the affinity of the Russian language with the Sanskrit, but Dr. Dorn in his 'de affinitate linguoe slavice et Sanskritoe' has enlarged fully on the subject, as has Bopp, in his Vergleichende Grammatik.

---

* On a similar principle to that of the Greeks who called all men who did not know the Greek tongue barbarians; when Russian peasants see to Germans talking, they exclaim wonderful—see the dumb are speaking.

There are about 1600 roots in Slavonic, the parent of the Russian; about the same number are in Sanskrit; one-third of these roots are similar in both languages, proving the respective languages come from a common parent. The grammatical affinities are strong in the cases, the pronouns, the verb substantive, the tenses of verbs. We select now for illustration some of the lexicographical points of resemblance in common words :—

Russian		*Sanskrit*	*Meaning*
Muish	11*	Mush	Mouse
Gus	10	Hansa	Goose
Vuidra	1	Utra	Other
Kukushka	4	Kokil	Cuckoo
Sobak	2	Svan	Dog
Nagot	26	Nakh	Nail
Ust	16	Ost	Mouth
Cerdtsa	67	Hrid	Heart
Desnitza	5	Dakshina	Right hand
Utrova	28	Antar	Belly
Gorlo	24	Gal	Gullet
Ruda	7	Rudhir	Blood
Ruka	120	Kar	Hand
Griva	12	Griva	Neck
Nos	17	Na'c	Nose
Kost	35	Asthi	Bone
Brov	4	Bru	Eye-Brow
Oko	28	Akshi	Eye
Glava	54	Kapa'l	Head
Suin	11	Duhitri	Daughter
Dotcheri	5	Sunu	Son
Brata	21	Bhratri	Brother
Sestra	8	Svasrī	Sister
Otsa	30	Tatta	Father, dad
Mata	23	Matri	Mother
Ionoi	7	Juvan	Young
Starin	47	Sthavira	Old

* The figures denote the number of Russian words of the same etymology or root.

Russian		*Sanskrit*	*Meaning*
Mujhā	38	Manush	Man
Jhena	24	Jani	Woman
Gospod	33	Pati	Lord
Put	36	Path	Path
Neba	15	Nabhas	Heaven
Zemlio	10	Sima	Earth
Doma	24	Dh'man	House
Ulitza	6	Shala	Street
More	17	Mir	Sea
Dreva	27	Dru	Tree
Gora	25	Giri	Mountain
Svet	70	Svit	Light
Med	26	Madhu	Honey
Myeso	19	Mānsa	Meat
Voda	81	Ud	Water
Yed	68	Ad	Eat
Den	47	Din	Day
Notch	24	Nisa	Night
Zima	14	Him	Winter
Vesna	8	Vasanta	Spring
Jhiv	120	Jiv	Life
Malin	20	Malin	Small
Temā	21	Tamas	Darkness
Imye	3g	Nāman	Name
Kidat	45	Kit	Throw, quit
Bog	123	Bhagavan	God
Dolgiya	58	Dīrgha	Long
Svadu	56	Svadu	Sweet
Nobin	53	Nava	New
Ves	10	Visva	All
Tchistui	55	Suchi	Chaste
Veli	34	Valin	Great
Linbhui	90	Lubh	Lovely
Milui	46	Mil	Mild
Sukhoi	98	Sushka	Dry
Tepliu	50	Tap	Hot

Russian		*Sanskrit*	*Meaning*
Syedin	247	Sad	Sit
Pit	100	Pi	Drink
Idu	216	Etum	Go
Dāt	190	Dā	Gift
Buit	135	Bhu	Be
Dri	84	Dri	Tear
Imu	283	Yam	Restrain
Stat	340	Sta	Stay
Ved	200	Vid	Know
Znat	84	Jynā	Know
Vertet	204	Vrit	Turn
Dvā	61	Dvi	Two
Tri	34	Tri	Three
Chetur	28	Chaturtha	Fourth
Pyet	20	Pancham	Five
Shesh	13	Shash	Six
Sedm	19	Saptam	Seven
Vosem	12	Ashtam	Eight
Desyat	62	Dasam	Ten
Sto	18	Sat	One hundred
Spet	72	Spad	Quick
Ryedh	117	Radh	Arrange
Stiunat	77	Shita	Cold
Iskat	63	Icchha	Wish
Dvig	65	Tvaj	Move
Peku	92	Patch	Cook
Pasti	50	Pal	Feed
Bit	160	Bad	Beat
Meta	63	Meta	Aim
Pluit	85	Plu	Float
Stret	98	Stri	Spread
Nujda	98	Nud	Necessity

Indian Cooly Emigration
By Mr. J. Geoghegan C. S.
Read on the 26th March, 1872.

The earliest labour emigration seems to have taken place from the southern portion of the Indian continent. A Tamil exodus of the Straits Settlements had begun before the end of the last century, and soon after the conquest of the Tenaserim Provinces labour begin to flow thither from the other side of the Bay of Bengal. The emigrants to the Straits were employed both as domestic servants and as agricultural labourers, and indeed the sugar, spice, tapioca and cocoanut plantations of Penang have come to depend on Madras entirely for hands to cultivate them. Ceylon too has long derived a supply of labour from the Continent. From what date this latter stream of emigration or migration has been flowing, is not clear, but the great development of coffee-planting as the main industry of Ceylon is what has swelled that stream to its present volume. It has not been thought necessary to bring the emigration in these directions under any special control. Burmah is still, and Penang and Singapore were till 1867 an integral portion of the Indian Empire, while the proximity of Ceylon and the brief sea-pass (for the Tamils all followed the Panmben route) together with the fact of a considerable population of cognate origin being already settled in the island, led to the exemption of emigration thither from any peculiar restrictions. One consequence of this has been that the history of the Indian Labour supply of these settlements is very imperfectly known. According to the last census of Penang (which absorbs by far the largest share of the labour emigrating to the group of small colonies scattered along the coast of the Malayan Peninsula and known collectively as the Straits Settlements), the Tamils numbered one-sixth of the total population, or 25,000 out of 150,000, and the average annual influx of Indian labourers is about 4,000 souls. It is, I believe, only recently that Government has become aware of the magnitude

of the Ceylon emigration. It appears that for each of the ten years ending 1869 an average number of 65,000 persons, of whom nearly 50,000 were adult males, left the Southern Presidency to work on the Singhalese coffee estates. The return stream averaged 48,000 a year; the difference over and above what is due to deaths in the island is absorbed in the resident Tamil population. The provisions of the local law which require the planters to maintain a record of mortality among their labourers, having been but laxly enforced, no accurate statistics of deaths are attainable; but from enquiries recently instituted there does not appear to be any reason to suppose that the death rate is heavy. The extent of the emigration to Burmah cannot be accurately shown, but the Indian labour in that province seems to be at present confined to the sphere of domestic service and the miscellaneous work to seaport towns.

The first instance of emigration of which I have been able to find any exact record belongs to the year 1830, when a French merchant, by means Toseph Argand obtained the permission of the Government of India to convey some 130 Indian artisans to the island of Bourbon, conditionally on each intending emigrant appearing before one of the Calcutta Magistrate and acknowledging that we went voluntarily and with full understanding of his contract. Captain Birch, then Commissioner of Police, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee of 1838, does indeed state his expression that labour was exported from India to Mauritius and Bourbon so early as the latter Colony, expresses a belief that emigration dates from 1826. But I have traced nothing to confirm these statements, and in M. Argand's application to Government no reference is made to any prior instance of the like kind. At any rate, whether the first emigrants sailed in 1819 or 1830, the cases of emigration to regions more distant than Singapore or Moulmein were upto 1834 quite sporadic, and no distinct tide of labour traffic set in till in that year the abolition of slavery in British colonies compelled the sugar planters of Mauritius and the West Indies to look elsewhere for hands to do the work of the indolent and recalcitrant, "Quashy". The Mauritius planters at once perceived that India was their most hopeful recruiting ground, and a ship-load of some 40 Indian Coolies reached that island in August 1834, the very

month which witnessed the transformation of slaves into "apprentices" by act of Parliament. The only control which was at first attempted to place upon the emigration thus initiated, was, to require intending emigrants to appear before a Magistrate at the port of emigration and to satisfy him of their freedom of choice and knowledge of the nature of their agreements. Even this small check was only applied by executive order, and as there was no penalty for neglect, many emigrants seem to have left the country quite unregistered. Altogether, between August 1834 and May 1837, about 7,000 emigrants left Calcutta for Mauritius. Of these, about half were probably "hill coolies", or "junglees" as they were called, that is to say, in all likelihood "Oraon Kols", the "natives of India" as Colonel Dalton aptly designates them. Of the whole number, only about 200 were women. The emigration of this period from Bombay seems to have been very small; and from Madras no figures are forthcoming.

Meantime the necessity of enforcing some control upon the traffic was urged upon the Government from various quarters, especially by the authorities of Mauritius. Two members of the Civil Service, Messrs. Scott and Parry Woodcock (the latter, a name well-known in the history of Indian Jail Reform) had recently visited that colony; and their reports, while on the whole taking a favourable view of the then position of the Indian emigrant, went to show that in certain points the system stood in need of regulation. A law as accordingly drafted by the Law Commission then sitting, and, in its ultimate shape as Act V of 1837, forms the first piece of legislature on the subject in the Indian Statute Book. The Act makes it penal to receive on Board any vessel any native making a contract of service (native seamen and menial servants excepted) for labour to be performed abroad, without a permit to be granted by an officer appointed in that behalf, and such officer is bound to satisfy himself that the labourer understands the contract and desires to fulfil it. No contract for a term of more than five years is to be registered, and vessels carrying more than twenty emigrants are bound to comply with certain regulations as to space, provisions, water, medicines, and medical attendance. The Act as first passed

applied only to the "Presidency of Fort William", but a subsequent law (Act XXXII of the same year) re-enacted the same regulations for the whole of India. This phase of legislation was however, destined not to have any long duration. The records of emigration which took place under the provisions of the Acts of 1837 are defective and inconsistent. But according to what seem the most trustworthy account, there sailed from Calcutta, between May 1837 and August 1838, both months inclusive, nearly, 8,000 souls, chiefly for Mauritius. British Guiana, Bourbon, Batavia, and Australia also, during this period drew small supplies of labour from India. The Australian emigration is the first and last instance of any direct exportation of labour to that continent, but of late years a few time-expired emigrants from Reunion have found their way to Queensland. The proportion of women was infinitesimal. The uplands of Chota Nagpore contributed about one third of this emigration. From Bombay the stream continued feeble. For Madras there is no record. But Mauritius is said to have imported 25,000 labourers in the four years from August 1834 to August 1838. As Calcutta and Bombay together do not seem to have contributed more that 15,000 during this period, the deficit of 10,000 may be taken to represent the whole emigration to that colony from Madras up to the later date. But a brisk emigration from the South to Bourbon appears to have been going on at the same time.

On the 10th July 1837, or little more two months after the passing of Act V of that year, the abolitionists began to give sign of their suspicion of this new labour traffic. Mr. Fowell Buxton's first question was met by the assurance that "the Indian emigrants in the colonies were no more regarded as slaves than the House of Commons itself." But Lord Broughham did not rest satisfied with this, and in March 1838 delivered himself in the Upper House of a vehement philippic against the whole system of emigration from India, which he completely identified with the slave trade, declaring that he had "no choice but to act as he had done through the whole of his life, maintaining to the end the implacable enmity with which he had at all times

pursued this internal traffic." Under this pressure Lord Melbourne's Government brought in a "Natives of India Protection," Bill which passed in the Upper House, but was not pressed in the Commons, on the assurance that pending enquiry emigration from India would be forbidden. And in fact this had already been done; for the echo of the abolitionist agitation at home was not long in reaching this country, and the allegations upon which that movment was based deeply stirred the minds of Lord Auckland and his council, and indeed, of the Calcutta public generally. Minutes were recorded and public meetings held and the upshot was that first by executive order, and afterwards by legislation, in the shape of Act XIV of 1839, emigration from India was absolutely forbidden, pending enquiry into the whole subject.

To carry out the necessary enquiry, committees were appointed at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and the Governments of Sydney and Mauritius were urged to take the same steps in regard to those colonies. The Bombay committee reported that no abuses in respect to emigration existed upon that side of India; indeed, emigration from Bombay could hardly itself be said to exist. The Madras Report did not contribute anything of value in the enquiry, nor have I been able to trace any record of the investigations, if any were set on foot in Mauritius or New South Wales. The report of the Calcutta Committee is a valuable contribution to the earlier history of emigration. This body was composed of six members, Mr. Theodor Dickens, Rev. J. Charles, Baboo Rasamoy Dutt, Major Archer, Mr. Dowson, and Mr. J. P. Grant. After taking the evidence of Europeans and Natives, and examining the written records on the subject, the first three members, on 14th October, 1840, submitted their report, with the evidence on which it was based. That evidence relates altogether to emigration to the Mauritius. Broadly it may be said to have proved that every grave abuses had prevailed in India, emigrants having been, in too many cases, entrapped by fraud or compelled by force, and systematically plundered of nearly six months wages, nominally advanced to them, but in reality divided, under pretences more or less transparent, among the

predaceous crew engaged in the traffic. With respect to the treatment of emigrants on the voyage and at Mauritius, the evidence was conflicting. Reading it calmly now, I donot think it proved more than that there were some bad masters in Mauritius, and that some of the Ship Captains employed in the trade were, from brutality or apathy of character, little fitted for the charge of coolies. But such moderate conclusions did not satisfy the three members who signed the report. They condemned the whole system in every stage, and expressed their conviction that no regulations would avail to prevent the like abuses. By preference they would have maintained the then existing absolute embargo upon all emigration. If this were not possible, nothing short of putting the whole management of emigration, from first recruitment to arrival in the colony of destination, under the superintendence of a paid department of the Government service, would have satisfied them. The expense attendant on any such plan would have been as complete a prohibition as any legal enactment, and this no doubt the Committee perceived. In point of fact, the report of the majority, though most honourable to their feelings of humanity, bears in every line of it the evidence of a foregone conclusion. Major Archer, the fourth member of the Committee, went to Europe at an early stage of the proceedings, and no record of his views, if he ever put them into writing, is forthcoming. The fifth member, Mr. Dowson, was a merchant himself interested in the exportation of labor, and, as was perhaps only to be expected, refused to sign the report, and recorded a minute of absolute dissent. But the most valuable document called forth by the enquiry is the minute of the sixth member Mr. (Now Sir) J. P. Grant. This minute contains a most elaborate and exhaustive review of the evidence and a full discussion of the policy which should guide Government in legislating upon the question. I extract the practical conclusions at which that eminent man arrived, as they appear to me to be, on the whole, the best exposition I have anywhere met with of the principles which should be followed in dealing with emigration.

"I conclude then that, as far as our information goes, the whole of the evils which attended the export of Indian labourers

to our own colonies were casual, and may, by good regulation, be prevented for the future; that the direct advantages of free emigration are immense, whilst the indirect advantages are incalculable; consequently that free emigration from India to our own colonies ought to be permitted under such regulation in India and in the colonies as may afford a reasonable expectation of preventing the recurrence of the evils heretofore experienced. As far as Maturitius is concerned, I regard our information as complete, and therefore there can, in my opinion, be no reason to delay the opening of that colony beyond the time when the colonial laws and institutions shall be pronounced to be, in all that concerns this question, in a satisfactory state. Not having complete information in regard to our other colonies, I cannot conclude with equal confidence as to them; but I see no reason to suspect that any evils that may have been experienced in those colonies are not remediable by proper measures in the same manner as in Mauritius; consequently my belief is, that the conclusion applies equally to all our colonies. In regard to Bourbon, the only foreign colony to which Indian labourers have gone in large numbers, we have no information. There are, however, strong grounds for suspecting that abuses may exist there in a higher degree than in Mauritius, from the circumstance of Bourbon being still a slave-colony. In my opinion, that fact alone effects the case very materially. The Government of that country has shewn a strong desire to protect imported labourers by the enactment of protective laws. But the state of the law is a small matter compared with the state of the public feeling and the administration of the law, whereof we know nothing. I cannot imagine an island, of which the population consists of a few white masters, a large number of black slaves, and a large number of free black foreigners, being an eligible habitation for the last-mentioned class. The Crown cannot know that the Indian labourer there gets justice in all respects like a French labourer in his own country, and, if we do not, it cannot afford him protection. This is not the case of a few stray labourers leaving their country to go to a foreign land, a case wich might certainly be disregarded by the law; but this is a case where British subjects would be annually exported sys-

tematically and by thousands. If, therefore, there is need of interference, the importance of the matter demands legislation. Since the prohibitory Act of the Indian Government, the exportation of labourers from Pondicherry has been stopped. If any British ports are again opened, Pondicherry may very probably again be opened. I do not deny that this is a point which is involved in some difficulty ; but as our legislation will effect only our fellow subjects, whose protection is our first duty, we have no right, merely because foreign interests are concerned, to refuse to legislate for them in such manner as is most conducive to their good, whether in any way of restriction, or in the way of relaxation.

"I believe, however, that will only be necessary to prevent British subjects being inveigled or carried by Force into Foreign territories on the Indian Continent. If all persons conducting labourers into those territories are subjected to proper regulations, whereby it may be certain that every labourer so proceeding shall be made aware that he is liable to be taken beyond sea without the protection of the British Government, and whereby the option of turning back shall be freely afforded him, I do not think that any abuse is likely to occur. But conceiving this to be a point on which the Madras Committee must have a great deal more information than we have, I shall say no more upon it.

"The sort of law which I would suggest, and which, in my opinion, would be sufficient for regulating the system of emigration from India, may be gathered from what I have said when touching upon the several abuses to be guarded against. In India it would be necessary to limit emigration to certain ports which might be conveniently named from time to time by the executive Government. The necessity of regulating the system involves the necessity of limiting it to places where means can be provided for the enforcement of the regulation. At each port of embarkation a Protector of Indian Emigrants might be appointed having no connection with the police and no power to punish. He might probably conduct his duty with a very small establishment. At any rate, the one or two clerks and chuprassis

whom he may require should have no interest in the matter. At his office he might examine leisurely one by one, and without the presence of any party interested in the system, every labourer who should come to him professing a desire to embark. After making sure that the labburer fully understands what he undertakes, and that he is acting voluntarily, the Protector might take out a certificate containing a description of the holder's person. A registry of all certificates, containing the date of examination and all praticulars, might be kept. The system of passing coolies in batches might be forbidden. It might be the Protector's duty to see that no force, or show of force (such as, marching coolies about in games under burkundazes) should be allowed, and to make it well understood by all that if any labourer, at any moment, chooses to change his mind as to going abroad, no summary interference with him will be permitted. The certificate might, within a limited time from its date, be a sufficient warrant to any master of a vessel who had obtained authority from the Protector for conveying emigrants to receive the holder on board. The Protector might refuse to grant such authority, unless convinced that the master and officers are, by experience, temper, character etc. suited for such a duty as the conveyance of Indian labourers. Before the ship breaks ground the Protector might proceed on board and grant a final permit to the master to sail with such labourers as then and there produce their certificates, and still testify their desire to proceed; provided he be satisfied that all regulations concerning space, food, water, ventilation, medicine etc, have been duly attended to. In regard to space and water, the regulations might be more liberal in favour of Emigrants than old regulations. Security, in the shape of a deposit of stock paper, for the return passage of the labourer might be insisted upon. A very small amount of security would suffice for labourers going to Mauritius, whence the return passage is cheap. I conceive that a law of the Imperial Legislature would be necessary in order to ensure, on the part of masters and owners of vessels, obedience to such regulations as the Indian Government might frame, and to render breach of the same, on shore or at sea, punishable in any part of the British dominions. To prevent smuggling Indians to foreign ports, contrary

to law, all vessels trading in British waters, and British vessels everywhere might be liable to search by men of war expressly with this object, and proper penalty for every Indian labouring man found on board contrary to law might be imposed. If more than a very small number should be found the penalty might well be confiscation. Permission might be refused by the Government to ship emigrants to any colony where, in the opinion of that Government, the law applicable to such emigrants is not in all respects such as is suitable for free men of that class, and where adequate practical facilities, considering the circumstances of the emigrants, are not afforded by the colonial forms of procedure and institutions. In regard to law in the colony, no power to retain labourers within the limits of an estate nor otherwise to interfere with their liberty out of working hours, nor to inflict corporal punishment upon them, nor to inflict any other punishment upon them otherwise than by the hands of police justice, should in my opinion, be permitted. Breach of contract on either side should annul the bargain in respect to the party breaking it, except that the contracting employer should be obliged to return the labourer, if called upon to do so. The terms of contract should, I think, be shortened according to the distance of the colony. Two years for Mauritius would certainly be ample. Taking the market rate of wages there at Rs. 10, and the contract rate at Rs. 5, rations being the same, that would allow the contracting employer Rs. 120 for his expenses in importing and exporting again the contracting labourers.

"After the first term I think no renewal should be allowed, but employer and working man should be left to make their own bargain for short terms, say, for not longer than six months : all bargains for short terms, in anticipation of the expiry of existing bargains should, I think, be valid. One day of rest in seven, except upon pressing occasion, might be insisted upon. A class of labourers who should work every day of the week would drive labourers who work only six days out of the market.

In regard to legal procedure, the appointment of competent interpreters would be indispensable. So also, I think, the institu-

tion of cheap and accessible courts, competent to give labourers civil damages for ill treatment on the voyage and in the colony, should be insisted upon. Perhaps a Colonial Protector of Indian labourers, to give advice and generally to see that these poor people obtain their rights, to be the medium of communication between the labourer and his family, and to remit money to the labourers' home by a system of public bills, also to report on the arrival of each cooly vessel to the Protector at the Indian port whence it sailed, might be useful to the colony. As in India, I think it would be better to confine the police and all other judicial officers to their proper duty of deciding disputes and punishing offences in cases where Indian labourers are concerned as in all other cases. Where Indian labourers sail without contracts for our own colonies, it does not occur to me that any measures are necessary, except such as will insure against being carried off involuntarily by fraud and force. Regulations, such as are above contemplated as to be enforced in India, would seem to me sufficient for this purpose."

I may add that Sir J. P. Grant, who now with Jamaica experience added to his knowledge of India, is better qualified than any other person to form an opinion, has distinctly said that his subsequent study of the question from all points of view has only strengthened him in the conclusions arrived at by him as a member of the Commission of 1838-40.

The views of the members of the Government of India were nearly as divergent as those of the members of the Calcutta Committee. Mr. Bird would have chosen to maintain the absolute prohibition; Lord Auckland would have permitted emigration to Mauritius, if he could have seen his way to preventing emigration to other colonies at the same time, Messrs. Prinsep and Amis were for allowing a regulated emigration to both British and Foreign colonies. The conflicting minutes were laid before the court of Directors, who declined to allow any relaxation of the existing law till the question should be considered by Parliament. But the interest of Parliament in the subject had meanwhile began to abate a natural reaction after

the somewhat sensational manner in which the case had been taken up by the abolitionists. The question had degenerated into a party one, and sides had changed in a curious way, till we find the son of Zaechary Macaulay in 1840 supporting what Lord Brougham two years before had so strenuously denounced as an "infernal trade". Ultimately there ceased to be any measure relating to Indian emigration before either house of Parliament, and the question was left to be dealt with executively by the colonial office, acting in communication with the Board of Control and the Court of Directors.

The opinion of the more moderate had gradually come round to the view that under proper control, emigration, at any rate to the Mauritius might be permitted. Accordingly, by an order in Council at home, and an act of the Legislature in India, emigration to Mauritius was made legal, with effect from the second December 1842. The Act, though perhaps clumsier in form, in substance follows the general scheme of the previously repealed law of 1837. One obvious omission, namely, the omission to provide an independent officer under the style of Protector of Emigrants to perform the duties of supervision and check at each of the ports of embarkation, had to be remedied by an amending Act in 1843. But the two Acts XV, 1842, and XXI, 1843, taken together, formed the basis of the emigration rules in force till 1864. Some slight modifications of detail were introduced from time to time; but speaking broadly, the legislative history of emigration for twenty years, as far as British colonies were concerned was simply an extension to one sugar producing settlement after another of the Acts of 1842 and 1843. Emigration was thus successively legalised to Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana in 1844; to Grenada and St. Lucia in 1855; to St. Vincent, St. Kitts and Natal in 1860; to the Seychelles in 1862; and to the Danish colony of St. Croix in 1963. Two important points of policy were, however, laid down during this period. In the case of Mauritius and the three colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, emigration had been permitted without any proper investigation into the means available for the protection of the emigrant when he should

have reached his destination. When proposals began to come in for further attending the sphere of emigration, Lord Canning perceived that some guarantee on this point was necessary, and accordingly in Act XXXI, 1855, and all subsequent extending Acts, there was inserted a clause declaring that the Act would only take effect when the Government of India should notify that such regulations had been provided, and such measures taken in the colony, as might be considered necessary for the protection of the emigrant during his residence and in respect of his return to India. Supported by this clause, Lord Canning did in fact force the colony of St. Lucia to modify certain obnoxious provisions in its local ordinances before he would make the necessary declaration. Similarly an Act of 1856 gave the Government of India power to suspend emigration to any colony when the required conditions were not fulfilled.

This law was called forth by the insufficiency of the quarantine arrangements at Port Louis, which had led to a most lamentable loss of life among Indian emigrants in 1856. In September of that year, accounts were received of excessive mortality among the emigrants who had sailed from Calcutta in two ships, the Hyderee and the Futteh Mobarick while in quarantine upon Gabriel Island near Port Louis. The Hyderee arrived on the 5th January 1856 with 272 immigrants, and the Futteh Mobarick on the 10th idem, with 380. Though there were then no symptoms of cholera, the immigrants were ordered into quarantine on Gabriel Island, where they were landed between the 14th and 18th. Inadequately sheltered—if, indeed, they had any shelter at all—exposed to a specially inclement hurricane season, placed in charge of a drunken and incapable doctor, and insufficiently supplied with fresh water and medicines, it is no wonder that these poor wretches fell a prey of cholera, fever, and dysentery. The result was that, when the remnant was released from quarantine on the 6th of May, out of 697 souls landed, 284 had perished. The report first furnished by the Government of Mauritius was very meagre, though the naked facts were sufficiently piteous. Further information was, however, obtained from the Hon'ble A. Eden who had been on leave

in Mauritius, and from other sources; and as it appeared that the Government of Mauritius had it in contemplation to continue to use Flat and Gabriel Islands as a lazaretto, though in bad weather they were quite cut off from the main island, the Government of India determined at once to suspend emigration to the colony. This was done by notification dated the 24th October 1856, and the measure, with the reasons for it, at once communicated to the Government of Mauritius and to the Court of Directors. The Mauritius authorities were thoroughly roused by the decisive action of the Government of India, and the whole quarantine system having been put upon a proper footing, the embargo were removed in April 1857.

But while in the legislation on the subject these two important gains had been secured two changes of colonial policy had been accepted which I cannot help looking upon as retrograde. The first was the extension of the period qualifying for back passage from 5 to 10 years in British Guiana and most of the West Indian Colonies; the other, the total abolition of back passage in the case of Mauritius. Had the policy sketched by Sir J. P. Grant been adhered to, both of these encroachments would have been resisted.

The history of emigration to French colonies is a separate one. The climate of Bourbon or Reunion, though highly favourable to Europeans, seems to be inimical to Negroes, and the supply of labour has been a chronic difficulty in that colony. We have seen that it began to draw on India for emigrants even before Mauritius, but from 1839 emigration to Reunion was illegal. Nevertheless, the demand for labour was so urgent and matters were so brought up to a crisis by the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies in 1848, that under cover of a free emigration from French Indian Ports a system of kidnapping and decoying British subjects had sprung up, which Act XXIV, 1852, was intended to repress. Meanwhile, the French Government had in 1851, applied for permission to recruit labourers for Re union in British India, and the proposition had been favourably received by Lord Dalhousie's Government.

Negotiations were, however, greatly protracted, and it was not till 1860 that a convention was agreed upon between the two countries. In June of that year, the Secretary of State urged the speedy passing of a law to give the convention effect. The urgency of the case arose from the fact that the French had again resorted to a system of obtaining Negro labour, designated in the preamable to the convention as a *'recrutement sur la cote a'Afrique de travailleurs noirs par voie de rachat*", but described by Lord Russel as "a revival of the African slave-trade however, the operation may in terms be disguised". This system otherwise known as the "Regis Contract" the Emperor could not put an end to till he was assured by a definite conclusion of the convention that his colony would be able to obtain labour from India. But the convention would be a dead letter without the necessary repeal of the Indian law forbidding emigration to French colonies. Thus the Act of 1860, permitting emigration to Reunion, Guadaloupe, Martinique and French Guiana, was in some sort passed in the interest of the Negro and under abolitionist pressure. The precaution of first ascertaining whether sufficient guarantee existed for the protection of the cooly in French colonies seems therefore to have been omitted. Yet surely the first obligation of the Indian Government were to its own subjects. Amicus Quashy, magis amicus Ramsawmy. However, as an Act XLVI of 1860 was in definiteness and exactitude an improvement on the legislation then in force in regard to British Colonies.

The next important epoch in the history of legislation on this subject was the passing of Act XIII, 1864. The grounds and general character of that enactment cannot be better explained than in the following statement of object and reasons by Mr. (Sir) H. Maine :—

"The emigration laws in force in India have, for some time past been under the consideration of the Government of India. In preparing a measure for the amendment and systematization of those laws, it has been thought desirable to keep the following objects in view :—

(1) The consolidation (with the necessary improvements) of the various Acts now on the Statute Book ;

(2) The repression of any abuses which may exist in the recruitment of labourers;

(3) The protection of the labourers and the regulation of the depots;

(4) The definition and description by express law of the duties of the Protector of Emigrants;

(5) The removal of the discrepancies which exist between the system of Emigration to French colonies and the system under which emigration takes place to dependancies of the British Empire and certain other localities;

(6) The removal, by well considered general provisions, of the necessity for separate legislation in particular cases.

"I.—With a view to the consolidation of the law, all previous statutes relating to emigration (with the exception of Act XLVI of 1860 and Act VII of 1862, but including the Crimping Act) are repealed. It is supposed that the provisions of the Penal Code as to abduction or kidnapping and the somewhat severe penalties in this Bill provided to prevent involuntary emigration, will have the effect of rendering the Crimping Act suprfluous.

II.—The task of framing provisions for the effectual repression of abuses which exist or which may possibly grow up in the recruitment of labourers, has been very greatly facilitated by the passing of the recent Bengal Act III of 1863. That Act appears to have been so carefully considered, and to be so well calculated to effect its object, that it has been thought desirable to follow it substantially in the part of the present measure now under consideration. The principal difference between the machinery of this Bill and the system which it is intended to supersede, consists in the provision that every recruited labourer shall, instead of being awarded at once to the coast, be taken before a Magistrate for registration. Previous to Registration the Magistrate will interrogate the recruit as to his comprehension of the engagement and willingness to

fulfil it. The recruits, if the examination should prove satisfactory, is then under proper regulations to be forwarded to the depot, and there to be at once inspected by the medical officer. The recruiter is to be regularly licensed and the later sections of the Bill provide by penalties of fine and imprisonment against unlicensed recruiting, against neglecting to take the recruit for examination before a Magistrate, and against forwarding the recruit to the coast without registration. Further, in order to punish and prevent malpractices which are said to be not unknown in some parts of India, any person who may falsely represent himself to have Government authority for recruiting or who may attempt to induce the police to assist him, is rendered liable to imprisonment or fine.

III.—For the protection of the Emigrant when he has reached the coast, depots are to be licenced and to be liable to constant inspection. There is to be a medical officer for every place to which emigration is authorised. The Protector is to be present at the first examination of the labourer and at his embarkation. If he is unfit to proceed on his voyage, the Emigration Agent of the Colony for which he was intended must send him back to his district. The Bill provides securities (consisting in the Magistrate's registration, the Emigration Agent's certificate, the list of the Protector, the list of the Captain of the emigrant vessel, and the list of the customs officer) against any other than registered emigrants being embarked. It further provides for the survey and licensing of emigrant ships, and for their being duly provisioned and supplied with medical stores, boats, and other necessaries.

"IV.—The Bill for the first gives a legal description and definition of the duties of a Protector of Emigrants. Although the Protector is relieved from some of his functions by the provisions for local registration in the emigrant's district it is assumed that his duties are still sufficiently numerous and important for it to be desirable that the Protector should be an officer with no other avocations. These duties will embrace the general superintendence of the emigrants from the time when they are brought down to the port to the moment of embarkation. It should be

repeated, however, that the Protector will no longer conduct the enquiry as to the free will of the emigrant. The responsibility of that investigation is thrown by the Bill on the local Magistrate.

V.—French colonies have now advantages in their Acts on three chief points,—the time during which their ships may sail for the West Indies, the space required for emigrants, and the proportion of women they are compelled to carry. The Bill proposes to assimilate the general law on the first two points to the French Acts, and gives power to the Governor-General in Council to fix the proportion of women. The question whether other Emigration Agents should be paid by fees, as the French Agents may be paid, is resolved in the negative.

"VI.—The advantage of providing a uniform and general system, which may be known to British Colonial Governments and to foreign powers as containing the sole conditions on which emigration from India can be allowed, has been considered to justify a part of the measure which will prevent recurrence to separate special legislation adopted to particular treaties, but will empower the Governor-General in Council to authorise emigration, but subject always to the proposed Act, to any new colony or locality. The Bill continues the legality of emigration to those places to which it is now lawful."

A mere enumeration of the Acts, nineteen in number, through which the law on the subject of emigration was then scattered, sufficiently proved the need of consolidation.

The necessity of bringing the process of recruitment under some form of control had long become manifest. In Madras the practice had been introduced, with the consent of the Agents, of requiring recruiters before commencing operations in any district to obtain the countersignature of the Magistrate to their license, and of bringing intending emigrants before a Magistrate previously to their leaving the district in which they were recruited. And rules to this effect were embodied in the Madras Revised Code of 1861. In Bengal the attention of Government had been especially called in this part of the system by Mr.

Beyts, Protector of Emigrants at Port Louis, who had been deputed by the Colonial Government to enquire into the practical working of emigration in India. Mr. Beyts' suggestions were in the main approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, so far as they could be enforced without express sanction of law. Under Mr. Maine's third head, the legislation for the control of depots is almost entirely new. They are not mentioned in the laws before passed, nor in the Calcutta rules. They are briefly noticed in the Madras rules in 1861. Doubtless the legislation embodies the practical experience gained. In the important point of a medical inspection, the law had already been anticipated at Calcutta by executive action.

The necessity for a definition of the duties of the Protector had been forcibly illustrated in 1860 by the case of the Tybernia, in which the Secretary of State called for a report on the circumstances attending the embarkation of emigrants. A very unsatisfactory explanation was given by the Calcutta Protector, and it was clear that his supervision was lax in the extreme. It became evident that a separate officer must be appointed Protector, and this was at once done. The duties had, till then, been performed by the Master Attendant with the aid of an Assistant Protector, who also had other duties.

On Sir H. Maine's 5th and 6th points no further remarks are necessary.

The Act of 1864 has been subsequently amended in details, but still, as incorporated in the consolidating Act of 1871, forms the basis of the system of control to which emigration is now subjected. Though not faultless in details, it is in the main, if carefully administered, sufficient to secure all that the Indian authorities can directly secure, viz., that emigrants shall embark of their own free will and with some knowledge of the conditions of their new existence, and that they shall be taken proper care of in the depot while waiting to embark and during the voyage of their destination.

Having this all too hurriedly sketched the general course of policy as illustrated by legislation, I will now proceed to sum-

marise the chief facts of emigration as they bear upon the emigrants themselves and the country whence they emigrate.

The records of emigration prior to 1842 are so scanty and uncertain that it will be best to begin with that year, in which, as we have seen, emigration to Mauritius was permitted again to begin after it had been for four years interdicted. The embargo on emigration was only removed in December 1842, hence but a few coolies sailed in that year. In the following year, the demand for labour in Mauritius repressed by years of prohibition, again asserted itself, and nearly 40,000 emigrants sailed. In 1844, the number fell to 8,242 all to Mauritius. In 1845, the three great colonies of Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana enter the labour market, and for the three years—1845-1847, constitute, with Mauritius, the sole importers of emigrants. The Mauritius demand stands at about 7,000 souls per annum. In 1848, Jamaica drops out of the list, and in 1849 the other two colonies west to the Cape. Emigration was in fact stopped, partly owing to the conflict then waging between the colonists and the colonial office.

In 1849, and 1850, the Mauritius demand slightly increases. In 1851, British Guiana and Trinidad again begin to import Indian labour, and the average emigration to these two colonies and Mauritius for the five years, 1851-1855, rises to upwards of 18,500 a year. From 1856 onwards, the three great sugar colonies, Mauritius, British Guiana and Trinidad, yearly intend for a greater or less number of emigrants. Jamaica is less regular. In 1856, the lesser West Indian Colonies began to come into the field, but their demand is neither large nor continuous. The four years 1856-1859, may be taken together. Emigration culminated in 1858, when 45,838 souls left India. The number in the following year (43,057) fell little short of this. The increase was partly due to the prosperity of the Mauritius, but it was shrewdly suspected that many a mutineer enlisted for Mauritius to avoid deputation to Port Blair, or even a voyage to that undiscovered country from which there is no repartriation. The annual average for this period was upwards of 31,000, of whom 27,000 were sent to Mauritius. For the 11 years 1860-70,

he annual average has been about 18,200 but there has been much fluctuation. For instance, in 1861, the emigrants numbered 31,493 ; in 1867 the number fell to 7,614. The famine n the North-Western Province may have had something to do with the large number in 1861. The variations have been due o the variations in the number of colonies in the field and in he local demand. In 1860, Natal began to draw labour from ndia, and continued to do so till 1866. In 1861, Reunion came nto the field, drawing 5,333 souls from Calcutta. The emigraion to Reunion has continued, but in decreasing numbers, and has since 1865 been carried on altogether from the French-Indian ports. In 1862, St. Croix took a ship load of Bengal labourers, he only emigration thither. In 1864, the French West Indian olonies entered the market. The Mauritius demands have fluctuated within very wide limits. In 1865, 19,493 souls sailed for hat colony. In the following year, the number dropped to ,549, and in the next year a single ship carried the whole Mauitius emigration. This sudden cessation of demands was greatly lue to the epidemic fever of 1866 and 1867. The figures for 1868-1870 show a steady but slow increase in the demand for ndian labour. The West Indian emigration has been tolerably teady.

The following figures of emigration from 1842-1870 are pproximately correct :—

	Men	Women	Children	Total
To Mauritius	243,853	63,459	44,089	351,401
,, British Guiana	53,393	16,983	9,385	79,761
,, Trinidad	28,030	9,280	5,209	42,519
,, Jamaica	10,022	3,233	1,914	15,169
,, Natal	4,116	1,463	869	6,448
To Minor British West Indian colonies and St. Croix (Danish)	4,587	1,595	839	7,021
,, Reunion	10,751	2,939	1,315	15,005
,, French colonies west of the Cape	10,800	4,118	1,423	16,341
,, all destinations	365,552	103,070	65,043	533,665

The statements of return emigrants are very untrustworthy Those which I have been able to obtain give the following figures for the same period :—

From Mauritius		97,418
,, British Guiana		7,621
,, Trinidad		3,981
,, Jamaica		1,484
,, Other colonies		1,310
	Total	111,814

Except in the case of Mauritius, where the return is approximately correct, these figures probably understate the number of returns. But we may fairly assume that the balance against India is not less than 400,000 souls in the last 30 years. If we add the drain to Ceylon and the Straits Settlements it will probably not fall short of half a million. On the other hand, the proportional gain to the colonies has been enormous. Thus in 1871, the Mauritius had 216,000 inhabitants of Indian extraction, or more than two thirds of the whole population while the three chief Western colonies had between them some, 80,000 Indian settlers.

I have not any exact figures to give as to the distribution of the emigrants according to the province of recruitment. It may, however, be said generally that the earliest recruiting grounds in the Bengal Presidency were Behar and Chota Nagpore, the so-called "hill coolies" being in great request. But the number of aboriginals gradually decreased, partly from the competition of the tea districts, and partly because of the heavy mortality at sea among this class of emigrants. Simultaneously recruiting operations seem to have been pushed further westward into the Benares division and the lower Doab, as also into Oudh. In Madras and Bombay no geographical distribution is now possible. As little can be said as to the classes from which the emigration was mainly drawn. As a general rule, the Hindus largely outnumber the Mussalmans. The Calcutta emigration is thus classified by the Protector of Emigrants : Hindus 218.973 ; Mussalmans 49,860, Aborigines 54,956, Christians 88. Of the emigrants

from Calcutta, the mass belongs to the lower agricultural laboring castes ; but there is some mixture of all castes. The emigrants from Madras are said to be "mostly Pariahs, with a considerable number of Sudras and a few Mussalmins". In the Bombay emigration about 7.5 per cent seems to have been Mussalman. The records of coolies' saving are very imperfect ; but there is no doubt that especially from Demerara and Trinidad the return emigrants do carry away very considerable sums. The steamer *Enmore* which left Georgetown last September, carried 581 Indian Passengers with economies amounting to £ 21,500 or £ 37 a head all round, including women and children.

The statistics of mortality at sea are also meagre and fragmentary. Speaking generally, the emigration to Mauritius from Madras has been healthy, the deaths seldom reaching one per cent. From Bombay the mortality was equally light till the years, 1864 and 1865, when it was lamentably swelled by an epidemic fever. Since the latter year there has been no emigration from Bombay. The average death-rate of the voyage from Calcutta to Mauritius for the 11 years, 1860-1870 has been 2.4, a high rate for so short a voyage. Similarly, on the voyage to the West Indies the mortality among Madras coolies had seldom exceeded 2 per cent. Among Calcutta coolies, on the other hand, it seldom falls so low ; and at times the death-rate has been so terrible as to lead one no doubt whether an emigration liable to such disasters should be allowed to continue. Thus in 1856, the moratility rose to 17 per cent, and again in 1864, the deaths were 18 per cent of those embarked. In both cases careful enquiries were instituted but without any very decided results. It was suggested that the large number of "hill coolies" shipped from Calcutta had something to do with the greater mortality on the voyage thence, as compared with the voyage from Madras ; and it is undoubtedly the fact that this class bears even river transit very badly. But this theory could hardly account for the excessive mortality of 1864, when the competition of the tea districts had largely diminished the number of Kols, and the congeners of that tribe enlisted for service in the coolies. Altogether the question is still distressingly obscure.

To complete the review of facts needful for an intelligent appreciation of the results of the emigration system, it is necessary to get some conception of the condition of the cooly in the various colonies importing Indian labour. To attempt an analysis of this sort for each colony in any detail would swell this paper to an undue length ; but in a general way I think the following summary, under the several heads of health, wages, and savings, laws and regulations, and moral and material condition, will be found correct. In point of salubrity, there is little to object to Mauritius, where, except during the years 1866-67, when a fever of a most virulent type raged among all classes, the death-rate is not high. In 1870, it was 22 per mille, a rate which will stand comparison with that of healthy districts in temperate countries. In British Guiana and the West Indies, the cooly has to undergo a period of acclimatisation, and in the first year of service the mortality stands unduly high. When acclimatised, the Indian population shows a death-rate not now abnormally high ; but there is still room for improvement. The Colonial Governments seem to be taking up the question in earnest, and a system of rationing emigrants for the first portion of their residence has been tried with good results. The shipment of emigrants so as to arrive before the rainy and unhealthy season is also insisted upon, and the organisation of a medical service for duty in cooly hospitals has been, or is being, carried out. The figures show that an improvement has been effected in

Year	Percentage of mortality
1865	5.4
1866	4.39
1867	4.13
1868	2.9
1869	2.84
1870	3.06

British Guiana. In Jamaica the death-rate is still heavy, chiefly owing to excessive mortality in one district, to which the Governor has now declined to allot fresh emigrants. Trinidad shows

a death-rate seldom falling short of 4.3 per cent. The smaller islands seem on the whole a healthy residence for Indian, though at one time the death-rate on Grenada and St. Croix was high, chiefly, it seemed, owing to neglect on the part of the planters to supply proper dwellings and medical attendance. This in all colonies the employer is bound by law to do ; but the enforcement of the obligation has often been lax, notably so in Mauritius. However, attention seems now to be thoroughly roused to this important subject, and the planters perhaps begin to feel that it is for their own interest to look after the material welfare and comfort of their labourers.

Wages in Mauritius have been singularly steady ; if anything, they may have slightly fallen to the last 20 years. The average wage of an adult male employed on a sugar estate is Rs. 5 per mensem, in addition to a sufficient daily ration of rice, dal and salt fish. Old emigrants may earn one or two rupees a month more as agricultural labour. For skilled artisans the market seems favourable. As to the savings brought back by Mauritius emigrants we have no precise record ; but many of them do bring back considerable sums. On the other hand, there is a large time-expired population, some portion of which would probably escape from the very galling restrictions imposed on this class, if only they could save enough to purchase a return passage to India. In the West Indian colonies the rate of wages was till lately generally regulated by reference to the wages earnable by a Creole or Negro labourer performing the same work. The system thus became one of task-work. Many labourers undoubtedly earned good wages ; the savings accumulated, though by no means in all cases the savings of agricultural labour, showed this. On the other hand, the enquiries of the Royal Commission in British Guiana proved that there at least the average earnings of an adult labourer were not 5 shillings a week. In the smaller islands, where the planters are poor, wages were lower still. Now, however, most of the colonies west of the Cape have fixed a minimum wage of 24 cents or 1 shilling for a fair day's work.

The colonial labour laws form the weakest point in the case for the Indian emigration. Nor is this to be wondered at. In all the colonies importing labour, the sugarcane is at once the *raison d'etre* of the settlement and the means of existence of the vast majority of the Non-Indian population. Even when the planting interest has not a very potent voice in the legislature, it has the entire moulding of such public opinion as exists, and is certain, unless the head of the Government is at once very clear-sighted and very strong, to impart a bias to the law and its administration, either directly or indirectly. That such has in fact been the case in all colonies, no impartial reader of the colonial statutes can doubt. In the case of British Guiana, the Commission of 1871, thoroughly exposed the defects of the system and showed that while under indenture the cooly had practically no summary redress for breach of contract by his employer and that while cases against labourers were counted by thousands in the year, those against planters could be reckoned on the fingers. This unequal facility of redress, the constituting planters judges in their own cause, the reduction of the cooly by a rigoraus system of punishment for so-called desertion to the position of an *adscriptus gleboe* or praedial serf, the bringing into play of undue pressure in order to induce time-expired emigrant to enter into a fresh indenture ;—these blots will be found, in greater or less degree, according to circumstances, in the legislation of most of the colonies. Thus while the unfairness of the law to emigrants under indenture is probably most flagrant in British Guiana, the repressive measures applied to those who decline to re-indenture are most stringent in Mauritius. It is but fair to add that the whole question of the labour law for emigrants has been of late under discussion, and that a scheme of legislation has been proposed by Lord Kimberley, which, if adopted by the various colonies concerned, will completely remedy the great defects now existing. I should also add that within the last two years the law for Jamaica has been so modified that the above strictures do not apply to it. But previous to that alteration we have the admission of the present Governor that things were very far from being in a satisfactory state.

Under the head of moral and material condition we have not very much information. The disproportion of the sexes—the number of women never exceeding one-half that of men—is a serious drawback and is found a fertile source of crime. But it has not been possible to recruit a larger proportion of females than forty to every hundred males without running the risk of enlisting an undesirable class of women. As more Indians come to settle in the colonies, this unequality will tend to right itself, but the process will be slow. Connections between Indians and women of Negro origin seem extremely rare. The restraints of caste and even of religion appear to be easily shaken off. The commissioners record that they found few traces in British Guiana of any outward observance of the Hindu religion, and those only in the most out of the way and secluded settlements, and they write of seeing a Mohamedan distributing pork rations to his co-religionists "with much unction". Liaisons between Mahamedan men and Hindu women, and the reverse seem not uncommon; and in British Guiana, at any rate, the two religions seem to have amalgamated the Huli and Maharram into a single festival. I regret to observe from recent reports that the vice of drunkenness is said to be gaining ground among Indian emigrants in British Guiana. With a relaxation of the restraints of caste and the temptation of cheap liquor, I fear that a deterioration of morale in this respect is not uncommon. That an industrious emigrant abroad enjoys much physical comfort cannot be denied. The improvement of physique apparent among return emigrants, whether from the Mauritius or the Western colonies, has been frequently remarked, and the character seems also to gain in independence. Children reflect the improved physical condition of the parents, and the British Guiana Commission uses the word "jolly" as best describing their appearance in that colony. Nor must the undoubted fact be overlooked that in the West Indian colonies and British Guiana many emigrants have voluntarily commuted their return passage for a bounty in money or for grants of land.

What then is the conclusion we should arrive at upon the whole question? Without going back to abstract principles of

free trade in labour or individual freedom of action, I think, we may say that the *onus probandi* lies upon these who would interdict emigration altogether, to show that the evils either to the country at large or to the emigrants themselves are not only so great as to overbalance the good, but also so inherent in the very system as to be practically remedyless. The facts will hardly support these propositions. Though emigration cannot be regarded as a wholesome check upon our population; seeing that the supply is not derived from the most densely populated regions, but rather from districts where wages are from various causes low, and where certain classes have become familiarised with the idea of leaving home in search of service of one sort or another; yet it cannot, on the other hand, be looked upon as an injurious drain upon the labour supply of the country. The smallness of its dimensions, as compared with the tract whence the supply is drawn, precludes this view. An emigration of half a million in thirty years, scattered over an area containing certainly not less than a population of fifty millions, must be regarded as infinitesimal.*

As to the effect upon the individual emigrants, it must be confessed that even now, and still more so in the past, he is in certain respects at a disadvantage. He is liable to be imposed upon the recruiters, he incurs a certain increased risk to life upon the voyage, and may be subjected to the action of laws more or less harsh and partial. But none of these evils are beyond remedy, and in point of fact action is already been taken to remedy

* I take Behar, Chotta Nagpore, Outh and Benares and Allahabad Division of the North Western Provinces, and find the total population about 48 millions. On the other hand, the total emigration from this region will fall a good deal under 40,000. Compare this with the emigration from the United Kingdom, which in the years 1815-1871, numbered 7½ millions, and for the years 1843-70, amounted to 5¼ millions on a population of (in 1861) 29 millions, or just ten times the Indian exodus. The Irish statistics, taken by themselves are still more startling. The census of 1861 gave Ireland a population of 5,798,967. During the ten years following, 818,528 Irish people emigrated, or one seventh of the initial population.

most of them. On the other hand, an industrious labourer who keeps his health has a career of competence, or even of what to him must be wealth, open to him, and if he chooses, can settle in a climate not on the whole inimical. The Emigration Board, which is the chief adviser of the colonial office, possesses great knowledge of the position of the Indian emigrant, and invariably shows a most impartial desire to do him justice. The main thing wanting is that the information available in India as to the state of colonies should be full, accurate and brought up to recent date. Thus it will be possible at once to ensure a correct picture of their future being laid before the emigrants previously to emigration, and to remonstrate against any such change in colonial policy as may appear inimical to the Indian labourer. That, however, a very careful watch needs to be kept upon the colonial administration, the course of the British Guiana and Mauritius enquiries and the recent tragedy in the former colony, abundantly shew ; nor is it any imputation on the bona-fides of those Governments to say this. The element in which they exist is such as to render a thoroughly impartial view upōn the spot almost impossible.

It may be necessary to enforce a more stringent system of regulation, and perhaps to insist on the appointment of officers on the part of the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indian emigrants in the colonies. The Colonial office is quite as anxious as the authorities in India that everything which is needed to ensure the due protection of the cooly shall be done. The question is whether it is not possible as to watch and regulate the whole system of emigration and labour as to ensure the emigrant a freedom of enlightened choice at the outset, due care and protection upon the voyage and for the term of his contract, and the means of return when his contract shall have expired.

If these conditions are fulfilled, and we then find that the industrious emigrant has a hopeful career before him, and that in fact an appreciable proportion of those who emigrate voluntarily settle in the colonies, the question will have received a practical answer. Meantime, I would deprecate in the interest of the emigrant any hasty attempt to prejudge the matter on any

a priori assumption that the traffic must be a slave trade or an "exploitation". Honourable as are the feelings which dictate the extreme humanitarian view, the tone of exaggeration and want of calmness thus imported into the discussion have generally resulted in a reaction which left the cooly worse off than he would have been, had his cause been more temperately espoused. Thus the agitation of 1838 ultimately led to the legislation of 1844, which opened the West Indian colonies to emigration without any sufficient guarantee for the protection of our labourers abroad, while a blind enthusiasm for the Negro led to the Government of India being given over bound hand and foot to the planters of Reunion by the Convention of 1860. The question is one of practical compromise, and cannot be solved by reference to abstract principles without a careful study of the real facts.

Prison Discipline and Industrial and Reformatory Schools.
An address by Miss Mary Carpenter
[Delivered on the 18th December 1875]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is now 9 years since the Social Science Association of Bengal was inaugurated. I am happy to remember that I was present at that occasion of this Society. It was then augured that its duration and its existence would not exceed one year. But nine years have passed and we are assembled here together to concisider a most important topic. There have been fluctuations in its existence, but I think it is a very good omen that this subject is chosen in order to revive its operations. The subject of prison discipline may not appear to many an attractive one, and yet there can hardly be one of greater importance to the community. We are all fully aware that crime is not only most injurious to the well being of society, but it is extremely costly. It may be said, in fact, that scarcely any way of spending money is more costly and difficult than this. It behoves us all, therefore, whether directly concerned with the administration of justice or crime or not, to gain such information and so to ventilate it as to acquire correct ideas which will lead to the introduction of sound measures. Some twenty years ago the jails in Great Britain were in a very unsatisfactory state. Convict prisons had been erected at enormous expenditure, but there was something in the mode of conducting them which gave rise at various times to the most alarming outbreaks, requiring the intervention of the military.

We know certainly that in such a state of things there could be no reformation. Those convicts upon whom immense sums of money had been spent went into the world unreformed, and not only directly but indirectly, did immense evil to the community. At the same time there was a system introduced into Ireland which produced most beneficial effects. The state of the prisons in Ireland had been fearfully bad. Convict prisoners sent forth not only did injury to the community, but 4,000 such

persons were immured in them. But Sir Walter Crofton had been sent on a commission to investigate the subject, and to endeavour to introduce a better system. He did so, and with the co-operation of the Viceroy of Ireland introduced such a system that at the end of twelve years or so the number in the jails was reduced to 2,000. Prisoners were sent out reformed, instead of doing mischief to society. Society was willing to receive them into its midst, and they had an opportunity of beginning anew to live respectable and useful lives. We must therefore consider that it is important to ascertain what are the principles which are making such a difference in the results of the different kinds of prison discipline. Our Government thought it of so much importance that a Royal Commission was issued in order to enquire into the whole subject; and to endeavour to introduce into convict prisons in England such principlnes and discipline as to enable them also to turn out good citizens.

Not only convict prisons, but State prisons were generally in a very bad state. There were some which were good, but as a general rule the public opinion prevailed that every one who went into a prison must become bad—must be rendered criminal, even if he was not criminal when he went in. Such general opinion, I fear, prevails even in this country. It was necessary therefore in England to ascertain the cause or one of the chief causes of the criminality which prevailed among prisoners. It was that they were kept in association and allowed to sleep together in association; and when they were sleeping together in association, it was perfectly useless to attempt to do anything of any other kind which would render them informed. Such was the case in every large town, and such was the case in the large jails of Liverpool. In that jail the criminals were manufactured, that is, young children come in and returned to jail over and over again, and were finally punished with transportation, which were then in practice, at a great cost of the country. But when this came to be understood, the State thought it a very small amount to give £ 30,000 to build a new jail in which every prisoner would sleep in separation. The thing was inquired into in Parliament, and the result was that an Act was passed

regulating and laying down certain principles which should be carried out in all jails in England.

Now many jails were so built that everything could not be done in the way in which it could be wished, but that principle was certainly carried out everywhere, that such prisoner should no longer be associated with others, but have a separate cell, and, if the sentence was short, be kept entirely in that cell day and night. Now when such changes and results are laid before you, you will see that it is important to know what are the principles of prison discipline. Another result I may state to you of the change. Formerly any person in England who had been to prison found the greatest difficulty to get employment. There was a natural prejudice in the English mind against taking into employment any man who had been exposed to contamination in a prison. But now that the prisons are built on a separate system of sleeping, some reforms can be carried out, and the result is that society is now co-operating with Government in reinstating all those who unfortunately committed crime in their former state in society. That is done through the medium of the Prisoner's Aid Society. We see benevolent persons look after such individuals when they come out of prison, and endeavour to obtain them employment, and guarantee their good conduct. Now this has proved of so much importance and been so recognised by the world, I may say, that in 1872 there was a large Prison Congress held in London, the first that ever had been held on such a subject.

Prison Congress representatives from every part of the United States, some 60 or 70 in number, met in order to assemble and discuss together the true principles of prison discipline. Every Government in Europe sent delegates. The subject was discussed and the result was a wonderful agreement among all the delegates on certain general principles. The first of these was that there should be absolute separation, by night, of every prisoner. Many of the states went still further than that. There were many who even held the view that a criminal should be immured in absolute solitude for not only a few days and nights,

but during the whole time of their term. That is what I would by no means agree to for many reasons, and that was not accepted by the Congress generally, but all accepted the principle which I have laid down to you. Now I will briefly state to you what are the principles of prison discipline which are at present thoroughly accepted in these days in England, and, I may say, throughout the world, whenever the subject has been properly considered and discussed. In the fiirst place we are all agreed that the object of punishment is to minimise crime. No one can possibly doubt that we want to make crime as little as possible in the country. In order to effect that, it is necessary that punishment should be both deterrent and reformatory. If you say that it should be simply deterrent, suppose you are satisfied with that, and you will find that the end is not effective. I will not go into all the reasons which support that conclusion, but I will only tell you the results which have been universally accepted. If you say that the object of punishment should be only reformatory, you may adopt means which may excite others to commit crime : that is, you may make prisons too lenient and too agreeable, so to speak. For I have heard, in many cases, of prisons being made so pleasant and comfortable that criminals, when they are tired of a wicked life, commit some crime which will enable them to have rest in prison for some months or even years. We do not wish that. The principle then of prison discipline being both deterrent and reformatory, is carried out thus :—In the English system—which might be called the Irish system, because Sir Walter Crofton developed it in Ireland, or, if we now give any distinctive name to it, it should perhaps be the Crofton system, because that excellent man's name ought to be for ever associated with principles which have proved so beneficial—whenever a criminal is brought to jail, he is made to understand that he must undergo definite punishment for his criminal course, but he is informed that his future treatment and future condition will depend upon himself. That is to say, if he is determined to begin a fresh and new wife and submit willingly to what is inflicted upon him in prison, he will thereby be able to rise from one stage to another, and eventually to shorten the time of his punishment, and go

out into the world an improved man. Therefore in English prisons, all criminals when they are brought to convict prisons, have to undergo six or eight months of absolute separation. When I say absolute separation, I mean that they do not even work in association. They are not debarred from seeing their fellow-prisoners at all, but they are only allowed to see such as will try to improve them. They will see the officials of the jail; they will have visits from school masters and chaplains; they will have unskilled work; they will have as meagre a diet as is considered good for their health, and they will in all respects have to feel that they are undergoing punishment. But if they have borne this in conformity with the regulations of the jail well and respectfully for six months, they will then be removed to another stage. This first stage does not exist in any of your prisons. Be kind enough to remember that fact. But, while they are undergoing this first stage, they are shown the evil of their past course, the system is explained to them by which they will gradually rise, and they are prepared to go into association by day with their fellow-prisoners, desiring to conform to their duty, and in all respects knowing that they are to avoid intercommunion in respect of their past bad lives. They are then placed in associated labour, but they still have to retain their separate cells by night, and they have to take even their meals in these cells. They rise from one stage to another, and this by a system of marks, by which their labour, their conduct, and their education is tested. In English prisons we attach great importance to education, not merely because it is good for all persons to have education, and to be able when they come back to the world to read and write, but it is considered that the exercising of their minds upon these subjects will draw them away somewhat further from the evil courses, and great value is therefore attached, in English prisons to giving a sufficient education, and requiring them to pay attention to instruction given to them. They rise from grade to grade, regularly marked, and all can tell how far they have got on. In the Irish prisons there is a third stage which has not been introduced into English prisons, because there were difficulties in the way. That stage is putting prisoners who have attained a very excellent

height on an open farm, where there is no physical hindrance to their absconding. If they act in a right manner and labour hard, trying to improve themselves on the farms in which they are placed, then it is felt that on account of their good conduct they are fit to go out into the world. If they misconduct themselves they are at once put back into their original state. But without that system which prevails in Ireland, a system has been introduced in England of granting tickets of leave. That is another instance of the importance of properly developing principles. When the ticket-of-leave system was first introduced into England, it was considered a very excellent one. But it was so worked that it caused immense mischief. It is now worked well in connection with the Prisoner's Aid Society. I do not know whether that or any other intermediate stage would be of importance here, for reasons which I may allude to afterwards. Now the result of this has been a considerable diminution of crime ; whereas some dozen years ago or more every one who chanced to have anything to do with prisoners found that they were not fit to be trusted, because the system then in force did not actually reform them. Now that they know the system is good and that a real reformation is effected, persons are willing to employ convicts, especially in connection with the Prison's Aid Society.

Now in the prisons of India this system has never been fully introduced. Of course the prisons of India are placed under very different circumstances. But I am sorry to say that I have not found any prison, except one, where the system of separate association by night has been carried out. There are various objections made by many persons, or rather were made, when the idea was first put before the Government. Some said that in India the prisoners could not bear separate cells. I grant that they could not bear to be in such cells as we now have in England. In England the climate is cold, and we want prisoners to be kept warm ; and in many ways cells which are extremely suitable in England would be perfectly unsuitable to an Indian jail. But I have seen in various parts of the country cells which are found to be very suitable. In

your Presidency Jail, which appears to be an excellent and well managed jail, the cells which exist are found to work very well; they are well constructed and sufficiently ventilated. In the jail I alluded to in Poona, which is a State Jail, all the prisoners, about 400, have separate cells. The cells are constructed upon excellent principles. They are not costly, and the result is not only that discipline is more easily carried out, and that there is no danger of those frightful outbreaks which often occur in many parts of India, but the health of the prisoners is remarkably good.

Gentlemen experienced in these matters, and most of the jail superintendents, are able to give sound opinions on this subjct. Every superintendent of a jail with whom I have conversed considers that it would be far more conducive to the health of prisoners to be confined in separate cells, because in separate cells there would not be that personal contact which must be injurious where there is an unhealthy condition. And at all times for sixty persons to sleep together without separation must have an injurious effect upon the health. But the moral effect of these associated cells or dormitories is very injurious. When, for instance fifty or sixty fresh convicts are first introduced into a prison, not having this first stage of separate cells, they must be thrown into association with other prisoners. They delight to speak of their evil experiences when locked up at night for ten hours with only the presence of convict warders. It is well known that night is the time when crimes are planned and perpetrated in jail; and it is all owing to this system. I lay that strongly before you, because I know it from corresponding with native gentlemen in different parts of India who are beginning to be alive to this matter. We know that all governments wish to have the sympathies of the people in any changes which they effect. In fact I may state as a rule that all gentlemen of practical experience of jails in India are most anxiously desirous to have this separate system at once introduced, and gentlemen connected with Government with whom I have conversed have felt strongly in the same way. They say only that the expense

would be so enormous that the Government cannot afford to do it. Now I believe that when once an opinion is thoroughly established on the matter, money will be forthcoming. I am perfectly astonished at the number of splendid buildings which have been erected in this country in the Presidency capitals during the last five years; and I cannot doubt but that money will be found when every one is thoroughly convinced that it ought to be done. Besides that, I know that many native gentlemen are possessed of means, and are possessed of extreme benevolence. I know most of Bombay; therefore I particularly speak of that place. I know of a splendid hospital erected by a single native gentleman, and different other institutions similarly erected. One native prince has carried out his benevolence so far as to erect a magnificent drinking fountain in London for the good of the people. Well, then, if it is known and understood generally that a large sum of money would enable suitable jails to be erected in proper places to carry out prison discipline efficiently, I cannot but believe that in this country and city, so many noble and rich princes will think of caring for the moral evil of the present system as well as the physical. That being thoroughly accepted, I must say that I hope one other thing will be carried out, and that some instruction will be given to those unfortunate men who are prisoners. I know that in some jails there are schools. These schools have almost always been carried on and taught by convicts themselves. That cannot have a healthy moral influence upon convicts. There is besides that no instruction of any kind given, and when we think what thoughts must fill the minds of these convicts, and that they have nothing to think of except their crimes, it must appear very desirable to give them some instruction. But I do not say that it will be possible to teach all of them to read and write; but if thoroughly good instructors of high moral character were appointed to jails, they might give such addresses to convicts as might do them some good, and inspire them with better feelings. Thus I can tell you from my absolute knowledge. In a jail in Hyderabad in Sind, under which some enlightened native gentlemen with the permission of Government were in the habit of giving addresses to the

prisoners in jail upon moral topics. I was present at one of those addresses, and though I did not understand a word, I thought it was highly interesting to see some 700 convicts listening earnestly to the gentleman who stood before them, evidently with deep interest. I therefore, throw this out as a suggestion, and I hope that it will be taken. But I have more pleasure in mentioning the extremely admirable development of labour which I have seen in your jails. I have visited the United States where labour is very much developed in jails, but certainly I must say that in some jails in India you exceed any other part of the world that I am acquainted with in this respect. I really have been quite astonished and delighted with the two jails in this city, the Presidency and the Alipore Jails. I have there seen convicts working and looking exactly like free labourers. They were working with intelligence and pleasure, and I was happy to learn from the Superintendents of the Jails, the Inspector General, and from the Jailors, that they were positively working and doing as much in jail as any free labourer would do. They are employed from eight to ten hours a day —eight being generally the time for working given to them. Now that does a great deal of good to them, as occupation gives a tone to their thoughts. I was particularly struck with the Printing Department and the actual pleasure which the prisoners appeared to take in developing their work ; and when they have such work as that—skilled labour—they do not feel disposed to show any insubordination. Their conduct is good. And there is an excellent stimulus to them to obtain the privilege of having such labour ; for this work is reserved for those prisoners who have conducted themselves the best, and if any insubordination occurs they are thrown back to what they were doing before. I also saw an admirable jute mill working in the prison. I was informed that the mill was probably the first in Bengal, and at any rate it had led the way to many others being established. Now this is a great benefit conferred upon the prisoners, for when they go out, they are well skilled and disciplined and their labour is largely sought for, and they have no difficulty in getting remunerative work when they go out, and owners of Jute mills are glad to get their trained labour,

and they are taught to work in such a way that they are able to be good workmen afterwards and it is an immense encouragement to the prisoners. I think then I need not continue upon that subject. I only hope that this address of mine will lead to considerable discussion upon the subject in the Social Science Association. In Great Britain, the British Social Science Association, almost from the beginning of its existence in 1857, paid particular attention to this subject. Members of the Government took part in the discussions, and we cannot doubt that it was owing to the kindly and cordial help to this Association that effect was given to the passing of good laws. I hold that it is our duty when we deprive a man of his liberty to try and benefit him morally, and to turn him out a better man than when he came in. I hold that to be a solemn duty.

Yet there is a more pleasant subject on which I shall touch now, and it is particularly pleasant, because it is now hopeful. When I was here nine years ago, there was no reformatory in all India, except one which was begun in Bombay by the late David Sassoon, and which was an attempt to show that these things could be done. But opinion has been progressive, and gentlemen who are acquainted with what has been done in England have come to India, fully persuaded of the importance of the reformatory movement.

Some 25 years ago in England no body believed, or only a very few people believed in the reformatory. They did not believe that boys and girls who had been imprisoned over and over again ever could be turned into honest youths; but there were others who had a firm faith in honest human nature; and who believed that if these poor boys and girls were put into suitable circumstances, and were taught to work well, and had good influence exercised upon them, and proper teachers, they might turn out well; and eventually after many sacrifices and great difficulty, we obtained an Act of Parliament whereby these boys and girls might be sentenced after imprisonment to schools where they should be placed under proper management with Government Inspectors. I will not detain you with

going through the history of this movement. Suffice it to say, that after now about 20 years working of these institutions, the Secretary of State was able to say at the Prison Congress of 1872 that crime had diminished in our country, and that he believed that a great deal of this was due to the reformatory treatment of children. Great opposition was made to it on account of the expense. It was thought we ought not to spend so much money upon these boys and girls. But we are able to prove to demonstration, taking this difficulty of money, that it is cheaper to reform these children than to let them go on year after year, and eventually become unreformed convicts, and be either transported or sent to life prisons. All this we had to encounter, but we at last succeeded and triumphantly. We can now say that though 20 years ago there was in England, as you have now, a real criminal class of children in the country, the little boys who were formerly imprisoned over and over again, are now reformed. If you doubt this, you can go to the Presidency Jail, and there see 50 boys, some very small with bracelets of iron upon their arms, and rings which indicate the number of times that they have been imprisoned. If you have a human heart, you will grieve. There are in the Presidency Jail the results of letting these boys get into jail over and over again, some 150 young men, between the ages of 14 to 20, all of whom are running the same career. From little boys they have grown to be men, and they are now really wicked. Everything which can be done, is done under the circumstances. They are kept separate from the adult prisoners. They are taught skilled work. In every way the officials are trying to do them good. But it is absolutely certain, it has been demonstrated in our own country, that no prison can ever reform children. It is impossible. If therefore a reformatory school is introduced into jail, it ought not to be framed so. It is merely a juvenile department of the jail. You may hear of a reformatory school at Poona and other places. They are not reformatory schools, but merely juvenile departments of the jail. Well, then, we established that principle, and now you cannot find a boy in the whole of the Empire who has been more than twice imprisoned. He can only be twice imprisoned by a Magistrate

or Judge, but, if let go, he cannot come in again ; but when he comes in again, he is always sent to reformatory school. We did not consider it just to the rising generation, to young persons under the age of fourteen, still less to those under the age of twelve, to have them suffer prison constraint when most probably they were not old in guilt, but were placed in such circumstances as to be necessarily drawn into crime. They might have had bad parents, or they might not have been cared for enough by their parents, and influenced by bad companions. Now children will not naturally go to steal. It would be impossible for them to do so if you took care of them. We never rested until we got another Act passed by Government, whereby children under 14 must be sent to an industrial school without going into prison. These are called certificated industrial schools. There may be native gentlemen in this room who had been to England and seen these schools. The children have generally obtained profit from these schools, and the result has been most satisfactory. They have not the taint of a prison attached to them ; and though boys would not have learnt any mischief in jail in England, still the mere fact of being in jail is considered disgraceful. These boys are trained and educated in these industrial schools, and turn out almost invariably capital useful working boys. We give them a general education, and many of them form part of our emigrants to the colonies that they may have a wider field, and we receive excellent accounts of them, and numbers of them go to sea. We have in fact industrial ships, and a large man-of-war has been granted by the Government, and they learn several duties of seafaring there, and other trades. Merchants are very glad to get them into their employment. Now I was fortunate enough, before I came to India, to receive a copy of the Bill which has been said before the Supreme Government to sanction industrial and reformatory schools for India. I was great rejoiced, because I know that in many parts of India there are enlightened and liberal native gentlemen and English gentlemen who are most anxious to establish such schools, and willing to bear some portion of the expenses. I am happy to say that at Madras there is a native gentlemen, who has been in England, who has already offered 40 acres of land to establish a reforma-

tory school upon it; and a young native prince has offered to take the expense of the building, and subscribed handsomely besides; but it is useless to begin anything of the kind until an Act has been passed, because it is necessary to have power of legal detention. It is necessary to set the police to catch these boys if they run away; and if the boys know that this is the case, they will not run away. I am happy also to say that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces has himself laid a measure before the Government of India of a similar character. And I am glad, after looking at their schemes to find that both Sir Richard Temple and the Viceroy entirely wish that these boys should not be sent to prison at all. I believe the general features of the Bill will be that all boys (it will not for various reasons touch the case of girls) found in a state of vagrancy, without proper guardianship, and without any proper means of living, may be sent without being sentenced to prison to reformatory industrial school, and may be sent there up to the age of 14; and they cannot be sent there for less than two, or more than seven years. They must not remain in school beyond the age of 16. These schools are to be established in different localities, and the local Governments are making arrangements for the Government schools. But in the board of management there must always be two native gentlemen out of a board of five, which I think is very desirable, because it has been found in England so important to enlist the personal sympathy and interest of the board in the management of the school. That is the general outline of the Bill, and I am further glad to see in the Bill proposed for this presidency, that all boys now in jail not above 12 and with sentences of 3 months to run may be sent straight from the jail to the reformatory. There are several little boys of ten years at the Presidency Jail, and I saw at Madras one poor little boy ten years old in irons who had been sentenced to imprisonment for life. I will now just briefly sketch to you the general principles upon which industrial schools are established, because I observe that it is in this Bill assumed that such schools are known and understood in India. But when I find that some juvenile departments of prisons are called reformatories, it is very necessary that we should clearly ascertain

what reformatories are. Now in the first place there should be nothing of the jail element in reformatory schools, except the element of detention, and that is to be effected not by walls, bolts and bars, but only by means of moral discipline. They must therefore be free open houses, where these boys can feel themselves in a home. There must be always a considerable portion of land, for it has been found that a large compound has decidedly a most useful and reforming influence upon young persons. They may want to work upon land after they go away from the reformatory. They should learn all general trades which will give a development of the muscles. But this labour is not to be imposed for the sake of funds, but for the sake of doing good to the boys. That principle must be generally laid down. We usually give them some light work, and also teach them some trades. We like every boy to become thoroughly honest, and to be able to make his own clothes. He is then fit for any position in life. I need not say that moral instructions should be given to them. These schools are not to be in any way like prisons, but they must be governed by moral force. The schools should not be large. It has been universarlly accepted in England that it is better not to have more than 50 or 60 boys in one school ; that is as many as can be properly influenced by one head ; and it is therefore much better to have a number of small schools in different parts of the country than one large one. There is one such large school in England which contains some hundreds of boys, but in that school there are a number of separate houses independent of each other, though under one general management, and all working together. There should be as such friendly influence exerted from outside as possible. Gentlemen, and ladies too, should, take an interest in the schools. We find the influence of ladies in visiting the schools is very beneficial to boys. It is natural for the female sex to look after the young, and their influence upon young boys particularly is very good. Besides this, care should be taken to watch over them when they are put out in the world. We put out boys by license. That has been also provided for in the Bill. We put them out by license freely, but we look after them carefully, and if they are not happy or not doing well,

we take them back. But if they do well, we give them passes. And at the end of their time when they are sent into the world we still are required by the Government to give a report of them, to keep an eye upon them to correspond with them, to see and to learn how they are getting on. The schools are under a separate inspector, who has charge of all the reformatories in Great Britain, and this inspector requires us who are the managers to give a report every year. He can therefore test absolutely the success of the differnt institutions. I think, I have given you a general sketch of the subject. If there is any one here present who wished to ask any question, I shall be happy to answer it, and I can only hope that the matter will receive your cheerful consideration.

Dr. Ewart said he had been asked to propose a vote of thanks to Miss Mary Carpenter. He need not remind the meeting that her personal reputation as a philanthropist had travelled to this country long before she paid a visit to it six or seven years ago, and the rapidity with which that large meeting had been convened showed the interest we took in the great principles which it should be our duty to perform, and see carried out. The great interest she had always taken in the subject of prison discipline is a matter which reflected the very highest honour on her philanthropic character. It was not only that prison discipline, according to the principles she had always enunciated, should be carried out with the object of deterring criminals from committing crime, but to reform them—to make them good, honest, industrial members of society—previous to passing them out into the community. And this had been found no doubt to be very practicable in England and America, and other countries, possessing a similar stage of civilization. In other countries there could be no doubt that some system, modified to suit the criminals of the country, might be eventually carried into execution. And he believed that with the authorities here the only difficulty had been the want of means, and that in several of the prisons in Bengal and N.W. Provinces there were a certain number of cells set apart for the carrying out of the separate system; and that education had been carried on in some, as an

experimented measure, but not with that amount of success which could be desired. But, as time went on, the same reforms which were being carried out in other departments of the State, would eventually be carried out to their fullest extent, to meet all the requirements of civilisation in good time. It had come to his notice that the Government of Bengal were not altogether behind hand in the matter of Juvenile Reformatories. That subject was under consideration, and they would soon be established. And it was in this direction, that the philanthropic movement headed by Miss Carpenter would be productive of a very large amount of good to the community. It was in young criminals above all others that we found a soil on which good fruit could be reared, and which could be easily trained to proper paths. And even after they had become criminals, if they were brought up in the way they should go, they would not depart from it readily. He had therefore, on behalf of the meeting to propose that this meeting do congratulate Miss Carpenter on her return to this city, and remembering that she was mainly instrumental in the formation of this Social Science Association, to tender her the best thanks of the meeting for her past services, and this most valuable and instructive lecture on Prison Discipline and Juvenile Reformatories.

Babu Peary Churn Mittra said---It gives me great pleasure in seconding the resolution. Having been connected with the Bengal Social Association from its formation, I am fully sensible of the benefits which Miss Mary Carpenter has conferred upon this Society. I remember the day when she was here last, the day at which a meeting was held at the Asiatic Society's rooms. In the presence of Lord Lawrence and Sir Cecil Beadon, Miss Carpenter gave an excellent address, and it had such an effect upon all the gentlemen present at that meeting that they resolved upon founding this Society. Subsequently several meetings were held, and a committee was formed of which Miss Carpenter was a member; and I had the honour of being associated with her on that committee, and I can assure you that we were deeply indebted to her for the benefit of her advice and views on different matters which the committee had to settle previous to

drawing up the scheme for the formation of this Association. Then we had a meeting at which another very valuable address was given, and when she left on account of ill-health for England, she continued to correspond with us and offer suggestions. Taking all these into consideration,I assure you that I feel deeply grateful to her for her valuable services to the Society. Her presence at a day like this when the Society owing to some causes has not been so active, infuses new life and energy into us ; and the address which has been delivered to this meeting will no doubt lead to important discussion at our next quarterly meeting, and I am sure, that it will also lead to important results with reference to the improvement of prisons and the reformation of juvenile prisoners. This has far advanced, as I could enter into different matters largely. I will therefore conclude by seconding the resolution moved by Dr. Ewart.

Mis Mary Carpenter returned thanks in appropriate terms, and was glad to see that the Association had taken up the subject, from which she augured great benefit.

The Revd. Kristo Mohan Banerjee moved that the thanks of the meeting be conveyed to His Honor the President for his kindly taking the chair on this occasion, and also for having accepted the offer of President. He was glad to find that before the Society had actually become defunct, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor had come forward to be its President, and had thus infused new life into it ; and also that on the occasion it should have heard such an excellent address from a lady to whose exertions they were mainly indebted for the origin of the Society. He hoped that the resolution would be cordially received.

Moulvi Abdul Luteef Bahadur seconded the resolution.

His Honor the President said—Ladies and Gentlemen,—Though I am unwilling to detain you at this late hour of the day yet I must say a few words in acknowledgement of the resolution which has been proposed and carried. My reason for accepting the office I now hold, of which I now exercise the

function for the first time, and this—that I understand that this is a Society which has for its object the promotion of measure which may lead to the mental, moral or material advantage and advancement of all class of the people of Bengal. That being the case, it is not only a pleasure to me, but I deem it a bounden duty, in justice to the people who are temporarily placed under my charge. I deem it a pleasure as well as a duty, to accept that office and to do my best for the interests of my fellow subjects. I do not share the discouragement which the Rev. mover of the resolution expressed, as to the partial suspension of the benefits which may be expected from such Association as this. For whether or not the Association is as flourishing as in the days of Sir George Campbell, this much I venture to assume, that since the days of Sir George Campbell there has been a very great diffusion of civilized ideas among the many classes of the people, and I think that fact is due in a considerable degree to the healthy, renovating and invigorating discussions which the existence of this Association has called forth. On this subject I shall say nothing further at this moment, because I have hanging over my head the sad necessity of troubling the Association very shortly with an inaugural address. I will not trouble you now therefore with any crude opinion upon the subject. I will endeavour then very briefly to give such assurance as the magnitude of the importance of the subjects discussed by the Association demands, and I will endeavour to explain, and that very briefly, what our future course, in my opinion, ought to be.

Then one word as to the subject of the instructive lecture which has been just delivered. As to the separate cell system there have been many objections raised by many persons, yet I am sure that the decision which has been accepted is on the whole in favour of the introduction of that system. The real difficulty, as has been pointed out, is the question of expense, and I need not say, that if there be one subject more than another on which I ought to be reserved, it is the question of finance. Then in regard to the question of Juvenile Reformatory schools, I can assure the Association that there is every probability of

the early realization of all the wishes and endeavours and anticipations which the Association could possibly form, for I believe I may say that in respect of Juvenile Reformatories, what I may call the great cry has in His Excellency the Viceroy a most intelligent and zealous advocate. It is now nearly a year since I endeavoured to submit to His Excellency the details of a law which I and my advisers in Bengal thought might safely be introduced here. We have the power of course, to pass such a law as this in our own Council, but the Government of India preferred that the measure should be passed by their Legislature. Of course if they passed the Bill, it would be sufficiently worth our purpose, and I believe I may say, that the Bill will be passed very soon, though I cannot say how soon; and that as soon as it is passed, I may say on behalf of the Government of Bengal, not a single moment will be lost in connection with the measure, to introduce reformatories at various places in these provinces; and I am sure it is an augury for our future success to see various branches of society so much impressed with the interesting manner in which this address of Miss Carpenter has been given. I am sure we are much impressed with the great advantage of hearing now this lady lecturer. I believe that no mere gentleman Lecturer could possibly have got together at so short a notice such an influential audience as has been assembled here today. Still more am I certain, that no mere gentleman Lecturer could have addressed us upon such a dull subject with so much empressment and embellishment as Miss Carpenter has done.

A few facts concerning Village Life :
by the Hon'ble Babu Isser Chunder Mitter, Roy Bahadur.
[Read on the 25th July 1877]

India famous in the olden time for what was termed its barbaric pearls and gold, famous for its Pagoda trees during the advent of commercial Europe, has nevertheless been found to be a poor country. Notwithstanding riches and splendour among a few of its princes and nobles, there is almost one dead level of poverty and misery among the masses. The condition of the ryots and of the poor generally, is therefore a subject not undeserving attention. I accordingly propose, in a series of papers, to give such facts concerning village communities as have come under any observation.

Calcutta, built upon a swampy alluvial formation, once noted for its damp, reeky, odorous and insalubrious condition, is now reported to be one of the healthiest places in Bengal. Its death-rate now compares favourably even with the recorded death-rate in some of the best towns in Upper India. On the other hand, the reputation for healthiness of many places in Bengal and the North-West has more or less deteriorated. Fever in different forms commits its ravages for six months of the year ; cholera numbers its victims by tens and hundreds at different periods ; and chronic diseases, slow in their operation, have their triumphs all the year round, over ill-nourished, enervated and enfeebled constitutions.

There can, I believe, be no question that the public health of most villages in the interior has for some time past been found to have sadly suffered. Something has been done to alleviate this state of things, but much remain to be done, and an enquiry into the causes of the general decline in the salubriousness of villages cannot but be attended with profit. Towards this end, the collection of facts affecting the general health of

village communities must always be of some value; and such facts as have come under the observation of men who reside or have spent years in places in the interior, ought to be brought to notice.

It cannot be uninteresting also to note whether, notwithstanding the decline in their sanitary condition, villages have not improved in other respects; whether or not there has been any progress in the material condition of the people; in the construction of roads and communications; in trade and commerce; in arts and general education. Calcutta has made considerable progress in all these matters: it must be to some advantage to know how much of this progress has a counterpart in villages in the interior. A collection of facts bearing upon these questions cannot but be useful to those who have at heart the amelioration of the condition of the people at large. The main subjects affecting the weal of village communities may be classed under some such heads as the following:—

Health or Preservation of Life
Land and Crops
Indigenous Arts and Manufactures
Internal Trade and Commerce
Roads and Communications
Education
Charities, etc.

The field is a large one, but if every one, who has any knowledge or experience of facts bearing upon the subjects adverted to, should contribute his mite of information to a general stock, a great advance would have been made towards a proper understanding of the condition of the masses, who form, as it were, the basis of society.

It is generally asserted that population is increasing, and has increased to a considerable extent: so much so, that it is likely to outstrip the limits of production. A belief previously existed that the population of the Bengal Provinces, including

Assam, comprised some 42 millions of souls; the last census showed that the population numbered above 66 millions. For the 42 millions there was no reliable foundation whatever; for the 66 there is the census which was conducted with special care. It is certainly true that the people of this country always look with suspicion on efforts made on behalf of Government to collect statistical information, and it may be feared that strictly correct figures are sometimes withheld; in fact only the other day a public officer questioned for a portion of a district in Behar the accuracy of the census; but nevertheless when it is recollected that a village population seldom comprises disturbing elements in the nature of floating members, that the members of the village community are generally well known to every village officer or village head, when it is known that intelligent village residents were mostly employed in the work of enumeration, and that the work was supervised in particular by local officers, we may confidently assume that the census of villages was in the main correct. We must however, wait till we have another census to know in what ratio the population is increasing; and this knowledge will assist greatly in determining many questions affecting the health and well being of vast communities spread throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The general belief is, as has been said, that population is increasing; this belief may be considered sound. With such security to life and property as was never realised under past dominations, with increased trade and commerce, with facilities for communication and transport which did not exist in days gone by, with increased produce and increased prices, the ryot is certainly, to some extent, better off than he ever was before, and as there are very few restraints upon marriage, the tendency naturally is to an increase. But an over-increase of population must always be attended with evil results; when population outstrips the limits of produce, misery, the most direful, must come on apace. There are some natural checks to population which none can combat. Disease and death destroy what the fructifying influences of nature build up, and this process must always be at work in the dispensation of a wise providence. But because

disease and death must have their work, there is no reason why we should sit with folded hands and not make an effort to remove their preventible causes, to do all that should be done to help nature in vivifying and preserving the life it has given. We should be as guilty in seeing fever or cholera or other fell disease commit its ravages far and wide, and not making an effort to remove or helping towards the removal of the causes which bring on such diseases, as in seeing famine devastate the land, and not stirring to arrest its progress if we have the power to do so, but looking on it as a natural visitation, tending to check an overgrown population. The world is still wide enough to receive an ever-increasing population, but for the removal of the causes of disease we must look closely to the conditions under which populations exist.

Now for a few facts. The obstructed drainage of a village is one great element of its unhealthiness. I must not here omit to mention that attention was first drawn to this subject by Raja Digamber Mitter, C.S.I., in connection with his enquiries into the causes of epidemic fevers. Every village has some defined drainage channel connected with other like channels, a streamlet or a swamp. In many instances I have seen such channels clogged or obstructed in various ways. The owners of lands on either side of a channel have perhaps encroached upon it, embanking the lands bordering on the channel, and making slow advances year by year into its bed. The channel has thus become narrower by degrees and beautifully small in the end, and the water way is rendered insufficient for the free passage of water. Roads have been often constructed across these drainage channels. The necessity for roads has been always great, and the funds, till lately, small. In the construction, the process of embanking had always been a matter of the first importance, and the waterway, where the roads crossed the drainage channels least thought of. If thought of, the funds stood in the way. Masonry works involved a large expenditure, and with a view to economy the necessary culvert was constructed with as little width of supporting wall as possible and the smallest water-way conceivable became the result. Again, the drainage channels are generally

connected with a streamlet which finds its way eventually into a swamp or a river. In some instances the streamlet is found to have silted up considerably, and the drainage channels of all the villages connected with it are found seriously obstructed.

The station of Baraset, once a very healthy place, is a case in point. The Sootee River which received the drainage of the place has silted up considerably, the drainage channels connected with it have become narrow and choked up, and during the rains the waters scarcely find a vent. Within a village itself the drains connected with the main drainage channels often fail to serve the purposes for which they were constructed. When the process of embanking the side lands goes on during the dry season, a person thinks more of his land than of the public drain, and is not slow to encroach upon the latter. Such portion of the earth of the embankment, as has been carried away during the previous rains, and has not been deposited in the drain, is made up by a deeper cut into the bed of the drain, and thus while the drain becomes narrower, it becomes deeper as well. The roads which the villagers construct are meant to save them and their cattle from sinking knee-deep in the mire. The only idea the people have of road-making is to pile earth upon the truck and while the side-drains are dug into deeper and deeper, a proper water-way across the roads is hardly, if ever, thought of. Again the drains themselves do not even irrespective of the places where they are crossed by the village roads, run uninterrupted all through the villages. The passages leading from the public thoroughfares to the ryots' homesteads are generally solid passages, if I may so call them. The drains in these places are scarcely, if ever, crossed by culverts of masonry or even of ordinary wood, in fact the drains have never perhaps been carried through these passages; the result is, the village drains are seldom continuous.

The above are some of the facts connected with the drainage of villages. Whenever all or most of these facts exist, the effects can be more easily imagined than described. During the rains, the waters accumulate in the village drains and in the main

drainage channels. By the time they disappear from the drainage channels, more is absorbed in the village than what is actually drained out of it, and even then sufficient is left in the deep and unconnected cuts of the village drains to lend additional dampness to the ryots' homesteads.

The drainage of each particular homestead is often found to be in an unsatisfactory state. Whenever a new house is erected in the homestead or the mud walls of an old one are repaired, the earth required is dug from the nearest place available. Though these works are taken in hand at a time when the ryots have very little agricultural work to do, when the ryots' personal labour is available, and when hired labour is cheaper tnan in the busy season of the year, still no efforts are ever made to bring the earth required, from a place where an excavation would not prove a nuisance, but on the other hand might prove advantageous. The consequence is that in accordance with the requirements of a household, holes more or less in number are spread in close proximity to the houses,—holes which are filled with water during the rains and with the refuse and sweepings of the homestead in other seasons.

That, under the circumstances and conditions abbve described, though described imperfectly, villages should suffer from a chronic state of dampness and its consequences, is not surprising. The conservancy of villages is another matter which may deserve some attention.

The disposal of night soil is a question of serious importance in towns and cities ; in villages it is left to nature. It is said that in primeval times the ordinance on the subject required that a person should proceed a considerable distance out of the village —a distance greater even than what could be reached by an arrow shot from the village, scrape out a hole wherein he was to answer his call of nature, and then cover up the deposit with earth. We had here, perhaps, the origin of the dry earth conservancy system talked of some time back and practised in all jails. The principle involved in the saying was simply this :

That the village and its precincts were not to be contaminated and that the night soil was not to be left to fester and decompose under the rays of tropical sun. In villages, even at the present day, the requirements of nature are answered in the open air, but with the increase of population, the habitations of men have increased in numbers and cultivation has spread, the field has become circumscribed and the sides of tanks and roads are freely used by the lower sections of the community, while the better classes resort to secluded spots in gardens, among clusters of bamboos, or by the sides of ditches.

A large tank or reservoir of drinking water is usually situated outside a village, having generally an open space round it which serves as a water basin. This space is surrounded by embankments topped with trees, and these embankments wherever accessible, often serve as the most convenient places to resort to for the purposes indicated. So the ditches bordering on garden lands are often connected with ponds and tanks for the purposes of letting in and out water at different periods of the rainy season. The effect is, that the decomposing night soil is left free to poison the air, to foul the water-basins of reservoirs of drinking water, and doubly contaminate the waters of ponds and tanks often otherwise rendered impure.

The refuse of the cow house, the sweeping of the homestead, in short all sorts of leavings, are generally utilized by the ryot. They go a great way to help him in manuring his fields, but before they arrive at a state in which they can be fit for being used as manure, they are allowed to rot and fester in chance holes or on the open ground in close proximity to the house, or by the road side, where they cannot but prove to be serious nuisances.

No effort is ever made to keep the small private tank or pond, usually seen close to the homestead, clean. Never properly excavated, or if ever excavated to a sufficient depth in the first instances, never perhaps re-excavated afterwards when necessary, it becomes a receptacle of all sorts of filth accumulated therein for years.

During the rains the refuse of the cow house, the accumulating night soil in the ditches, the decomposing vegetable matter in the adjoining grounds, are washed into it ; during dry weather the luxuriant vegetation around contributes to it no end of decayed matter ; at all seasons it is a permanent sink wherein all manner of dirt is washed. The water of these tanks is at once used for culinary purposes and the purposes of ablution.

These tanks do not perhaps prove as harmful as they would otherwise be, only because the fish ordinarily preserved in them consume a great portion of the accumulated filth, and the plentiful crop of weeds and water plants usually found in them receive their sustenance from it. These weeds are an index of the pestiferous nature of the water in which they grow, just as a luxurious undergrowth of vegetation on land is an index of its dampness. The removal of the weeds can but very partially help in improving the tanks, just as the cutting down of small jungle cannot, except very faintly help in rendering a damp soil less damp. In the former case a new crop of weeds springs up, to feed, perhaps more vigorously on the under-lying dirt than the old crop did, and in the latter case fresh vegetation arises to absorb the damp moisture of which the old had surfeited. In both cases the sources of evil remain.

Obstructed drainage and the consequent dampness of the soil have come to be considered by some high authorities as the causes of the fevers which have done so much injury to the country, but it may be a moot question for the serious consideration of our scientists, whether other causes are not equally at work. It has been seen that in villages there is not only obstructed drainage, but the most mischievous conservancy arrangements. There was death in our open sewers in Calcutta, our scientists said, but nevertheless persons were often seen to sit by them for hours, even to sleep over them night after night, exposed to influences of the miasma in blissful ignorance of the fatal truth. Nobody however found what number of deaths or of diseased livers or enlarged spleens was the consequence. There is death in the accumulated filth of our privies, the medicos say,

but notwithstanding that these preserves ceased for weeks and weeks to be fields for the display of the hardihood and valour of our Knights of the brooms, the health of Calcutta, it is reported, was never so good as during the period referred to. Whether the effect of this accumulation was not to tell on public health in some form or other not easily discernible, is more than I can presume to say. After all it may perhaps be asserted with some degree of confidence that a combination of causes, and not one cause alone, often serves perhaps to undermine the human constitution. The decomposing vegetable matter abundant in villages, the festering night soil, the putrid filth in the beds of tanks after causing such injury as may result from superficial exhalations therefrom, might find their way into the sub-soil, and the accumulated poison of years might at certain periods find its way into the atmosphere, along with the miasma which a soil surcharged with moisture sends up during the first dry months of a year, and thus help vigorously to spread disease and death around. The water supply of villages, for purposes of drinking is a subject of great importance to the well-being of villages. During the last drought, the apprehensions of a famine of food were followed by apprenhensions of a water famine. In Madras and Bombay of late similar apprehensions existed.

One single small tank in the compound attached to the subdivisional quarters at Busserhat was rendered almost dry from the supplies which were drawn from it by the inhabitants of some six villages adjoining the station, while a very large tank lay at a short distance, choked with weeds, totally unfit for use. In former days an idea of public benevolence, or of a sense of duty to his tenantry, often induced the wealthy man or the land holder, Hindu or Musalman, to undertake the excavation of large tanks for the use of the public at large or of the ryots on his estate. Properties have changed hands, have become divided, or the owners have become impoverished, and many of these tanks are neglected or in a state of utter uselessness. New proprietors cannot be expected to interest themselves in works which lent a reputation to the names of their predecessors ; co-sharers are often found unwilling or unable to join with other sharers

in the work of improvement ; and poverty is often a positive bar. On the other hand, demands on man's purse have increased in several ways with the march of civilization, public beneficence takes manifold forms, public projects are many and various ; and all who are really benevolently inclined, all who are truely public spirited, all who have a name to make or a reputation to gain, must give away largely from what they have. The prices of labour and produce have also increased, and there are fewer works now undertaken to provide a supply of water sufficient to replace that which has been lost. The spirit of benevolence has not died out ; but it has received a serious check ; when the failure of the crops during the last famine set free a good deal of labour usually employed in the fields, when labour became much cheaper than before, when advances could be had from Government, though strictly none could be given for tanks of drinking water, it was a noticeable fact that the excavation or the re-excavation of tanks was taken up in many a quarter with the greatest alacrity. The efforts however which were then made on this behalf have ceased to a great extent a good water supply is not only insufficient in many places, but it is positively deteriorating in quality from neglect and accession of offensive matter.

The use of impure water is said to be the cause of cholera, though perhaps nothing is yet known for certain of the causes of this fell disease. The introduction into this city of the filtered water from Pulta was attended at first by a very sensible fall in cholera cases ; whether these two facts acted as cause and effect has not been ascertained. One thing, however is certain that, notwithstanding the continued use of this water, cholera cases have increased. It may here be noticed that at first there was a rather over-sufficiency of water, which was followed by a fitful or uncertain supply. Perhaps in this country an ample supply is as much necessary for health as a pure one. In the absence of means for storing the filtered water for use on all occasions, many people are obliged to draw their supplies for the purposes of ablution, and even of cooking from other sources, and the increase is now ascribed to the use of foul water found in the busttees. Any how, a sufficient supply of good water is

essentially necessary, and in this respect there is a great want in many villages in the interior.

It would be a work of super-arrogation on my part to describe a village house after the graphic description we have had of it in "Rustic Bengal" from the pen of Mr. Phear, who quietly and without ostentation did much to benefit the people of this country, who was naturally looked up to with feelings of gratefulness, and whose departure from this country must be deeply regretted, even by those who had not the good fortune to know him personally but who always heard of his exertions in the cause of native improvement,—exertions shared in by that estimable lady, his wife, who has left the impress of her large sympathies and warm-heartedness in the cause of the advancement of native women on many a feeling heart. I shall only refer to the houses of the ryots to indicate how far the accommodation provided in them is conducive to health.

The single houses of labourers or of the lowest class of ryots, have generally one door only, leading from a small verandah in front, if there is a verandah at all; large houses or apartments have generally one door in front and one at the side; windows are rarely met with, except in the very best houses. The door in the inferior classes of houses are of mat, in houses of a superior order, of wood; where the walls are of mud, as is mostly the case, there is very little ventilation except through the door; where they are of slit bamboos, as in some of the Eastern Districts of Bengal, there is certainly a superabundance of it, and the houses are not proof against the cold blasts of winter, or the damp easterly winds of the rainy season.

The houses have a lesser or greater height of door according as they are of an inferior or of a superior description, or according as the village is less or more subject to inundations; the plinth, the verandah and the floor of the room is leeped every day with a mixture of water, earth and cowdung, and this process, now adopted in the jails of Bengal, helps to keep the rooms

comparatively dry, at all events much drier than they would otherwise be.

The accommodation available in houses, owned by persons who cannot afford to have separate houses for all their needs, is oftentimes shared by poultry and goats, and even cows. One side of the room there is generally a raised bamboo platform on which a receptacle for holding paddy is usually seen ; underneath this platform one may find quietly ensconced for the night a goat and her young one ; if the owner is a Mahamedan, one may find there a hen coop as well. One half of the room is generally left vacant to hold a bed if necessary, but this bed oftener finds a place in the open verandah, and the consequences of insufficient ventilation and close proximity to where cattle are kept are avoided. If a cow or heifer is kept, it is accommodated in an enclosed portion of the verandah. Even in houses of superior description the verandah often serves as a sleeping place. This is as much to avoid the heat of a pent-up room, as to find accommodation for members of a family who cannot all be conveniently or decently put into such place as is available.

The cooking is mostly done in the open air, and the pots and pans are daily stowed away in a part of the house or in the cook-room where there is one. In wet weather the fire place is removed to the verandah when there is no separate cook-room. In this way cooking becomes less injurious to the health of the immates than it would otherwise be.

The bedding in the lowest condition of life consists of a mat and a piece of wood for a pillow, where one made of old rags is not available. Amongst the better class or ryots a slight improvement only is perceptible ; the mat, here serving as well as in the other case of a bed, is of soft rushes ; and the pillow, black and slimy with age and oil, is always to be found ; a quilt of rags may sometimes be put over the mat to lend additional comfort. Mosquito curtains are eschewed. The people mostly sleep on the ground, and apart from the effects of the dampness of the floor, however modified that may be by the leeping which

it receives, the ryot is subject without let or hindrance to the visits of poisonous reptiles to whose fangs he falls an easy prey.

Before leaving this part of the subject I may here add that the approaches to the tanks and ponds, close to the homestead, are never properly fenced or guarded, and the excavations near the house become little pools of water during the rains ; little children left to themselves, while the mother is busily employed in her household occupations, sometimes meet with a watery grave.

The food of the ryot is of the plainest description. It consists mainly of rice, pulse, vegetables and greens, some grown by himself : fish, if he or his wife cannot catch them, and sometimes vegetables he buys from the *hat* on market days. An able-bodied labourer consumes as a rule, a seer of rice ; his wife nearly, though not quite as much ; and the cildren from a little below a quarter to half a seer, according to age. This quantity includes what is required for being parched to serve as dry breakfast or luncheon.

In a family consisting of man, woman, and three children—this may be considered a fair average—the quantity of rice required for the day is nearly three seers : this costs at 21 or 22 seers the rupee, the usual price during a fair season, a little above two annas. Reducing this price by one fifth for paddy husked at home, the cost of rice may be taker to be 1¾ annas. No more pulse is consumed than can be bought for a pice. The salt costs half a pice, oil a pice, and condiments, consisting of turmeric chillies, and sometimes onions, half a pice ; to this may be added a pice worth of fish on an average. The whole comes up to 2¾ annas a day. He has other expenses besides ; he has to provide for his house and he has to provide for his clothing, and he just keeps body and soul together at 3¼ annas a day. As the price of rice advances, the labourer dispenses with such fish as is to be bought, he dispenses with pulse, and even with a part of his oil and condiments : he eventually reduces his daily allowance of rice, putting himself and his wife and children even on short rations.

He can bring down his daily allowance to 2 seers a day: supposing the price of rice rose to 13 seers per rupee, the cost less one-fifth for home made rice would be two annas, to which must be added two pice for salt, oil and condiments, and the total would be 2½ annas. With the price of labour down at 2½ annas a day, he will have arrived at a state when a further rise will make him begin to starve. I may here add that these lines were written long before the discussion which has lately arisen regarding the subsistence wages of famine labourers in Madras alone. I have given simply the results of my own experience in the matter.

The clothing of the labourer and the ryot is scanty. He requires three dhoties at the least, and two napkins during the year. His wife requires two sarees. The yarn is made at home. The dhoties cost 8 to 10 annas a piece and the sarees 12 annas; the napkins cost 3 annas each. The children ordinarily go naked. The whole costs on an average Rs. 3.8. For special occassions the ryot has a dhoti and a chadder of madapolloam, costing about a rupee, and the wife has a printed saree costing as much. The children have a piece each, costing say 5 to 6 annas, and the whole expenditure may come up to Rs. 6 on the whole for the year. The covering of the winter is generally a quilt made of old clothes sewn together. I have never met with a quilt of cotton wool except in the houses of the most substantial ryots. The ryot certainly has not a redundancy of clothing.

These are a few facts connected with the health of village communities: other facts bearing on this subject must have come under the observation of gentlemen having experience of village life. A collection of all such facts may draw the attention of philanthropists to such circumstances as affect injuriously the condition of the masses; and a discussion, as to the measures which ought to or might be adopted to alleviate such a condition, may eventuate in the well-being of the classes whom I have referred to.

Babu Sreenath Ghosh Roy Bahadur said:—I have very great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to my friend Babu

Isser Chunder Mitter for the very interesting paper which he has read. The paper, it is true, is not an exhaustive one on the subject, but it is very suggestive and very useful; and I hope the lecturer will give us his experiences of village life, which cannot but be of great value, in a further paper at some future Meeting.

Babu Jadunath Ghosh said—I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks. As has been already said, the paper is by no means an exhaustive one, and we expect, as the lecturer has promised, to hear the series of papers which treats on the same subject. The facts stated here are of the highest importance to such an Association as the Bengal Social Science Association, and their discussion cannot but lead to very great and good results. The Bengali nation, like most others, live in the cottage. Hence any faithful delineation of the cottage economy, based upon actual experience gained from freely mixing with the people in their homesteads must be much more interesting than if the delineator had trusted to the depths of his inner consciousness for his facts and figures to be wrought into graphic pictures for the delectation of his untravelled audience. Now that epidemics and famines and inundations are so frequent in the land, information of the kind contained in the paper just read, possesses much more practical value and national importance than could be presumed from its impretentious title. If, as they say, to be forewarned is to be forearmed, Babu Isser Chunder drops hints on several subjects which cannot fail to attract the serious attention of all anxious to secure village sanitation and a sufficient supply of food for our rural population.

Babu Nabin Chandra Boral supported the Resolution. He thought the lecturer had gone somewhat out of the way in treating the subject which, no doubt, was an important and interesting one. The lecturer had touched upon the subject of sanitation, but he thought that this was a subject more fit for discussion by a Scientific Association than by one for the discussion of social knowledge. But the very able and interesting manner in which it had been treated removed, he was sure, any regret one may have felt at the deviation. Indeed he thought that this paper

would prove to be of valuable assistance if brought to the notice of the Municipal Corporation of this city, as the lecturer's views were sound and well worth attention. Reference was also made to the great rise in the price of rice, and the destitution which was expected to prevail in villages. It was undoubtedly within the province of this Association to move in the matter, and to take steps towards checking the large exports of rice to Madras. It was one of the first duties of this Association to do something to alleviate the distress which at present prevailed among Bengal ryots from the rise in the price of rice.

The Chairman said :—At this hour of the evening I shall not do more than express the regret I feel that my friend, the lecturer, was compelled to defer the reading of his paper to so late an hour. I hope that on the next occasion, when he reads a paper he will commence at the beginning of the evening and that we shall have time to discuss it fully. But, gentlemen, this paper will be printed and circulated to Members of the Association, and we shall all have the opportunity of perusing at leisure the very interesting account of village life which my friend has given us.

I think my friend was right in laying great stress upon the water supply in villages. For my own part I believe that much more sickness is attributable to a defective water supply than to obstructed drainage. A great deal has been made of obstructed drainage, but to my mind it has never been satisfactorily established that it is to obstructed drainage, and to obstructed drainage alone, that these malarious fevers, which have proved so terribly fatal, are to be attributed.

I was rather astonished, I confess, at what my friend, said in regard to the increase of cholera in Calcutta since the town was supplied with good water. I certainly was under the impression that cholera has decreased in Calcutta since the completion of the water works. A remarkable instance occured a short time ago. There was a severe outbreak of cholera at Hastings, but as soon as the water supply was extended to Hastings, all cases of cholera ceased.

I am unable to agree with my friend who spoke last as to obstructed drainage not being a question which should be brought before this Association, for I think that anything which affects the health and well being of the people of this country clearly comes within the province of this Association.

There is only one further remark I wish to make, and that is with regard to the observation which fell from my friend who has just spoken. He has called your attention to the large exports of grain which are now taking place to Madras and he has suggested the propriety of stopping this exports. I read in this morning's papers that for Mysore alone1,000 tons a day will be required. No doubt these large exports will cause the price of rice to rise in Bengal, but so long as we have grain here to spare, we cannot refuse to send it to famishing people there. We are all one great Empire, and we must all try, to the best of our ability, to bear each other's burdens and relieve one another's distress.

A paper upon Indian famines, and the best means of grappling with them, and relieving distress when it does arise, would be a most valuable paper to read before this Association; and if my friend would undertake to read such a paper before us, I am sure he would place us under a great obligation.

The Origin and Development of Caste
by the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, LL.D.
Read on the 23rd April 1878.

The subject on which I have promised to read a paper this evening was selected by the Executive Committee—and the word Caste was left deliberately without any qualifying prefix such as Hindu or Indian. I must, therefore, construe the intention of the Committee to have been Caste in general—only with especial reference to this country. I shall accordingly give effect to the Committee's intention by a few preliminary observations on caste in general—before proceeding to its special reference to this country, which must be considered the main question.

Caste in its most comprehensive signification denotes order. In the language of the poet—

> Order is Heaven's first law and this confest
> Some are, and must be greater than the rest."

This has been verified in every country and in every age. The Egyptians had it—originally even in a more complex form than the Hindoos of their time. The Assyrians had their nobles—with the especial title of Asur. The Spartans had their Helots as the lowest order. The Romans had their Patricians and their Plebians. The Jews had their Levites and Aaronic priests. The Persians their Satraps, and their Magi, the predecessors of the present Dasturs. The Britons had their Druids. The Anglo-Saxons, Normans and all Western nations their Feudal lords and villians. In most cases the superior order was hereditary and depended on birth, in some it was a personal distinction. In many cases the purity of the superior blood was protected by prohibition of inter-marriages. But order existed everywhere—whether it were as a caste depending on birth and prohibitive of inter-marriages, or as an order with fewer restrictions and admitting recruits from the lower classes.

In some cases again it was found on direct religious precepts—and where the institutions itself did not pretend to a religious origin, it was still observed as a religious or quasi-religious obligation.

Although human nature was the same everywhere, yet the development of its faculties and powers was unequal. High and low, rich and poor were found in every age and every clime, and were indeed necessary under the ordinary Providence of God. Gradations in society were indispensable for its common welfare. Confusion would inevitably result where only one grade and one class existed. The welfare and safety of a community required certain offices to be severally performed by both high and low, and unless there were a recognised gradation there would be the greatest inconvenience to all. No one would know what he was expected to do—and all would aspire to what in their wisdom or conceit they would consider high callings, irrespective of their own capacities, moral, intellectual and physical or relatively the superior merits of others. Men were therefore driven to the necssity of an authorisd division of labour, and of gradations and classifications—and these, when they became rigidly hereditary, were crystallized in the forms of Caste.

Caste in its rigidity would be an abuse of the principle which required gradations, and the abuse would often prove a greater evil than that which the principle was intended to remedy. But we find there was a safety valve left even in India, where the principle of gradation and classification soon developed itself into a most rigid system of caste. We find a Kshatriya in the person of Viswamitra promoted to the higher office of the priesthood by virtue of his extraordinary abilities, and a Brahman in the person of Parasu Ram recognised and lauded as a bellicose and terrific combatant—the exterminator of the hereditary order of Kshatriyas.

But I am anticipating the especial subject of the evening to which I must now turn in methodical order.

The Indian idea of caste is expressed by two words—"varna" which means colour, and "jati" which means birth.

The former is almost exclusively found in ancient records—the latter appears chiefly in records of a more recent date.

The Rig Ved is admittedly the most ancient of Aryan records. The word "jati" is not found there at all. The word "varna" is found, but only in the sense of colour, not of caste. The words Sudra and Vaisya are found only once, and the peculiarity of that *hapax legomenon* shall be shortly explained. The words "Chandala" and "Nishada" too, expressive of castes subsisting on occupations the meanest indeed, but at the same time the most needful for society, though noticed in other Vedas, are not found in the Rig Veda Samhita. Even the word Brahmana, though occuring constantly, is not used (except in one test where the four castes are named) in the sense of a separate caste. It occurs generally in the sense of sacrificial vessels[1] or a sacrificial minister—a scholar conversant with all useful knowledge, with Vedic Mantras as well as the medicinal properties of herbs and drugs[2]—at once a diviner and a doctor, learned in science and sacred lore, whose title even Vrihaspati, preceptor of Gods, was proud to assume, and which was at the same time so incapable of defilement or disgrace that it could be applied in the seventh Mandala (vii 103,7) even to frogs in wells and ponds, provided only they were qualified by learning and devotion like their brothers of Vedic fame. "Brahmana" in fine meant an austere ampler of learning and devotion which was not in the monopoly of any tribe or species—which might ascend to heaven or descend undergrounds, as early as it finds a place among the Gods of the earth.

The fact is, that the word Brahmana is derived from Brahma which signified the Veda itself, or Vedic Mantras and ceremonies. All those who were conversant with Vedic texts or competent to take the lead in ceremonies, together with the compilations of ritual rules and directions, like the "Rubrics" of the English Prayer Book, and the very utensils used at the altar, were styled "Brahmanas".

[1] R.V.I. 15, 5.
[2] R.V.X. 97, 22.

It is asserted in the Sastras that Manu was the survivor of the Deluge, representing Noah or Nu of Semitic records, and that when the ship or boat rested, Manu offered a sacrifice, not unlike what "Nu" had done. Now as the population of the post-Diluvian world all sprang from Manu, the presumption is that there could have been no caste at the time. The descendants of Manu were variously called "Manuja", "Manava", "Manushya", which are all words signifying mankind. The human race was therefore all one, agreeably to ancient Aryan tradition. The same Manu again had consecrated and instituted the Sacrificial Fire[3], and all his descendants were under solemn obligations to maintain that Sacrificial Fire by means of burnt offerings and oblations. Of those burnt offerings, the original sacrifice of Manu was the sampler[4]. Every householder kept up the sacrifices and maintained the sacred fire in his own consecrated room or hearth[5].

Now we have just shown that the most comprehensive word signifying at the same time the Veda and Vedic ceremonies and ritual, was Brahma, and its equally comprehensive derivation standing for compilations of sacrificial rules, utensils, and the ministers themselves, were Brahmanas. Hence it is that the most authoritative expositions of the mantras were themselves called Brahmanas, and every Veda is found divided into two portions, the Samhitas and the Brahmanas. And hence it is also that every householder keeping up the sacrifice instituted by Manu was, as a minister of the same, called a Brahmana.

In process of time, as families multiplied and it became necessary to cultivate land more and more for raising human food, it was found convenient to establish an order of Brahmanas, who as minister's general might perform sacrificial worship in numbers of houses, and thus by relieving heads of families of the sacerdotal duty, leave them at large for attending to agricultural pursuits. For it must be noted as a prominent fact that

[3] R.V.I. 13, 4, 14, 11.
[4] R.V.I. 26, 4.
[5] R.V.I. 9,8.

the primitive Indo-aryans were distinctively an agricultural community. The manual labour of cultivation, which is now despised as the work of Chāsās or rustic clowns, was originally held the most honourable of occupations, not even beneath the dignity of Gods themselves. The very epithet of good Chāsās (Sucharsani) was a title of honour and distinction. Cultivation of lands was held to be such a universal duty among mankind, that "Charsani' and "Kristi" were both synonymous with Manushya and he was considered the noblest specimen of mankind who was the best tiller of the ground (Sucharsani). Indra himself, who was honoured as Nripati or King, and called Nritama or best of men, was not ashamed of the epithet Sucharsani or the best tiller.

The institution of the order of Brahmanas was thus owing to the exigencies of a growing society to which the maintenance of sacrifices and the cultivation of the ground were equally necessary.

An order of men for defence from wild beasts and external foes would also in time be felt as a desideratum, and would naturally follow, and, as we shall presently see, the military class was instituted in that very way.

With reference to the "Vaisya", the word, as we have said occurs but once in the Rig Veda Samhita in connection with the other principal castes. But the derivation of the word is suggestive of a consideration which claims a moment's attention. The word "Vaisya" is derived from Vis signifying people—the *hoi polloi* of the Aryan Commonwealth—viz., those who were not, competent for the sacerdotal duties performed by the Brahmanas, and who therefore attended exclusively to agricultural and other offices producing the wealth of the community. Although they were the populace of the *hoi polloi*, yet they were Aryans—the Hon'ble Commons of Aryandom. As long as no caste-gulf was interposed between the different orders, they were no other than relatives of Brahmanas pursuing secular avocations.

The word Sudra also occurs, as we have said, only in one text where the four castes are named. It is not grammatically connected with any word found in the Rig Veda from which we might form an idea of the offices afterwards assigned to it. The word "Vis" leaves no room for it in the Aryan community. It must therefore refer to an Un-Arya or non-Aryan class. Scholars have generally confounded the Sudras with "Dasyus" who were themselves supposed to have been aborigines of India. We will not stop to discuss the question here, but we are inclined to a somewhat different opinion. Dasyu is admittedly connected with Dāsa, a word which in modern Sanskrit means a slave. In the Rig Veda, however, Dasa is used in the sense of destructive or hurtful. It is applied to such enemies as had given more than ordinary trouble to the Aryans. It is not in itself a term of contempt, such as the word slave. It is rather a word which inspired terror. It comes from the same root as "Dasru" which means destructive, and is applied to certain Devas who proved destructive of enemies. We believe Dasyu and Dasru have the same signification—and as a Persian tribe, probably non-Aryan is mentioned both by Herodotus and the Assyrian records having the name of Daha, we think Dasa meant that tribe (the Persian h being equivalent to the Sanskrit s). A body of that tribe, hostile to the Aryans may have pursued them in their migration to India, but, being routed, those who were captured were reduced to slavery. The probability is that these were afterwards classed as the fourth caste under the name of Sudras, with the ethnological "Dasa" as their surname, not as a badge of slavery, but rather of distinction, and that they were not a class of the aborigines of India. Had the Sudras been aborigines like the Kols, Bheels and similar tribes, we might have discovered some characteristic common in them in all the provinces of India, instead of finding them so assimilated to the Hindus all over India. Nor would their leading order—the Kayasthas—probably have been so tenacious of their characteristic prefix of "Dasa", had it been commemorative of slavery and not an ethnological appellative. There are certain surnames which are common to Kayasthas and some other castes held inferior to them, such as Dutt, Dey, and the like. The Kayastha, if he be a Dutt or Dey, is always anxious to explain that he is a Das Dutt or Das Dey.

This tenacity exists to this day. Had it been a badge of servitude, why should they evince such anxiety for such a badge? The tenacity of the present day is doubtless owing to immemorial custom—but the original tenacity of their ancestors appears to us to have been on ethnological grounds. As some confirmation of this view may refer to a passage in the Taittiriya Brahmana of the Yajur Veda in which the Brahmana is called the Daivya Varna, i.e. of Arian race, and the Sudra, Asuri or Non-Aryan race.

We shall now turn to that notable verse in the Rig Veda which speaks of the origin of the four castes. The following is a literal translation of it: "The Brahmana was his mouth—the Rajanya (Kshatriya) was made his arms—what the Vaisya was that was his hips—from his two feet sprang the Sudra." We shall presently discuss the antiquity of this verse. Meanwhile its interpretation requires a moment's notice. The Brahmana "was" his mouth—not made, not begotten from it. But the Kshetriya was "made" his arms. The Vaisya again was the same as his hips—The verb substantive 'was' is not expressed but must be understood. The Sudra sprang or was produced from his feet. The Brahmana was his mouth, i.e. always was—from the beginning as his mouth—uttering and disseminating his word and will. The Kshatriya was not from the beginning, but in process of time was made his arms—for the defence and protection of his people. The Vaisya again was i.e. always existed as his hips—the support of his body, while the Sūdra was not from the beginning, but sprang or was begotton at a certain time from his feet, i.e. was enslaved when captured. The formation of caste was accordingly gradual. The Brahmana always existed as a minister of sacrifice ever since the days of Manu, the Survivor of the Deluge, who instituted the economy. For a time every householder was a Brahmana—a priest in his own family—maintaining the sacrificial institution, and keeping up the sacred fire. But a separate order was afterwards instituted for convenience sake. So the Vaisya too always existed as the people—the *hoi polloi* of Aryandom, working for sustenance. But the Kshatriya did not always exist. He was in due time made the "arms" of the creator for the protection of the com-

munity. Similarly, the Sudras did not always exist—had no connection with Aryans from the beginning—but after a war which resulted in the conquest of the Daha or Dasa tribe, those who were captured as prisoners were under the general appellation of Sudras made the slaves of the Aryans.

With reference to the antiquity of the 90th Hymn of the 10th Mandala, and especially of verse 12, which gives the preceeding description of the four classes, many scholars have assigned the Hymn itself to a much later date than that of the Rig Veda. They have considered it to be a recent interpolation. It is certainly not so old as other portions of the Rig Veda, for it gives the distinctive names of the third and fourth orders which are not found elsewhere. It must have been composed after the arrangement of the four orders. But still although the 12th verse which gives the four orders has scarcely any Vedic peculiarity of grammer or diction, other verses of the same Hymn have some such peculiarities, and the whole Hymn itself may be referred to a later stage of the Vedic period. The Brahmanas of the Vedas contain the names of all the four orders.

The above idea of the gradual formation of the four principal orders as deduced from the Rig Veda is confirmed by the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, (pp. 235-240) where we find the same order of formation. At first the Brahmanical order alone existed without any other—no Kshetriya, no Vaisya, no Sudra. The Creator, it is said, was not satisfied with a state of things in which all were Brahmans. So he created Kshatriyas. But after a time he again felt that something was still wanting—so he added a third order, the Vaisyas. Again he became dissatisfied, and so at last he made Sudras too. All this means, as we have before said, that in the beginning all householders were priests of their own families There Kshatriyas or armed men were set apart for the protection of the community. Vaisyas came as the third class to raise food and create wealth for the sustenance and comfort of the commonwealth. The captive Dasas were subsequently registered under the appellation of Sudras for servile works—as menials and labourers—"hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the Aryan State.

The Mahabharata bears testimony to the same diction of the Vedas.

"No distinction of caste in the beginning. All, created at first by means of Brahma or Mantras, were Brahmic. By reason of their offices they became diverse in caste".

The three first classes were all of Arian extraction. The Sudras were non-Arian Dasas. The three Arian orders were all Dvijas or twice men—invested with the sacred cord. They are all called the castes of excellent feet. The Sudras were unregenerate.

The first three orders being all Aryans had originally free intercourse with each other ; nor was intermarriage forbidden. As long as free intercourse and intermarriage were not forbidden, children inherited their father's honours and privileges, even if mothers were of different orders. And therefore we do not for a long time hear of the mixed classes.

But restrictions appear from the first to have been put on inter-marriages with the servile order—for the Chandalas, though the lowest caste, are heard of before the other intermediate mixed classes. The Chandalas were the first fruits of illicit union in the Arian Community, and that was with Sudras. The sins of parents were severely visited in the persons of their unfortunate children, who were at once looked upon as the dregs of the community—the lowest offices, such as are now performed by Mehters and Domes, being assigned to them.

The three regenerate orders appear to have been allowed; as we have already said to inter-marry freely between themselves, only avoiding social intercourse with the unregenerate Sudras: Illicit intercourse with Sudras, though forbidden by the law of honour, was not visited on the offenders themselves with forfeiture of the rights and privileges of their own order. The unfortunate children only were turned into unhappy scape-goats. But the increase in the number of the Chandalas became in time such a scandal that intercourse of that kind was afterwards rigidly forbidden between all the orders. The prohibition did not, however,

succeed. Illicit intercourse still multiplied, and it was found necessary, on the one hand to moderate the Draconian law of classing all children of such inter-marriages with Chandalas, and on the other hand to visit with some personal punishment the sins of the parents themselves. The offspring of irregular marriages were therefore eventually classed with a merciful discrimination which led to the rise and progress of those recognised intermediate castes which at present form the back-bone of Hindu communities all over the country. The classification is too large to be given here in detail without tiring your patience. Its general principle, though with many whimsical exceptions, may be stated in a few words. The children of irregular marriages were of course not allowed to inherit the privileges of the parent that was of the higher order, but they generally got a step above that of the parent of the lower order. Thus the Ambostha or the medical caste, said to have descended from a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother, occupies an intermediate position between the two ; the Karan or Kayastha, from a Vaisya father and a Sudra mother does the same.

Now there is no other claimant for the third order, especially in Bengal, except those who are in common parlance called "Baniks". If they are not allowed their proper position in society as the third order, it can only be attributed to jealousy. Bengali tradition attributes that jealousy to King Ballal Sen. Whatever the cause may be, a critical exposition of the earlier Shastras must convince the impartial inquirer that the Baniks of our day represent the Vaisyas of old, both in name and in occupation.

Caste can scarcely be called an exclusive religious institution though in some respects it is religiously observed. The bulk of the population is composed of mixed classes in which our astute legislators left no recognised gradation. Except that all revere the Brahmanas, there is scarcely any class that will admit its inferiority to another. There is therefore no danger of aspiring after promotion from one to another. Every one keeps patiently to the offices of his own class.

English education and intercourse with Europeans have however effected great changes. The contentment with which a person kept to the duties of his own class scarcely exists now. In this transition state, society is evidently very much convulsed. But whether it be from a religious or a social point of view, my own conviction is that the subject requires to be dealt with most delicately. It is doubtless an evil, but an evil the sudden or violent eradication of which may produce a far greater evil than its own most malignant form, and the remedy may prove worse than the disease.

Dr. K. McLeod said :—I am sure we have all listened with very great pleasure and interest to the Rev. Lecturer's most lucid exposition of the origin and development of caste. He has certainly, considering the brevity of the paper, described the matter and placed it before us in a very clear light, more clearly than I have ever had an opportunity of having it placed before me any previous occasion. I think he makes two things very plain, first, that caste essentially consists of social gradations developed and maintained for the purpose of social convenience and division of labour, and he also shows that although caste apparently was originally a purely social contrivance, it has degenerated into a system of class distinctions which do not now acknowledge the principles upon which it was originally founded. Now it is impossible to deny that caste, in a more or less pronounced shape, has existed in every country and community which has made its mark upon the world's history, and that it exists now among the more prominent nations which make up the sum total of the civilization of the present day; and the real question I apprehend, is as regards the basis of caste and the degree to which caste distinctions are permitted to govern the feelings and acts of mankind. If caste depended upon refinement, if caste depended upon culture, if caste depended upon intellectual capacity, nay, even upon capital, property, or the social importance of the individual, then there is nothing to be said against caste, nor even against hereditary caste, if, as I believe is really the case, such qualities and circumstances are transmitted by heredity. But there are, to my mind, more important principles governing the thoughts and acts of men than such social or caste-distinc-

tions, even when founded on the qualities and circumstances I have mentioned, involving a large number of high social duties higher than caste-obligations, and these latter, I fear, have been allowed to become supreme when they are really only subordinate. There is in the first place one common humanity which necessarily involves relations between man and man and compels duties of man to man, the exercise of which must demolish rigid class barriers. Then we have a common animality. In common with all organised creation we possess certain common functions and faculties, and live under certain common conditions involving sundry affinities and mutual obligations and anything in caste which violates or transgresses these laws of our general animality is that which caste ought to be ashamed to own and revere. I might allude to other general social obligations connected with religion, politics, education, commerce, etc., etc., which occupy a higher place in the scale of human motives and ought to possess a greater power than caste rules.

But I would wish to put in a special claim for that profession to which I have the honour to belong, and of which I am proud to be a member. The claim is this—that no profession that has flourished in India, and the medical profession includes a large section of the educated native community, has done more for the removal of these absurd and unnatural caste distinctions which prevail in this country than the medical profession. Sickness knows no caste. Persons of the highest caste are equally liable to it with person of the lowest caste. The forms and types of disease affecting persons of the highest caste are the same as those in men of the lowest caste ; and so it has come to pass, that those who are devoted to the study of medicine—and they are now a very large class—have been compelled in the exercise of their profession to see practically that these class restrictions are incompatible with the exercise of their profession. Accordingly you will find that Hindus of the highest as well as of the lowest castes, Brahmans, Chuttrees, Vaisyas, and Sudras are associated with Mahomedans, Christians and Jews in the performance of offices—many of them repugnant to caste prejudices—necessary for the study of medicine and the relief of the sick.

to have been created by Brahma from his mouth, his arms, his hips and his legs. They also prove that the four primary or principal castes were created at the same time out of the different parts of his body by Brahma. It is thus quite clear to my mind that the word Dasyu should not be confounded with Das, and that there are reasons for not accepting this conclusion of the learned lecturer.

The statement given in the Manu Sanghita as to the origin and creation of the four primary castes, means perhaps nothing more or less than this, viz., that in the opinion of the great Hindu Sage, the division of the people into four castes was the result of the will of Brahma, and was owing to the necessity of a division of social duties, avocations and labour between the thinking class, the military class, the merchant class, and the industrial or working class. It is as necessary for the well-being of society as it is of an individual that there should be a মুখ, বাহু, উরু, পদ— head, arms, thighs and legs—in one and all of us. The Brahmans represent the (মুখ) or head or brain of society—their functions was to think and speak for others; the Kshatriyas or military class are as necessary for the defence of a country as arms or (বাহু) are for individuals. The functions of the other two classes hardly call for any remark.

Passing on to another portion of the lecture I find that the lecturer maintains the opinion that the or Banias সুবর্ণ বণিক are the same as the Vaisyas (বৈশ্য) of old, and that their present condition is owing to the jealousy and influence of Raja Bullal Sen. Raja Bullal Sen was a Raja of vast resources and unbounded influence and might. His will was law and was looked upon as the source and fountain of honours and titles and these, though bestowed with a free and liberal hand, were seldom, if at all given to the unworthy.

The institution of Kulinism dates from his reign, and is now a prime curse from a several social points of view, as an institution which has survived generation after generation. Ask a Kulin Kayastha the number of generation he has been a Kulin,

and a good many of them will feel proud in giving 27 or 28, kulins. Dr. Rajendra Mitra not excepted: that a king as the number of generations during which they have been who could lay down laws, regulating social position hereditary in its incidents would be able, if willing, to reduce a caste to a degraded social condition, if possible; but whether he did so is another question. Where was the motive? Raja Bullal Sen was an Ambostha in caste, and my castemen take pride in his name, but they are not prepared to accept this explanation of the degraded social standing and caste of the Banias; they are not prepared to allow that the caste of Vaisyas, to which caste they are related on their mother's side, is at present reduced to the condition of isolation of social exclusion occupied by the স্বর্ণ বণিক of the present day.

The Vice-President (Mr. Beverley) said:—I am sure we are all very much obliged to the learned lecturer for the trouble he has taken in writing and delivering the interesting paper we have just listened to, and I will not detain you longer than to add one remark to what you have already heard. Dr. Banerjee's paper has treated of the "origin and development of caste", and I think it would be at once interesting and instructive if that paper could be followed by one or more other exhibiting the condition of caste in the present day. More than one of the speakers has advocated the retention of caste distinctions. I think there are some of us who would be glad to know the reasons on which this opinion is based—in other words, what are the practical uses and advantages of caste in the present day.

I have lately had the honour of sitting on a committee which was appointed by Government to consider the manner in which the next Census of India should be carried out, and one of the questions which we had to consider and report upon was, whether enquiries should be made on the subject of the castes of the people. You are aware that at the last census very minute researches were made into this subject, and a vast amount of information was recorded in the various provincial Reports. I am not aware whether any of you have ever waded through that mass of information, but what we had to consider was,

whether there were any practical considerations to warrant us in going over the same fround every ten years or so—whether there were any reasons why statistics on this subject should be collected and published periodically. I may say that we were unable to assign any practical utility to enquiries of this nature and although we recommended that enquiries into caste should be made in the case of next census, we expressed an opinion that such enquiries seemed to us to partake more of an antiquarian than of a political interest. Whether caste be regarded as originally equivalent to tribal distinctions or whether it be regarded as a great scheme for the division of labour, certain it is that under neither head would it afford any accurate data in the present day.

A suggestion was made from England that the census returns should only show what are known as the four castes of Manu; but this suggestion we had no hesitation in rejecting, because it seemed to us that even supposing there was any suggestion of probability that any such fourfold division of caste ever existed,—and I gather from the learned lecturer's paper that he at least is not of that opinion—in the present day all traces of it have almost entirely disappeared. Caste distinctions have been much obliterated of late years, and are no doubt dying out before the spread of education. The question is, whether unless there is some practical object to be gained by investigations into this subject, such investigations may not tend to retard social progress and a fictitious importance to a state of things which if left alone must yield to the influence of civilization.

So that, if some of you would come forward with a paper on this subject showing the position which caste occupies among the Hindus at the present day, and the supposed advantages to be derived from its continued existence—showing also, if you can, the practical use that could be made of periodical statistics on this subject—such a paper, I think, would be of the very highest value and interest.

Mr. Beverley concluded by conveying the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Banerjee.

Mr. H. Bell (who came in a late stage of the meeting) spoke as follows—Before the preoeedings of this evening terminate I hope I may be permitted to say a few words. I have had the honour of holding for two years the post of Vice-President of this Association, and I have to return my sincere thanks to the many friends whom I have made while holding that office, for the very kind manner in which they have borne with my many shortcomings. But my regret at being at last compelled to resign the office of Vice-President is considerably mitigated from the fact that there will sit in the chair which I formerly used to occupy, a gentleman who will do far greater credit to the Association than I have done. And I ought to remind these gentlemen who have only recently joined this Association, that Mr. Beverley has been connected with our Society from its very commencement. In the palmy days of the Association Mr. Beverley was the Secretary, and I have no doubt that the ability which he displayed as Secretary will be continued in his present high position as Vice-President. But permit me also to say that you must not leave your Vice-President to do anything. If this Association is to be a success, it can only succeed by every member doing his utmost to promote the interests of the Association. I hope that the members present will bear in mind the suggestions of the Vice-President with regard to papers ,for it is absolutely necessary if this Association is to continue, that members should come forward, and supply us with papers.

With regard to the question of caste, I have no doubt a very interesting paper could, as suggested by Mr. Beverley, be prepared, but I must confess that I am one of those who have somewhat conservative tendencies, and who would be very sorry to see any sudden or violent change.

To remove the abuses of caste, to mitigate its prejudices and break down the barrier which it opposes to the advancement of the people, is a work of time ; and in the hands of time we may safely leave the issue, when we contemplate the enlightenment which is dawning on the country by the general diffusion of knowledge among the people.

On Reformatory Schools and the Proper Classes of Juvenile Criminals to be subjected to Reformatory Treatment.
by H. Beverley Esq. C.S.
[Read on the 23rd May 1878]

The Reformatory Schools Act (V of 1876) is now in force in Bengal, and a Reformatory School has just been opened at Alipore. A few remarks on the subject, therefore ,may not be out of place at the present time.

It is not my intention to give a history of the Reformatory movement in Europe or America. I shall merely content myself with saying—what probably every one in this room knows—that the results in Great Britain have been pronounced on official authority to be most encouraging, and that it is probably the one direction of all others in which our efforts to cope with and diminish vice and crime have ben crowned with a large measure of success. I append to this paper a statement which I think shows this fact very clearly, and I will only add here that public opinion in England is as fully impressed as ever with the importance of this mode of dealing with juvenile crime. By the last Report of the late, Mr. Sydney Turner, who, first as Resident Chaplain at Red Hill and subsequently as official Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, devoted his whole life to the subject ; there were at the end of 1875 sixty-five Reformatories and 117 Industrial Schools in England and Scotland. On that date the total number of children in Reformatories was 5,615, besides 925 out on license ; and in Industrial Schools 11,776 besides 763 on licence.* The ascertained

* It may be explained here that in England there are two distinct classes of institutions for the reclamation of the young—(1) Reformatory Schools which are regulated by the Statute 29 and 30 vice. 117 and (2) Industrial Schools Act. Any juvenile offender under the age of 16 years who is convicted of an offence

results of those who had been discharged from time to time showed that from 70 to 90 percent of them were doing well.

The extension of the system to Bengal was mainly owing to the exertions of the late Mr. Heeley, by whom the first Bill on the subject was drafted. Without, however, pausing to examine how that Bill finally grew in Sir Alexander Arbuthnot's hands into the Act now in force, I shall at once endeavour to place before you the main features of that Act. The object of the Act is to provide Reformatory schools for male youthful offenders, by which term is meant boys, who being at the time under the age of 16 years, have ben convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment or transportation. After providing for the establishment of such schools, the Act goes on to authorise courts and Magistrates, when passing sentence of transportation or imprisonment on a youthful offender, to direct that

---

punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment and who is sentenced to imprisonment for not less than 10 days, may on the expiration of his sentence be sent to a certified Reformatory School and be detained there for a period of from 2 to 5 years. Provided that no child under 10 years of age can be sent to a Reformatory School unless he has previously been charged with an offence punishable by penal servitude or imprisonment, or unless he is sentenced by a Judge of Assize or Court of Session. An Industrial School is defined to be a school in which industrial training is provided, and in which children are lodged, clothed and fed as well as taught, and the following classes of children may be detained in them by a magisterial order :—(a) children under 14 who are found (i) begging (2) vagrant (3) destitude or (4) frequenting the company of thieves ; (b) children under 12 convicted of a punishable offence but not previously convicted of felony and (c) refractory children under 14 either (1) in charge of parents or (2) in workhouses pauper schools etc. No children however can be detained in an Industrial School beyond the age of 16 years, except with his own consent in writing. Both classes of schools are maintained, either wholly or in large part, by private benevolence or local funds, and in both the managers are at liberty to decline, to receive any particular child.

The Indian Act deals with Reformatory schools for convicted offenders only.

lieu of such sentence* he may be sent to a reformatory school and be there detained for a period of not less than two and not more than seven years ; provided that no boy may be detained in a Reformatory School beyond the age of 18 years.

A similar order may, on the motion of the Jail authorities, be made in the case of a boy sentenced to imprisonment, at any time during the period of his sentence. The order of detention may, if passed at the time of conviction, be made by a Magistrate of the first class, a Presidency Magistrate or the Supreme Court ; or if passed after conviction, by a Presidency Magistrate or a Magistrate of the first class within whose jurisdiction the offender may be imprisoned. In either case the Court Magistrates must be satisfied, first that the offender is under the age of 16 years and secondly, he is a proper person to be an inmate of a Reformatory school. I lay stress on these last words because it is in regard to the discretion thus imposed upon courts and Magistrates by the Act that the few remarks I have to make will be directed. The Act then provides for the proper management of the schools and for the licensing or apprenticing of boys

* It will be observed that the Indian Act does not, like the English Act, insist upon the offender undergoing a certain period of imprisonment before being removed to a Reformatory School, although sentence of Imprisonment must be passed upon him. Mr. Turner considers that such of the remarkable success of Reformatories is due to this special feature in the English system. "Nothing has been more certainly demonstrated", he writes "in the practical development of the Reformatory system than that juvenile crime has comparatively little to do with any special depravity of the offender, and very much to do with parental neglect and bad example. But on tht other hand if is most important as well for the moral impression made on the public feeling of the community, that all wrong doing, however originally suggested or afterwards encouraged by external influences should be punished, and that vice and mischief should not seem to be rewarded and encouraged, or so treated as to place those guilty of them in a better position than the children of respectable and honest parents. The preliminary punishment of the offender involving the disgrace of a public conviction contributed materially to this object." So long, however, as so many jails in India are without separate cells or even a juvenile word, a preliminary detention in prison would probably be productive of more harm than good.

detained therein after they have attained the age of 14 years. With these provisions I am not at present concerned.

It will thus be seen that a wide discretion and a grave responsibility is imposed upon Courts and Magistrates making an order under the Act—(1) As to the persons who should be detained in a Reformatory School; (2) as to the period for which they may be ordered to be detained.

I say a grave responsibility advisedly for it is clear that if an improper person be hastily or through oversight committed to a Reformatory School, the evil consequences will not be confined to that boy but will effect the whole school, and a succession of such mistakes might seriously jeopardise the success of a most promising experiment. It is true that the Act reserves to the local Government the power to withdraw a boy at any time from a Reformatory School and to compel him to undergo the residue of his sentence of imprisonment or transportation. But it is probable that recourse would only be had to such an extreme measure in the last resort, and meanwhile the whole tone of the school might be sapped and undermined. On this subject the remarks of the late Viceroy may fitly be quoted in this place:—

"I would say one word more on the subject of this measure, and that is, that a great responsibility will rest upon Magistrates and the local Governments in carrying the Act into operation. It is, I think, hopeless to except the Act to work properly if these reformatory institutions are started by filling them with a class of boys who have already four or five separate convictions against them, that is to say, who are confirmed thieves and bad characters, and whom, if put into a reformatory institution, there would be little hope of reclaiming. The manner in which I trust the Act will be carried into effect is, that great care will be taken in the selection of boys for those institutions and that, for the most part, boys should be put in them on their first offence, so that the salutary influence of industrial education may be applied to those who offer the best prospect of being permanently bene-

fitted." What I propose to discuss in the present paper, then, is—

1. What class of useful offenders are fit and proper persons to be detained in a Reformatory School and
2. What should be the period of detention in the case of fit and proper persons?

In Mr. Heeley's original Bill it was proposed to vest the power of sending a boy to a Reformatory in the Government and not in any Court or Magistrate. "This is advisable", he wrote, "because the Government acting on the motion of the jail authorities, will often be able better to judge of the fitness of a boy for reformatory treatment then the Magistrate, who sees him once at his bar and knowing nothing but the actual charge against him." Sir R. Temple, however, thought that "the application of the law to each case should be left to the judgment of the ordinary criminal courts," and this principle was adopted by Sir Alexaxnder Arbuthnot in framing his Bill. Opinions were, however, invited as to whether any difference should be recognised with reference to the nature of the offence proved; and on this subject Sir R. Temple worte as follows:— "Of course it would be very desirable that the nature of the offences for which a boy would be liable to be sent to a Reformatory should be clearly specified so as to obviate altogether such results as a boy being sent to a Reformatory for picking a flower,* or for any other petty offence for which imprisonment might be inflicted by involving no moral turpitude. But it appears to the Lieutenant Governor that it would be impossible to lay down precisely in the Bill the offences for which a Magistrate ought or ought not to send a boy to a Reformatory, and that in this matter much must necessarily be left to the discretion of individual Magistrates. The Lieutenant Governor does not anticipate any abuse of the powers which the Bill proposes to accord to magisterial officers."

The Government of India appear to have accepted this position, and it is accordingly left to the discretion of the Court

---

* A case of this nature actually occured a few years ago in England.

or Magistrate concerned to decide whether any particular boy is a fit subject for reformatory treatment. At the same time it is provided by Section 22 of the Act that the Governor-General-in-Council may from time to time make rules consistent with the Act for regulating the periods for which Courts and Magistrates may send youthful offenders to a Reformatory School according to

(1) their ages
(2) the nature of their respective offences or
(3) other considerations.

After the passing of the Act, Local Governments and Administrations were consulted as to the form these rules should take, and on a consideration of their replies, the following rules have been laid down and published in the Gazettee.

Rule I. No boy shall be sent to a Reformatory School on a first conviction (except as provided in Rule III), if under ten years of age, for a less period than five years ; if over ten, for a less period than three years, unless he shall sooner attain the age of 18.

Rule II. On a subsequent conviction for a similar offence, a boy under ten years of age shall not be sent to a Reformatory School for a less period than seven years ; if over ten, for a less period than five years, unless he shall sooner attain the age of 18.

Rule III. A first conviction may bring a boy under Rule II—

(1) if he belongs to a criminal tribe within the meaning of Act XXVII of 1871, Section 2 ;
(2) if either of his parents is an habitual criminal ;
(3) if he is destitute, and probably or is meant ;
(4) if the offence of which he is convicted is one arguing great depravity.

N.B.—The word "depravity" here means a general corruption of morals apart from the specific criminality of the particular act."*

---

* Home Department Notification No. 340 dated 13th March 1878.

These rules will of course be subject to modification by the light of the experience that may be gained from time to time by the Managers of Reformatory Schools in India.

It seems convenient that I should pause here for a moment in order to enquire(1) What are the main features, and causes of juvenile crime? (2) What is the distinctive object and effect of reformatory treatment That physician would be reckoned a sorry empiric who should prescribe a certain course of treatment for his patient without being able either to diagnose the disease or to understand the nature of proposed remedy. The Indian Penal Code has followed the maxim of English law in prescribing that up to the age of seven years a child is incapable of committing crime. Between 7 and 14 a child is by English law deemed prima facie to be *doli incapax*, but *malitia supplied aetatem;* in other words, the presumption of innocence may be rebuffed by an evidence of a mischievous or malicious discretion. After the attainment of 14 years the child is supposed to be fully responsible for its actions. In India the age of discretion is placed two years earlier than in England, but "nothing is an offence which is done by a child above seven years of age and under twelve who has not attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge of the nature and consequences of his conduct on that occasion".

Now under the French Penal Code offenders under 16 years of age are held to have acted *sans discernment*, i.e. without sufficient knowledge of right and wrong, and to require correctional training rather than penal treatment; and I have the authority of Mr. Sydney Turner for saying that it was this French principle which first laid the foundation of all that has been effected through the instrumentality of Juvenile Reformatories.* The principle rests upon a double truth—first, that upto a certain age children are not altogether responsible for their acts;—They may know no better, they may have been surrounded by evil

* The first English Reformatory, viz, that at Red Hill in Surrey was based on the model of Mrs. De Metz's Agricultural Colony at Mettray.

influences and driven to crime by the bad example of parents or others about them—and again, that at the same early period of life, when the character is impressionable and not yet hardened into form, vicious habits may be eradicated and replaced by habits of order, industry and self control. In the case of adults, what the law chiefly looks to is the punishment of the offender, considering that punishment is the surest means of preventing a repetition of the offence either by the particular offender punished or by others. And although every enlightened system of penal discipline aims also at the moral reformation of the offender, such attempt at reformation is always, in the case of adults, subordinated to the idea of punishment ; and I think I may venture to say that its success has never entitled it to any but a subordinate place. The French principle, however, proclaims that in the case of children reformation should be the leading idea,—that they are more to be pitied than blamed,—that the fault may be with others,—that the child's criminality may be due to bad example, evil associations and surrounding, ignorance or destitution—causes beyond the child's control, and that if these causes are removed and the child transferred into a healthier atmosphere, it may still be possible to mould its character upon the lines of honesty and virtue.

I regret that I have not been able to find any complete statistics as to the classes of offences committed by juvenile criminals ; but it is probable that with few exceptions they may be grouped under the following heads :—

1. Offences against property, comprising the various forms of theft, criminal trespass and mischief.
2. Offences of violence, e.g. hurt.
3. Offences against morality, such as indecent assaults and so forth.

Now it will readily be admitted that the first class is by far the largest ; it comprises the great bulk of juvenile crime.*

* Of 1210 juveniles committed to Reformatories in England and Wales in 1876, 1123 or 92.8 percent, were convicted of offences against property. Of the balance (87) 18 were convicted of assult, 41 of vagrancy, and 28 of others offences not specified.

And the causes of this class of juvenile crime may be referred in the first instance to ignorance, destitution, idleness, evil associations or the force of bad example. All these are preventible causes. I do not say of course that there are not hardened juveniles who have become utterly vicious and practise vice for the mere pleasure and excitement it affords ; unfortunately there are but too many who, even after they may have been rescued from crime and given the opportunity of leading honest and virtuous lives, deliberately prefer to return to the way of vice. But what I mean to say is this, that before you condemn a boy as being bereft of all moral principle, all sense of right and wrong, you ought to look at his antecedents, and if you do, in nine cases out of ten you will find that the boy was first driven into crime by some such preventible cause as those I have named. This consideration applies with special force to this country, where we find whole tribes and castes devoted to crime, and where the children are carefully trained to follow the criminal pursuits of their forefathers. Such boys, if taken in time, seem to offer most favourable material for reformatory treatment. What can be effected in the way of the reclaimation of such tribes is shown by the success of the Thuggee School of Industry at Jubbulpore.

The offences grouped under class II and III are of comparatively rare occurance, nor do they invariably exhibit signs of moral depravity. So far as they are due to want of self-control over the temper and passions, the offenders might be benefited by the discipline of reformatory treatment ; but unfortunately they seem to be quite as often due to an entire perversion of the moral sense, to a vicious and morbid nature which it would seem beyond the power of man to eradicate. Of such a character probably would be the case quoted in the law books of the boy of ten who murdered and mutilated his little sister and then buried her mangled remains under a dunghill.

As regards class III, Mr. Heeley's Committee wrote :— "As to those boys who have been actually convicted by a court of immoral practices, we think they should not be admitted into the reformatory, but should be made to serve out their sentences in jail."

Now the object of the Reformatory system is to substitute for a short term of penal incarceration a longer term of detention under milder conditions during which the child subjected to it may be trained to habits of industry and virtue. So far as that every inmate is detained under a warrant, and may be captured and brought back if he escapes, such confinement may be regarded as a mild form of imprisonment ; but a Reformatory institution ought, in reality, to partake more of the character of a school than of a prison, and is so described in the legal literature on the subject. If prisons, they are in England prisons without walls or warders ; in place of physical restraints, they appeal to a boy's better feeling and to the power of kindness which is the ruling principle of the institution. The main lines on which the reformatory system has invariably been based whether in England, America, or France, are indeed much the same ; viz., "the detention of the offender for a long period of corrective and industrial training, the introduction of the family system and domestic feelings and habits into the schools and the keeping the offender under supervision after leaving the school by placing him out in employment on probation under license (or ticket of leave) previous to his final discharge". And the course of treatment pursued in Reformatory schools is, or ought to be, threefold,—(1) elementary education (2) industrial training and (3) cultivation of the moral sense. In the Reformatories of Great Britain great importance is naturally attached to religious influences ; but in this country, for reasons which are well known to you all, religious instruction is out of the question in Reformatory schools which are maintained by the State. It is clear, however, that much may be effected in the cause of morality by a judicious system of school discipline, without inculcation of any religious tenets.

The educational standard is not ordinarily, and need not be, a high one. It is mainly useful with the view of drawing out a boy's mental powers, teaching him to think for himself, and enabling him to practise his trade or occupation with skill and intelligence.

Industrial training, as a main element in the reformatory process, has long been known to our Indian system of prison

discipline. Besides the wholesome effect which regular employment must necessarily have upon the mind, such training will be of use in furnishing each boy with the knowledge of a trade or trades which he may be able to pursue after his discharge from the school.

And, last but not least, the discipline of the school ought to impart such a moral training as will tend to strengthen a boy's character and enable it to resist temptation in after-life. The daily routine of the school programme will inculcate in him habits of order, regularity, industry and self control. Aided by the precepts of masters and visitors, the general management of the school ought to inspire a love of truth and straightforward dealing and a hatred of lying and deceit. Personal kindness and exact justice will at once draw out the affections and awaken a sense of right and wrong. A judicious system of rewards and punishment will be found of great assistance in enlisting the boy's self-interest and voluntary action on the side of obedience, duty and industry.

I have already stated that the great bulk of juvenile crime consists of offences against property, and it is obvious that the reformatory treatment above described in specially adapted to deal with this class of offenders. But a question on which great diversity of opinion has existed and still does exist relates to the stage in a young offender's career of crime at which he should be interfered with be subjected to reformatory treament, i.e. whether boys should be committed to a Reformatory for a first offence, or whether this special and expensive machinery should be reserved for habitual offenders, or how far a mean course should be adopted. I have already read to you Lord Northbrook's remarks on this subject ; and I cannot do better now than add the recommendation of the Prison Conference that met in this city last year, "We would submit", they say, "that confirmed and hardened offenders and boys convicted of certain crimes should not be sent to Reformatories, since they would be likely to contaminate others, that, on the other hand, if boys are sent to Reformatories indiscriminately on first conviction, and before they can be called hardened offenders, the

schools will be crowded ; we shall fling away the chance—a very considerable one—that the first conviction may deter, and we shall take an unnecessarily large number of boys from their parents' care. It will be for the Magistrate to steer between these two dangers, and though we think it most necessary that he should be told precisely what the dangers are which he has to guard against, we doubt whether anything more can be done to assist him.

We believe that Magistrates should chiefly look to the boy's surroundings. Has he parents who will take reasonable care of him ? If he has, then there ought to be very special reasons to justify a Magistrate in sending him to a Reformatory on a first conviction. If, on the other hand, he is friendless, or his parents and associates are themselves criminals, then there should be special reasons if a boy is not sent to a Reformatory."

It appears that of 1,210 children committed to Reformatory schools in England and Wales during the year ended 29th september 1876, 672 or rather more than half had not been previously convicted, 381 had been convicted once before, 111 twice before, and only 46 more than twice. Of the 1,210 children, 262 are said to have been bereft of parental control.

I shall next draw your attention to two important questions —the age at which boys should be sent to Reformatory schools and the period that should be fixed for their detention.

It is obvious that if a boy is to derive any benefit from the discipline of a Reformatory school, he must be subjected to that discipline for a sufficiently long period that it may make a lasting impression on his character. The Act, following the English Statute, has fixed two years as the minimum period for which a boy may be sent to a Reformatory School. But this period will most cases prove too short to effect any radical change in a depraved boy's character. "We hold unanimously" wrote Mr. Heeley's Committee, "that nothing short of a confinement of three or four years will suffice to eradicate the seeds of vice implanted so early in our juvenile criminals, and to replace them by those dispositions which fit a boy to become a decent and

orderly member of society." And this opinion is entirely in accordance with that of the Managers of such institutions in England. Thus the Committee of the Red Hill School strongly recommend that "in every age x x x the sentence of detention should not be less than four years, except when the age exceeds 15, (or at least 14) x x x. As a general rule, reformatory training can scarcely produce a permanent effect in a less period than three years. The Committee strongly urge the expediency of giving the full sentence of five years in all ordinary cases." So, in Miss Carpenter's Reformatory at Bristol "It is desired that the sentence of detention should extend to five years". And in practice I find that these principles are generally acted on in England. Of the 1,210 boys committed in 1876, 41 were sentenced to be detained for 2 years, 144 for 3 years, 239 for 4 years and 786 (i.e. nearly two-thirds) for five years.

It is clear, however, that the period of detention must depend to some extent upon the age of the boy concerned at the time of commitment. It might be argued that the younger the boy, the more impressionable his character, and therefore the least necessity for a long period of detention. But what has to be considered is the chance of the boy relapsing into crime if discharged before he is able to stand alone, or before he has acquired sufficient stability of character to enable him to resist temptation. And accordingly the Supreme Government has wisely, as I think, approved these principles in the rules that have been prescribed under the Act, by which the minimum period of detention is fixed at five years in the case of a boy under ten, and at three years in the case of a boy over that age—an additional term of two years being added in each case under certain special circumstances therein laid down.

What then, is the minimum age at which boys should be sent to a Reformatory ? No minimum is laid down in the Indian Act, but a practical minimum is contained in that Section of the Penal Code which provides that nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age. The English Act, however, prescribes that boys under 10 shall not be committed to a Reformatory School unless they have previously been charged

with a crime or offence punishable with penal servitude or imprisonment, or sentenced by a Judge of Assize or Court of Session. And the Committee of the Red Hill Reformatory particularly "request that no boy under 12 years of age be sent for detention in the school, nor any boy on first conviction, unless the case appears a very special one indeed". In 1875 the Home Secretary proposed to raise the minimum age in the case of first convictions from 10 to 12 or 13 ; but the Committee were of opinion that, so long as the Managers of Reformatory schools were allowed to retain the power of rejecting unsuitable cases, no change in the law was called for. As a rule they admitted that children under 12 should not be committed, but, as they pointed out, special cases do occur now and then in which a Reformatory supplies the only adequate treatment. Out of 436 boys admitted to Red Hill during the previous five years, only 21 boys who had not been previously convicted were under 12 at the time of commitment, and these, they pointed out, were all fit and proper cases. Industrial schools, as you are probably aware, are intended for a younger and less criminal class of children, yet the tendency of English legislation on this point is manifest from the Statute relating to the Middlesex Industrial School (38 and 39 vi. c. c. 187) which was passed in 1875, and is, I believe, the most recent legislation on the subject, and which lays down that 10 shall be the minimum age at which a child shall be committed to the school.

The maximum age has been fixed by the Act of 16 years. In Sir Alexander Arbuthnot's Bill the maximum was originally put at 14 years, but with reference to Section 318 of the Code of Criminal Procedure the limit was subseqeuntly raised to 16. I think this alteration is to be regretted. It is true that 16 is maximum age under the English Statute, and that this age is also in accordance with the French Penal Code. But on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that by the English Statute a boy may be detained up to the age of 21, whereas under the Indian Act he cannot be detained after he has attained 18. Moreover youths arrive at maturity at an early age in this country, and by Section 83 of the Penal Code we have seen that the age of discretion, which English Criminal Law places at 14 and

French Criminal Law at 16, is for India placed at 12. Accordingly when, as Inspector General of Prisons in Bengal, I submitted proposals for rules under Section 22 of the Act, I ventured to suggest that "It should be pointed out to Judges and Magistrates that boys as they approach the age of 16 become daily less fit subjects for a Reformatory, and that it is doubtful whether any boy over the age of 14 should be sent to the school. This objection, I remarked, applied with special force in the case of habitual offenders who, at the age of 16, are often old in vice and in no way amenable to reforming influences." A similar suggestion was made by Dr. J. D. Gordon, the Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, who wrote as follows :—

"Considering the early development of the native mind, whether for good or evil, reformatory training cannot have much influence on youths of 14 and upwards, especially if they happen to have inherited criminal propensities from their parents, as is the case with many of the criminal tribes. I would therefore make juvenile offenders of 14 and upwards pass a small portion of their stay in the school in a penal stage, or, if this is not practicable I would exclude them altogether from the benefits of reformatory training."

The Government of India, however, were not inclined to go so far. "One of the main objects of a Reformatory", writes Mr. Howell, "is to prevent the contamination of youthful offenders by their association with the inmates of a jail, and it may not unfrequently happen that from this point of view the benefit of a Reformatory would be as important in the case of a boy of 14 as in the case of a boy of 10. Should any caution be conveyed to Magistrates and Judges, it should be confined to the cases of hardened offenders as shown by repeated convictions or of boys convicted or crimes arguing great natural depravity." With all due respect, however, I would submit that a reformatory school is not be confounded with the juvenile-ward of a prison, and that juvenile criminals, whether under or over 14, should not be sent to a reformatory unless there is actually something in their case which calls for reformatory treatment. I may also mention in this place that my view is borne out by

the Managers of many Reformatories in England. Thus, Miss Carpenter's Reformatory at Bristol declines to receive girls over 14, and the Adel Reformatory near Leeds (with which I am personally acquainted), will not receive boys over 15.

The sum up, I venture now to lay before you for your consideration the following principles which appear to follow from what has been said :—

I. That the most proper subject for Reformatory treatment are those boys who are without proper parental control, and who have committed offences against property.

II. That, as a rule, no boy under 10 years of age should be sent to a Reformatory School on a first conviction, unless he belongs to one of the criminal castes and is clearly being trained up to crime.

III. That, except for special reasons, no boy over 14 should be sent to a Reformatory School.

IV. That habitual juvenile offenders ought to be committed at an early stage of their career, being less amenable to reformatory discipline as they approach the age of 16.

V. That the period of detention should not be less than three years, and in the case of boys under 10 years of age, not less than five years.

VI. That in the case of boys who have been previously convicted, or who are clearly being trained in crime, the period of detention should be prolonged.

As I have already explained, the last two principles have already been affirmed by the Government of India.

In conclusion, I would desire to deprecate any hasty criticim of the experiment that is now being made at Alipore. I do so, because it is in many senses an entirely novel experiment. Not only is it the first institution of the kind that has been established on the side of India, but it differs from similar institutions in England (1) in being a State School, controlled and managed, more or less, by an official body, (2) in being necessarily located

in the Suburbs of the Metropolis instead of being placed in the free country air away from the temptations of city life, and (3) in its inability to make use of religious influences in aid of its reformatory discipline. In these, and perhaps in some other respects, I think it labours under serious disadvantages and is the more entitled to be judged with consideration and leniency. What I should like to see would be a Farm School started and managed by private benevolence,—situated in the open country, yet not out of reach of frequent official inspection. Such a school might combine the purposes of a Reformatory and of an experimental Agricultural School—so far at least that improved methods of agriculture might be introduced and taught to the lads. If the Alipore School is in any degree successful, let us hope that some of the rich and philanthropic leaders of the native community may come forward to establish a similar institution elsewhere under the conditions I have named.

Comparative Statement of *Juvenile* and Adult Offenders committed to Prison in Great Britain between the years 1861 and 1876.

Period from 1861 to 1876 (16 years)	England and Wales						Scotland		Total for Great Britain	
	Under 16			Over 16			Under 16	Over 16	Under 16	Over 16
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes				
Total commitments of period	124,582	19,894	144,476	1,522,104	611,989	2,134,093	17,884	444,433	162,360	2,578,526
Average commitments per year	7,786	1,243	9,029	95,131	38,249	133,381	1,118	27,777	10,147	161,158
Commitment in first year	7,373	1,428	8,801	72,947	30,396	103,343	1,212	17,366	10,013	120,709
Ditto in last year	6,232	906	7,138	116,735	50,425	167,160	1,068	42,800	8,206	209,960
Average of first 5 year	7,509	1,312	8,821	83,224	31,992	115,216	1,097	21,017	9,918	136,233
Ditto last 5 years	7,311	1,092	8,403	104,316	46,691	150,807	1,129	36,457	9,532	187,264

in the Suburbs of the Metropolis instead of being placed in the free country air away from the temptations of city life, and (3) in its inability to make use of religious influences in aid of its reformatory discipline. In these, and perhaps in some other respects, I think it labours under serious disadvantages and is the more entitled to be judged with consideration and leniency. What I should like to see would be a Farm School started and managed by private benevolence,—situated in the open country, yet not out of reach of frequent official inspection. Such a school might combine the purposes of a Reformatory and of an experimental Agricultural School—so far at least that improved methods of agriculture might be introduced and taught to the lads. If the Alipore School is in any degree successful, let us hope that some of the rich and philanthropic leaders of the native community may come forward to establish a similar institution elsewhere under the conditions I have named.

Comparative Statement of Juvenile and Adult Offenders committed to Prison in Great Britain between the years 1861 and 1876.

Period from 1861 to 1876 (16 years)	England and Wales						Scotland		Total for Great Britain	
	Under 16			Over 16						
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16	Over 16
Total commitments of period	124,582	19,894	144,476	1,522,104	611,989	2,134,093	17,884	444,433	162,360	2,578,526
Average commitments per year	7,786	1,243	9,029	95,131	38,249	133,381	1,118	27,777	10,147	161,158
Commitment in first year	7,373	1,428	8,801	72,947	30,396	103,343	1,212	17,366	10,013	120,709
Ditto in last year	6,232	906	7,138	116,735	50,425	167,160	1,068	42,800	8,206	209,960
Average of first 5 year	7,509	1,312	8,821	83,224	31,992	115,216	1,097	21,017	9,918	136,233
Ditto last 5 years	7,311	1,092	8,403	104,316	46,691	150,807	1,129	36,457	9,532	187,264

Remarks. This Table shows that while the Adult Commitments in 1876 as compared with those of 1861 show an increase of 74 per cent, the commitments of juveniles show a decrease of 18 per cent. Or, if we compare the average of the last five years of the period (1861-1865) with that of the last five years (1872-1876) we see that adult commitments have increased by 37 per cent, while juvenile commitiments have fallen off by 4 per cent. In other words, judged by a comparison with adult crime, the working of Reformatory and Industrial schools seem to have resulted in a considerable diminution in the number of juvenile commitments to prison. Of course, it may be said that this result is to some extent brought about by the numbers *at present in these* schools; but that the result is not far wide of the truth is shown by the statistics of the schools themselves. Thus in 1867, 270 children were sentenced by Session and Assize Courts to be sent to a Reformatory, whereas in 1876 only 145 children were so sentenced. In the five years 1867-71, a total of 1,167 children were so sentenced, giving an average of 233 per annum. In 1872-76 only 897 children were so sentenced, yielding an average of 176 per annum. Similarly the figures show a decrease in the number of re-convictions. Of the juveniles sent to Reformatories in 1868-9, 50.7 per cent had been previously convicted; Of those sent in 1875-6 only 44.5 per cent had been reconvicted. Indeed in 1876 Sidney Turner was able to report as follows:—"It is tolerably certain that no more Reformatory schools will be required; probably indeed some few of those now certified may be dispensed with, if in a future amendment of the Act the usual age for admission to a Reformatory on a first summary conviction is raised to 12." And in 1877 his successor Mr. Inglis writes:—"The existing number of Reformatory schools seems fully sufficient for the requirements of the country. In many the numbers under detention have been decreasing owing to the decrease of juvenile crime, which may fairly be attributed in a great measure to the action of the Industrial schools which catch so many of the children before they have time to qualify for a Reformatory. The probablity is, that while the call for Industrial schools seems steadily on the increase, we shall ere long

see some of the Reformatories resigning their certificates for want of inmates."

In the Report of Miss Carpenter's Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory for 1865, I find the following :—"When our first attempts were made in 1853 to reform convicted girls, we had to deal with a class who formed organised gangs among themselves such as are described in "Jane Cameron", and who are regularly trained thieves, who were hardened by being in jail six or eight times. Now we seldom meet with a second convicted girl, though we never decline any who are not above our age or penitentiary cases ; and no traces remain to our knowledge of gangs of girls who are regular thieves !"

What effect Reformatories have had in checking adult crime, cannot easily be ascertained with any accuracy ; though it is clear that if a certain number of juveniles are reclaimed from a career of vice year after year, the ranks of habitual criminals must be proportionately reduced. And, as a matter of fact, we find the serious organised crime—especially offences against property—has considerably diminished in England during the last few years, as will appear from the following Table.

	Within the ffve years			
	1857-61	1862-66	1867-71	1871-76
Total number of persons committed for trial	89,120	97,788	92,227	75,618
Average per year	17,825	19,578	18,445	15,136
Of whom convicted	...		68,479	56,609
			13,696	11,332

At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman (Dr. K. Mcleod) said :—We have listened with very great pleasure McLEOD) said :—We have listened with very great pleasure and profit to Mr. Beverley's paper on Reformatory Schools, a subject which is certainly one of deep social interest to everybody, natives as well as Europeans, in this country. He had raised several points permitting of discussion, and I hope that some members of the Association will now give us the benefit of their views on the general question, or on some of the special features of it to which Mr. Beverley has directed our attention.

Remarks. This Table shows that while the Adult Commitments in 1876 as compared with those of 1861 show an increase of 74 per cent, the commitments of juveniles show a decrease of 18 per cent. Or, if we compare the average of the last five years of the period (1861-1865) with that of the last five years (1872-1876) we see that adult commitments have increased by 37 per cent, while juvenile commitiments have fallen off by 4 per cent. In other words, judged by a comparison with adult crime, the working of Reformatory and Industrial schools seem to have resulted in a considerable diminution in the number of juvenile commitments to prison. Of course, it may be said that this result is to some extent brought about by the numbers at present in these schools; but that the result is not far wide of the truth is shown by the statistics of the schools themselves. Thus in 1867, 270 children were sentenced by Session and Assize Courts to be sent to a Reformatory, whereas in 1876 only 145 children were so sentenced. In the five years 1867-71, a total of 1,167 children were so sentenced, giving an average of 233 per annum. In 1872-76 only 897 children were so sentenced, yielding an average of 176 per annum. Similarly the figures show a decrease in the number of re-convictions. Of the juveniles sent to Reformatories in 1868-9, 50.7 per cent had been previously convicted; Of those sent in 1875-6 only 44.5 per cent had been reconvicted. Indeed in 1876 Sidney Turner was able to report as follows:—"It is tolerably certain that no more Reformatory schools will be required; probably indeed some few of those now certified may be dispensed with, if in a future amendment of the Act the usual age for admission to a Reformatory on a first summary conviction is raised to 12." And in 1877 his successor Mr. Inglis writes:— "The existing number of Reformatory schools seems fully sufficient for the requirements of the country. In many the numbers under detention have been decreasing owing to the decrease of juvenile crime, which may fairly be attributed in a great measure to the action of the Industrial schools which catch so many of the children before they have time to qualify for a Reformatory. The probablity is, that while the call for Industrial schools seems steadily on the increase, we shall ere long

see some of the Reformatories resigning their certificates for want of inmates."

In the Report of Miss Carpenter's Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory for 1865, I find the following :—"When our first attempts were made in 1853 to reform convicted girls, we had to deal with a class who formed organised gangs among themselves such as are described in "Jane Cameron", and who are regularly trained thieves, who were hardened by being in jail six or eight times. Now we seldom meet with a second convicted girl, though we never decline any who are not above our age or penitentiary cases ; and no traces remain to our knowledge of gangs of girls who are regular thieves !"

What effect Reformatories have had in checking adult crime, cannot easily be ascertained with any accuracy ; though it is clear that if a certain number of juveniles are reclaimed from a career of vice year after year, the ranks of habitual criminals must be proportionately reduced. And, as a matter of fact, we find the serious organised crime—especially offences against property—has considerably diminished in England during the last few years, as will appear from the following Table.

	Within the ffve years			
	1857-61	1862-66	1867-71	1871-76
Total number of persons committed for trial	89,120	97,788	92,227	75,618
Average per year	17,825	19,578	18,445	15,136
Of whom convicted	...		68,479	56,609
			13,696	11,332

At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman (Dr. K. Mcleod) said :—We have listened with very great pleasure
McLEOD) said :—We have listened with very great pleasure
and profit to Mr. Beverley's paper on Reformatory Schools, a subject which is certainly one of deep social interest to everybody, natives as well as Europeans, in this country. He had raised several points permitting of discussion, and I hope that some members of the Association will now give us the benefit of their views on the general question, or on some of the special features of it to which Mr. Beverley has directed our attention.

Babu Srinath Ghose rose and spoke as follows :—I have very great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer for the very excellent lecture he has just read to us on a very interesting subject. The subject of Reformatory Schools is a most important one. It is at present receiving considerable attention at the hands of Government, and it may be hoped that the Reformatory School which has just been established at Alipore will be the first of a number of such schools established in all parts of India. The value of these Reformatory schools cannot be over-rated. Once these schools are established in the interior of districts, their effect upon crime cannot but be marvellous. Under the operation of an efficient system of Reformatory schools, crime will be repressed in the land as it were, and society incalculably benefited. I think the information which the learned lecturer has placed before us is undoubtedly valuable at the present day ; and the views expressed may be accepted as sound and correct. The entire paper is well worthy of consideration and discussion at a Social Science Association meeting, and our best thanks are due to the learned lecturer for introducing the subject and reveiwing it in the manner in which he has reviewed it.

Mr. J. B. Knight said :—In rising to second the vote of thanks which he has proposed, I have very little to say except to express the great interest with which I have heard the lecture delivered. The name of "Reformatory Schools" is a very attractive one, and the idea of reforming criminals is one which commends itself to every one. The difficulties with which the subject is surrounded appear to me to be very great, and my idea of these difficulties is not lessened by the paper which has been read to us. It makes me almost fancy that the experiment which is now being tried has been begun without due deliberation, as, although it has been under the consideration of the Government for a long time, still in one very important point it seems to me that an error has been committed, and that is in placing boys of too great an age in the school to begin with. In visiting the Reformatory the other day I saw amongst the forty or more boys that were there ten or twelve who exceeded the age suggested in the paper as the maximum age of admission. I should

imagine that the boys there were of low development, except in the development of criminal thoughts. I saw boys who had been repeatedly imprisoned before, placed in the school and allowed to mix with many more children and even among these children there were some with half a dozen rings on their wrists, every ring representing a previous conviction. No one can do otherwise than sympathise with this great attempt which is being made for the instruction of these boys in various industrial occupations. But here a difficulty arises—not that they are not sharp enough, but the difficulty is to find teachers for them. It was thought at one time that firms in Calcutta might send work to be done in the school, but this seems almost hopeless, the working men being so wedded to their own ways. I hope some way may be devised to meet this difficulty so that the great object of the school may be attained namely, to give these boys a trade by way of earning their own living by a useful handicraft, and so, if possible, save them from the evil influences with which their lives have hitherto been surrounded.

Babu Ashutosh Biswas said—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, with great pleasure I rise to support the vote of thanks which has been so ably moved and seconded by the two speakers who have preceded me; and in doing so, I feel it necessary to make some observations regarding a system of reclamation which been introduced in many countries of Europe, and which the experience of those countries has of late taught our rulers to experiment with in this land of ours. At this advanced hour of the day, and when the rules of this Association place ten minutes' time only at the disposal of a speaker, I do not think it advisable to comment on the merits of the lecture at length, but will content myself with making some cursory remarks on certain points that have not been touched either by the lecturer or by the speakers. When I reflected upon the criminal lists published every year under the auspices of our local Government, when I reflected upon the figures in those lists (the list for the year 1872 showed only 327 Juvenile offenders under 16 years of age, and in the two subsequent years the number appears to have risen to 548 and 537 respectively), I rejoiced within myself that juvenile crime in India was very

little. But along with this, two questions at once presented themselves to my mind for solution. First, whether or how far it was practicable to form classes with such a small number, and that number scattered all over the province. This question has to a very great extent been answered by the Reformatory which was opened the other day at Alipore. But there still remains the other question, whether reformatory institutions ought to be established and maintained by voluntary subscriptions. In approaching this question it must be distinctly borne in mind that at present whatever may be spent upon them will be so much money withdrawn from other purposes for which we may be called upon to contribute in some shape or other. It must all be remembered that the financial condition of the empire is anything but satisfactory, it is both embarrassed and anomalous. I should therefore like to see that the reformatory institutions here are not made so many burdens upon the State, but are maintained by voluntary subscriptions. It may be asked—Can we hope to raise a respectable sum by private subscriptions? To this I answer—Yes. We may be impervious to all arguments in favour of taxation; we may grudge paying a pice to the tax-gatherer, but we never grudge to make private contributions. You all know that a spirit of philanthropy, a disheartened benevolence, forms the palladium of our moral character, and there can, I say, be no difficulty in raising a respectable sum by private subscriptions amongst a people so generous and benevolent. Let the local authorities appeal to the generous instincts of the people, call upon them to contribute as much as their means will permit towards the maintenance of their reformatories, and I assure them of a prompt, sympathetic, and cordial response to that call. Gentlemen, I should be greatly mistaken about the character of my countrymen,—of those whose forefathers sent forth their Buddhist missionaries on their errands of duty and philanthropy, of those who have assembled within these walls today, if I could not assure them of such a ready response. Again, while upon the question of finance, I must not forget to tell you that the law, as it had been originally proposed, contained some enabling provisions. It enabled the municipalities to establish or to contribute to the cost of reformatories. It enabled the Government to charge the cost or a portion of the

cost of these institutions to the parents of the children brought under their ameliorating influences. None of these provisions have found place in the Act. The excision of the first I do not regret at all, for I have protested on more than one occasion against the use of municipal money for educational purposes while the more legitimate purposes of health and conservancy remain unaccomplished. But I sincerely regret the excision of the second set of provisions, and I regret it all the more because it has been justified with arguments borrowed from false analogy. At this advanced hour I need not state those arguments in detail nor cut open the fallacy which underlies them. Suffice it to answer them by stating to you that similar provisions do still exist in the English statute, upon the basis of which the present law stands. There is also a middle course open to us :—a reconciliation is possible between those who proposed these provisions, and ourselves who would like to retain them. Dividing the whole period of detention into two parts, one of which you may call the imprisonment term, and the other the non-imprisonment term, the Government can, in all fairness, charge the cost of maintenance of the detained during the latter term to their parents while excusing them from maintaining them for the former term. Perhaps I am not clear. Let me suppose an example and illustrate my meaning. Suppose a youth of 11 is sentenced to one year's imprisonment under a certain section of the Criminal Code, and that instead of being sent to prison he is admitted into a reformatory where he is detained say for 4 years. One of these four years I call the imprisonment term and the other three the non-imprisonment term, during which I say the Government can justly call upon his parents to maintain him. I say, then, that we must have a separate distinct Reformatory Fund, and that the fund must be raised and fed by voluntary subscriptions and contributions from parents.

Here I beg to put forth another suggestion. I should like to see that a portion of this fund is devoted to giving to those who are discharged and who are certified as worthy of the favour, bonuses or gifts, in order to enable them to set out on their newly learned career of industry and honesty. I make this suggestion because who knows that, if thrown upon society

without capital to start with, but with increased ambition, these discharged youths will not resort to wicked or foul means for raising the necessary capital. I do not claim any originality for this suggestion, but I have borrowed it from certain English statutes regulating a similar institution in England.

One word more and I have done. The law, as it was originally laid down in the Bill, contained provisions for two classes of persons—for youths who have wrecked their character and become the frightful scourge of society, as well as for youths who have no ostensible means of living and are suspected of leading bad lives. But the ameliorating influences of the "Reformatory Schools Act" have been confined to the former. In England you know, as has been said by learned lecturer, there are distinct organisations known as Industrial Schools where the latter class of youths are drilled and provided for. And this is the reason why the Reformatory Schools there are confined to juvenile offenders alone. But in our country we have not got such drilling institutions as the Industrial Schools in England. Why then, I ask, should the doors of our reformatories be opened to the one and shut against the other who may prove to be equally dangerous to society ? I say, then, let these youths who commit crimes and those who have no ostensible means of living both be drilled together under the roof of one common reformatory ; let its ameliorating influences be shared equally by the two. As the Act at present stands, it fulfils half its objects, satisfies half its ends, shoots half its mark. I can conceive of no arguments against extending the sphere of action of our reformatory schools. The arguments which were urged against it in the Council smacked too much of sentimentalism ; they were too vague, too flimsy to be discussed at length to this meeting specially at this late hour. With these suggestions, I support the vote of thanks with very great pleasure.

Mr. Beverley said—I have only a few remarks to make in reply. I should like to correct in the first instance, a false impression which may be inferred from the remarks of the last speaker as regards the manner in which the boys should be disposed of when discharged from Reformatory schools. The

Act provides that, after detention for a certain time, the managers should use their best endeavours to get the boys licensed out prior to their final discharge. And probably before that time arrives they will all be in suitable places of employment either in Government workshop or elsewhere. I may also state, that besides these provisions of the law, the rules which have been drawn up for the management of these reformatories, provide that boys may be allowed certain earnings or rewards which will be put by to form a small fund which will be made over to them on discharge. With regard to the establishment of Industrial Schools, I think the last speaker was somewhat inconsistent, for almost in the same breath he complained of the cost of Reformatories being thrown upon the Government, and at the same time desired to see the Government establish a second set of schools. As he correctly stated, the original Bill contained provisions regarding boys of bad character, who, however, had not been convicted of crime; and the main reason why these provisions were struck out was the enormous expense that would have to be incurred if the Government took upon itself the cost of maintaining and training all the bad and destitute boys that might be found in the country. It was therefore thought convenient at first to introduce provisions similar to those contained in the English Act for Reformatories only, leaving the establishment of Industrial Schools to some future time when they may be established and maintained by the help of private exertions.

The Chairman (Dr. McLeod), in winding up the proceedings, said:—I have much pleasure in conveying the best thanks to this meeting and Mr. Beverley for the most interesting paper he has read, and which has, I confess, given rise to more discussion than I expected. I thought that, as the subject was still very strong in India, as the reasons which I have led to the establishment of reformatory schools in other countries have not been put very prominently before the public in this country; as the grounds for trying the experiment in India have not been the subject of popular agitation or controversy; as the experiment itself is in a very early stage and information regarding its working and success necessarily scanty, very few

members of this Association could have formed very definite opinions on the matter. But I have been pleasantly disappointed. I find from the remarks which have been made that the subject has given rise to thought which, at least in the case of one speaker, has resulted in very pronounced views.

The essence of the case appears to me to be this :—That in essaying to establish reformatory schools in this country, the State has simply furnished another instance of the need which arises for its occassional assumption of a parental or paternal reponsibility, a responsibility which it assumes in this case only where parents are manifestly unfitted for the discharge of their parental functions ; when children either have no parents to guide them, or if they have, are better apart from than with them. In countries more advanced in political and social education than India, public opinion has such a powerful, intelligent and humane influence, that this and other matters affecting social well-being may safely be left to the operation of social as distinguished from political forces and agencies. In this country all political and most social movements centre in the Government. The Government embodies almost exclusively social and political thought and effort, and so it happens that enterprises which elsewhere are initiated and carried into effect by the people themselves under the sanction and approval of the legislature and governing power, are here originated and executed by the Government.

The Speaker who contended that Reformatory Schools should rest upon non-official enterprise, management and support, has taken up what is theoretically a most excellent position. Perhaps with the progress of civilization and social development in this country, the public feeling and agency of the intelligent and advanced classes may relieve the Government of the duty and task of reforming juvenile criminals. This was a highly desirable result, but I think the Government is very right in assuming as it does the responsibility and duty incumbent on the community in regard to juvenile offenders, and in giving the official classes and the substantial non-official classes a start in this direction. I am sure I must agree with the speaker in

hoping that in future, it may be possible not only for these schools to be started and supported by non-official agencies, but to be managed, as in Europe, by non-official agencies under the guidance and subject to the criticism and control of an educated public feeling and opinion. The same speaker argued, as I understood him, that Reformatory Schools are not needed in this country, as juvenile criminals form so small a part of the total prison population. I think that the paucity of youthful offenders against law is a legitimate subject for congratulation, but it does not follow that, because juvenile offenders are comparatively few, therefore no effort should be made to reform them. Everything in this country is apt to come under the great and dominant law of custom, and to organise itself into the class habit; and crime is no exception. Thuggee and dacoity are the most conspicuous illustrations of this tendency as regards criminal practices, and, as Mr. Beverley has pointed out, the reformatory and industrial idea has been successfully applied to the former. When parental influences acting on the youth of any class are influences perpetuating criminal propensities and practices, the sooner the State or the public steps into the place of the present the better, however few or many the number requiring this interference. Another speaker has alluded to the value and the difficulty of applying industry as a reforming agent in these schools. You are aware that this element has always constituted a prominent feature of prison administration in India. One of the most able and energetic of prison administrators in this Presidency, Dr. F. J. Mouat, made this a very strong point in his management of jails ; and certainly in combination with classification,—the segregation of the habitually criminal from the accidentally or casually criminal—it offers the most powerful means at the disposal of prison officials of reforming the bad and preventing the comparatively good from lapsing into deeper degradation or vice. It is a matter of regret that industrial and other reformatory influences cannot be dissociated from the demoralising surroundings supplied by a jail ; but the subject is a very difficult one, and it is only in this case of juveniles, and only partially with them, that reformatory detention can as yet be substituted for punitive incarceration. I quite agree in the opinion which has been ex-

pressed as regards the question of age. I think that in this country people are prematurely developed as compared with Europe ; and that the limit of age ought therefore to be below the English limit. Children become boys and boys men, earlier in India than in England, and these changes imply the earlier formation and fixation of character and habits. I will not tax your patience any longer, but I think the Association owes Mr. Beverley a debt of gratitude for the lecture he has given us, and I hope the next time we may have the subject before us, we may be able to say something more definite about it, and congratulate ourselves upon the success of these Reformatory Schools.

On the Statistics and Causes of Suicide in India
Kenneth McLeod A. M. M. D.
Read on the 13th June 1878.
(Slightly shortened)

Mr. Buckle has pointed out in the Introduction to his "History of Civilisation in England", that, however much human events may appear to be, when viewed individually, the result of chance, or human actions the consequence of an exercise of freewill and choice, still in any community these events and actions will be found to repeat themselves in equal successive periods of time with wonderful regularity and in marvellous arithmetical similarity. He argues from this undoubted truth that men's lives and acts are the product of social forces which determine, irrespective of individual free will, a certain number and kind of effects ; that the apparent choice of the individual from conflicting motives is but the last link of a chain of causes which encircles human beings and inevitably binds them to certain courses of conduct, and that from these circumstances history ought to become an exact study, capable of cultivation by statistical methods ; the regularly recurring events being used as a series of social constants from which to deduce settled and permanent social laws......In some cases the reason of the regularity of recurrence is very apparent. For example, I have extracted from the Report of the Registrar General of England for the year 1872 a return[1] showing the number of death in the

[1] Deaths in the streets of London caused by horses & vehicles in the 5 years—1869-1873.

		Vehicles									
Years	Horses	Carriage	Omnibus	Tram cars	Cabs	Van Wagons	Drays	Carts	Others	Death by Horses & vehicles	Ratio per million of estimated population
1869	10	6	18		26	56	3	71		192	58·9
1870	10	12	20		29	63	8	51	5	198	59·8
1871	9	12	20		23	74	4	60	6	208	61·9
1872	8	15	24		24	82	7	52	1	213	62·6
1873	13	10	12	17	28	75	4	56	2	217	61·8
	50	55	94	17	130	353	26	289	14	5)1028	5)3053
										205	61

streets of London caused by horses and vehicles during 1869-1873. The totals for the five years are 192, 198, 208, 213, 217—progressively increasing with the growing population, and varying only to the extent of 25 or 12% of the average. When the numbers are calculated on a million of inhabitants the figures are 58.9 to 61.8, the fluctuation now amounting to only 6 p.c. of the average. This is a very simple case. We have from year to year very much the same number of streets, persons, horses, and vehicles doing very much the same kind of work ; but when we take such data as marriages, murders, forgeries, the uniformity is more remarkable and the causes more difficult to trace. The truth of Buckle's principle is further proved by the fact that fluctuations in the social conditions of a community cause fluctuations in the social events. Thus, marriages have been shown to "bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn", and the disturbances of social harmony and rhythm of social phenomena caused by such political convulsions as the French Rev. and the Indian Sepoy Mutiny are too well known. Mr. Buckle derives his strongest example of the law of social constants from the subject of suicide. "Among public and registered crimes", he writes, "there is none which seems so completely dependent on the individual as suicide. Attempts to murder or to rob may be, and constantly are, successfully resisted ; baffled sometimes by the party attacked, sometimes by the officers of justice. But an attempt to commit suicide is much less liable to interruption. The man who is determined to kill himself is not prevented at the last moment by the struggles of an enemy, and, as he can easily guard against the interference of the civil power, his act becomes, as it were, isolated ; it is cut off from foreign disturbances, and seems more clearly the product of his own volition than any other offence could possibly be. We may also add that, unlike crimes in general, it is rarely caused by the instigation of confederates ; so that men, not being goaded into it by their companions, are uninfluenced by one great class of external associations which might hamper what is termed the freedom of their will. It may, therefore, very naturally be thought impracticable to refer suicide to general principles, or to detect anything like regularity in an offence which is so eccentric, so solitary, so

impossible to control by legislation, and which the most vigilant police can do nothing to diminish. There is another obstacle that impedes our view : that is, that even the best evidence respecting suicide must always be very imperfect. In cases of drowning for example, deaths are liable to be returned as suicides which are accidental, while on the other hand some are called accidental which are voluntary. Thus it is that self-murder seems to be not only capricious and uncontrollable, but also very obscure in regard to proof ; so that, on all these grounds, it might be reasonable to dispair of ever tracing it to those general causes by which it is produced. These being the peculiarities of this singular crime, it is surely an astonishing fact that all the evidence we possess respecting it points to one great conclusion, and can leave no doubt on our minds that suicide is merely the product of the general condition of society, and that the individual felon only carries into effect, what is a necessary consequence of preceding circumstances. In a given state of society a certain number of persons must put an end to their own life. This is the general law ; and the special question as to who shall commit the crime depends of course upon special laws ; which, however, in their total action must obey the large social law to which they are all subordinate". The statistics collected by the R. G. of England fully confirm Buckle's statement. I find that taking a series of 17 years (1859-75), the lowest number of suicides per million of the population of England and Wales was 62 and the highest 73, the numbers following each other thus 64, 70, 68, 65, 66, 64, 67, 62, 70, 73, 70, 66, 65, 68, and 67. "The number of suicides to be committed next year" writes Dr. Farr in commenting on the mortuary returns for 1875, "can be predicted with much greater certainty than the rain fall". Here, then, we possess a social constant of remarkable interest depending on some constant influences by which they are surrounded, which offers a singularly appropriate gauge of the social condition of the community and its component units. I have thought that I might render a useful service to this Society and to social science generally by collecting all the available statistics on the subject of suicide in India, and endeavouring to place my finger on the influences, the social weaknesses, to which this crime—so oppos-

ed to the strongest instincts of human beings, so isolated and apparently autogenous—is due.

I have accordingly searched public returns and books, and applied for information to Sanitary Commissioners, Police Officers and others[1], with the result that I have been enabled to compile a very complete series of tables which I place at the disposal of the Society.

I have selected the five years 1872-76 and tabulated the figures rendered by these for several reasons. *In the first place,* they render more accurate figures because the estimates of population in the census of 1872 is a correct one, and mortuary registration has been more carefully conducted within recent years. *In the second place,* I have been enabled to present a series of years, which will illustrate the existence or otherwise of an element of constancy or constant repetition in this matter. *Thirdly,* the period embraced by the figures—a quinquennial—is a convenient period for future comparison, and excludes the risk of presenting the exceptional results which shorter periods sometimes disclose ; and *fourthly,* the terms of years selected is sufficiently recent to entitle the results to be viewed with the special interest appertaining to contemporary history.

---

[1] My acknowledgements for aid willingly rendered are specially due to the following gentlemen :—

Surgeon Major W. R. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras.
Surgeon Major R. Harvey, Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal.
Surgeon Major T. G. Hewlett Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay.
Surgeon Major J. B. Lyon, F.C.S. Chemical Analyser, Bombay.
Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadur.
Rev. K. M. Banerjee LL.D.
W. D. Pratt, Esq., Personal Assistant, I.G. of Police, L.P.
T. G. Weir, Esq., Health Officer Bombay.
H. Stanborough, Esq, Coroner of Madras.
Major T. K. Guthrie, Assistant I. G. of Police, Madras.
Surgeon Major A. J. Payne, M.D. Health Officer of Calcutta.
J. Lambert, Esq., Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.
Col. E. Tyrwhitt, I. G. of Police, N. W. Provinces and Oudh.
A. Vincent, Esq., Acting Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Death-registration is still very imperfect in India, and I would not ask you to accept these figures as perfectly accurate; still, I believe that returns referring to so striking a matter as self-murder are more likely to be correct than general mortuary returns, and, such as they are, the figures are the best—the only figures—obtainable. The tables refer to the three Presidencies, and embrace all the towns and districts included in them with the exception of Assam, Burmah, Hyderabad and Native States. The particular points illustrated by them are—1st, the number of deaths by suicde which occur annually and their relation to population. 2nd, the proportions of the sexes displayed by the returns. 3rd, the methods of committing suicide adopted in different parts of India; and 4th, the number of suicidal deaths which occur in different months and seasons. I should have wished to be able to present some statistical information regarding age, race, caste, education, employment and other social conditions such as marriage, but I have only been able to collect a few scraps.

I shall now proceed to relate in general terms the conclusions deducible from these tables arranged as I have now indicated, and shall then endeavour to lay before you some considerations regarding the causes, physical and moral, which appear to determine the crime of suicide in this country, and to offer some suggestions derived therefrom regarding social reformation.

1. *Number of Suicides.* It will be observed from the summary table (No. 20) that the number of deaths by suicide registered in different provinces and Presidencies varies very considerably, ranging from 12.7 per mille in the Punjab to 70.5 in the C.P.*

---

* The following figures indicating the rates per mille of population of suicide in the various countries of Europe are quoted from *Revue de france* :—

Saye Altenbug 303; Denmark 288; Saxony 251; Sleswig 209; Holstein 173; Mecklenburgh 159; Luxemberg 156; France 40; Norway 94; England 69; Sweden 66; Belgium 55; Austria 43; Scotland 35; Spain 14.

These are the mean rates of the quinquenial and for the whole area and population of the Presidency or Province. If we take the mean death-rate from all the cases rendered by the mortuary statistics of the same years, there can be no doubt that registration is very defective. Whether the registration of suicidal deaths is as defective as that of deaths from all causes is open to question. The numbers are undoubtedly considerably below the truth. This is proved in the case of Bengal by the results shown by selected areas in which special pains were taken to obtain correct returns, for, while the mean rate for the Province is only 31.3 per mille (table No. 2) the rate rendered by these areas is 47.5 (Table 3).

I have placed the general death rate of the period in each table, and it will serve as some indication of the accuracy of the returns of suicides. But whether the suicidal rate of any Presidency or Province is high or low, it will be observed by examining the detailed tables that there is comparatively little fluctuation from year to year. Whatever the figure may be, it is repeated with very slight variation; so that each of the areas comprised in these tables has a characteristic quinquenial index which the experience of each year of the period closely approximates. While the figure for the whole area presents this evidence of constancy, we find on analysing the district returns of each Province that there is a very wide difference in the rates rendered by these; some districts exhibiting high rates and others low rates. In this respect also there is a serial uniformity, for we further find that the high or low rates of any year of the series are repeated with remarkable fidelity in the other years.

I have thus been enabled to select in each Province certain districts in which suicides are remarkably frequent. I have taken five of these and noted the mean result of the Quinquennial in each case. The detailed figures of the five years fully illustrate the law of uniformity exhibited by the provincial results. There are, then, in each province a certain number of districts in which the propensity to self-murder is specially conspicuous. Why it is so, I am unable to say. It would occupy too much time to go through the figures of the various provinces in detail, and I

will content myself by referring to those of the Province of Bengal in which we are most interested.

It appears that suicide is more rife in certain districts of Behar and Orissa than in other part of the Province ; the figures rendered by some districts of central Bengal Nudia, Jessore, Howrah for example, coming nearest to these. Colonial J. R. Pugh, the I. G. Police, in his report for the year 1872, exhibits suicidal deaths in Bengal acc. to divisions. The Presidency division comes first with 371 deaths (56.7 per mille of pop.); Patna next with 316 (24.1) ; Rajasthan follows with 215 (25.3) ; Orissa 207 (48) ; Dacca 202 (21.2) ; Burdwan 199 (27.3) ; and the remaining five divisions of the Province render less than 100 each (Chotanagpur 97 ; Bhagalpur 47 ; Chittagong 29 and Cooch Behar 13). These are the figures of one year ; but they give a general conformation to the conclusion above stated. The five districts which I have found to exceed all others in this respect are : Puri, Cuttack, Nadia, Patna and Gaya. They give a mean rate per mille of 66.4 and individually exhibit rates of 100.7 ; 85.2 ; 71, 56.7 and 49.5. The same inequality of incidence obtains in all countries. Imitation and social habit, no doubt, account partly for the result, but the real reason must be sought deeply in the social circumstances of these localities as compared with others.

Another striking fact, indicated by the statistics is, that more suicides occur in towns than in country places. London has a suicidal rate of 82.8 against 66.2 for the whole of England and Wales ; Calcutta 77.6 against 31.3 for the Province of Bengal ; Madras 94 against 65.6 in the Presidency ; Bombay 90.1 against 49 for the whole Presidency. The same result is apparent on comparing the satistics of smaller towns with those of the surrounding districts. Thus in Bengal the mean rate for selected urban areas is 62.4, while that for rural areas is only 41.7. It is possible that registration is more perfect in towns where the population is more compact and the events more easily assertained ; but there can be no question that more suicides do take place in towns, and the reason doubtless consists in the greater

poverty and vice of towns and the stronger pressure of social influences, good or bad, on individuals.

2. *Age*

I have found it impossible to obtain any information regarding the age at which suicides are most common. The facts are carefully recorded in England, where it is found that the majority of men commit suicide between the ages of 55 and 65, of women between 45 and 55. The numbers below 15 and above 80 are very small. I suspect that in country the suicidal age would be found very considerably lower than in England ; I should say, judging from my own experience in Jessore, between 25 and 35 or even earlier for women ; but there are no data available.** Colonel Pugh in the return which I have cited, notes 23 suicides by children (under 12 or 14 years I presume) among 1716 at all ages, and the Inspector General of Police, Oudh, gives 46 as the number of suicides by children against 4172 by adults in the 7 years 1870-76.

3. *Sex.*

Excess of suicides committed by females as compared with males. There can be no doubt whatever regarding the reliability of the figures in this respect, for the whole tendency of statistics in India everywhere is to under-register vital events affecting females. This is conspicuous in census returns, and in birth and death statistics, and even as regards deaths caused by other description of violence, the same tendency is manifest. The excess of female suicides may therefore be accepted as an undoubted fact, and the figures probably rather fall short of the truth than otherwise.

I have shown in the Table 20, the relation which the rates per mille of suicides among males and females hold, taking 100 males as the standard of comparison. The general result is, that while in England the relation is 100 males to 33 or 34

** Asst. Surgeon Guru Dayal Das Gupta found that in 18 cases of suicide (17 females and 1 male) examined at Tangail in the district of Mymensingh, 16 (15 females and 1 male) were below 25 and only 2 females above 25. (Indian Medical Gazette vol. ix 179).

females, in India the proportion is in round number as 100 to 150. In other words, for every 2 males who commit suicide, 3 females do so. The figures of different provinces may vary considerably, from 100 to 109 in the Madras Presidency, upto 100 to 258 in the N. W. Provinces. The towns of Madras and Bombay give rather lower rates of female than male suicides. It is also observable that the districts which give higher suicide rates than the provincial average also give higher proportions of female suicides. This, further, confirms the general truth as to the greater tendency among females to commit suicide in India than among males.*

Here, then, we possess a most important social fact, and one worthy of the very special attention of this Association. Whatever the causes are which determine people to put an end to their own existence in this country, they press more strongly upon the female section of the population than the male. This must be due to something special in females themselves as compared with males or to something special in the social influences acting upon them if they do not possess an inherent proneness to the crime. The weakness is either in the individuals themselves or their surroundings or perhaps in both. And this needs investigation.

4. *Modes of Commiting Suicide*

As regards the methods by which suicide is committed, there is very conspicuous and remarkable fact, that, taking into account

* Special observations in particular districts confirm these results. Dr. W. B. Beaton in a "Precis of medico-legal post-mortem exam. made in the district of Dacca during the year 1865" found that of 41 cases of suicide, 27 f and 14 m or 65.8 f and 35.2 m or 100 males to 193 females. I.M.G. vol. I p. 837.

Mr. Vincent Richards found that of 75 post-mortem examinations of cases of suicide made in the district of Bankurah in the 10 years 1859-70, 42 f and 33 m or 56% to 44% or 100 males to 127 females I.M.G. vol. vi. p. 232.

Asst. Surgeon G. D. Das Gupta found that of 18 postmortem examinations made in cases of suicide at Tangail in the district of Mymensingh in 1874-75, 17 were females and 1 male; 94.4 and 6.6% respectively or 100 males to 1700 females.

experience in every country, they are reducible to a very few categories. Hanging, drowning, poisoning, wounding (mostly by cutting the throat) and shooting, these five methods embrace about 9/10ths of the cases of self-murder all over the world. (Dr. Taylor is his *Principles and Practice of Medical Jurisprudence* 1865 p. 1038 states that the sight of a particular spot where suicide has been already committed will often induce a person who may hitherto not have been suspected of any such disposition, at once to destroy himself. Thus a second and third suicide took place from the monument near London Bridge soon after the first had occured). In different nations and communities one or other method is to acquire prominence but, whatever the peculiarity of any nation or community may be in this respect, it is apt to be perpetuated and repeated from year to year. Habit, imitation and suggestion are the three mental forces that determine this remarkable result. Dr. Forbes Winslow in his *Anatomy of Suicide* mentions that a very singular case of suicide occurred in Paris. An individual prepared a net bag for himself and hung it outside his window ; into this he descended head foremost and then cut his throat. The event caused a great sensation and was followed by many similar cases. The practise of committing suicide by means of the fumes of burnings charcoal is another Parisian custom which also depends for its perpetuation on imitation and suggestion.

Dr. Carpenter in his "Mental Physiology" mentions that, "after the suicide of Lord Castlereagh, a large number of persons destroyed themselves in a similar manner." In the same work he relates a very remarkable instance of the power of suggestion in governing the will towards suicide. "Dr. Oppenheim of Hamburg, having received for dissection the body of a man who had committed suicide by cutting his own throat, but who had done this in such a manner that his death did not take place until after an interval of great suffering, jokingly remarked to his attendant :—"If you have any fancy to cut your throat, don't do it in such a bungling way as this ; a little more to the left ear and you will cut the carotid artery." The sight of the corpse and the observations made by Dr. Oppenheim suggested to his mind the idea of self-destruction, and this took such firm hold of him

that he carried it into execution, but fortunately, he, failing to be profited by the medical advice, did not cut his carotid artery and he recovered. Another very similar instance is related by Dr. Taylor in his *Principles and Practice of Medical Jurisprudence* (1865, p. 1037). "Sir Charles Bell relates that one of the surgeons of the Middlesex Hospital was in the habit of going every morning to be shaved by a barber in the neighbourhood, who was known as a steady industrious man. One morning the surgeon was conversing with the barber about an attempt at suicide which had recently occurred, and the surgeon observed that the man had not cut his throat in the right place. The barber then inquired, casually, where the cut should have been ; the Surgeon pointed on his neck to the situation of the carotid artery. The barber in a few minutes retired to the back of his shop and then cut his throat with the razor with which he had been shaving the surgeon ; he had wounded the carotid artery in the place indicated by the surgeon and died before any assistance could be rendered to him.

"Although this act was quite sudden and unexpected, it may have been only the final result of a delusion which had long existed concealed from others in the mind of this man-just as the sight of a weapon has often led to its use for the purpose of suicide."

Another influence strongly determining the manner in which suicide is committed is opportunity. The propensity to self-murder existing, it is natural to suppose that the readiest means towards that end are employed. In the opium districts of Bengal, the North Western Province and Oudh, for example, opium is the only instrument of society. Where wells and tanks abound they are adopted as the agents.[1] A Brahmin, it is said, has used his Brahminicial thread for suicide and a woman, her long

[1] Hebe's *Journey Through India* vol. I pp. 389-390. Suicide by drowning was at one time so common at Benares that the interference of Government was considered necessary to check this practice. The custom of bathing evidently suggested the use of water as an agent of self-destruction.

hair. But the most remarkable illustration of the influence of opportunity is in the British Army. Suicide by gun-shot accounts for 5 per cent. of suicidal deaths in England and Wales, but in the British Army the proportion is 53.2 per cent. The soldier finds his rifle the handiest weapon when the suicidal fit comes to him.

In table 21, I have included facts collected in this country and have tried to make a comparison between facts recorded in England and here. There hanging accounts for 27.8 per cent of the cases, wounding, mostly cut throat 25.1 per cent; drowning 22 per cent; poison 10.8 per cent; gunshot 5.9 per cent; otherwise, 8.4 per cent. Females are more prone to drowning, hanging and poisoning than men, shooting and wounding being common with them. In Calcutta, poisoning and hanging are the most prominent, constituting 44.2 and 41.3 per cent of the methods of suicide; drowning and wounding for a little over 5 per cent each of the deaths and gunshot for only 3.5 per cent. Hanging is more common among females, and drowning, poison, wounding and gunshot among males. Hanging and poisoning are, in truth, the two preponderating modes of self-murder in Bengal, but hanging is the custom of Bengal[1] and Orissa, poisoning by opium, the custom of Behar. Opium and arsenic are almost the only two poisons used for this purpose, and the former is much more largely used than the latter.

In the year 1870 I drew up a report on medico-legal returns in 1868 and 1869 by the medical department from all parts of the Bengal Presidency (subsequently published in 1875 under the title *Medico-Legal Experience in the Bengal Presidency*). I found that of 104 cases of hanging 41 came in three months

[1] Dr. Beatson found that of the 41 cases hanging had been the mode of self-destruction adopted in 38 including all females; of the remaining 3, 1 shot himself, 1 drowned himself, and 1 poisoned himself with opium. Mr. Richards (loc cit) gives the following figures: of the 75 cases, 64 or 85.3 per cent were by hanging, 9 or 12.10 per cent by drowning and 2 or 2.67 per cent by cut throat and poisoning. Of Assistant Surgeon Guru Dayal Das Gupta's 18 cases, 12 or 67 per cent were by hanging.

from lower Bengal against 63 in 12 months from Upper and Central India; 26 of the 41 were females; they were all suicidal. The returns contained 45 cases of opium poisoning, all or almost all suicidal; these came from Central and Upper India, only 4 of them from Lower Bengal. (28 f, 17 m).

Dr. Robert Harvey subsequently drew up a report on the returns for the years 1870, 1871, 1872 and his testimony is more pointed and exact in the same direction. In p. 210 he writes "Hanging contributes 1412 or 4½% to the returns......It must not be inferred from this, however, that it is a common mode of suicide throughout India. The distribution of the cases is very curious. 1102 cases, 78% of the whole, occurred in Lower Bengal excluding the Dinapore circle (Behar, Choto Nagpur and Northern Bengal), leaving only 319 or almost 22% for all the other provinces. Females largely exceeded males, being 818 to 590, but this again is true only of the Lower Provinces where there were 677 females to 424 males." Elsewhere, male were slightly in excess. There was every reason to believe that all the cases with very few exceptions were suicidal. As regards opium Dr. Harvey shows (p. 244) that the immense majority of cases from Behar and the North Western Provinces, where 40.9 p.c. and 35.6 p.c. of all the cases of opium poisoning occurred. Dr. Harvey remarks (p. 245):

"It may be broadly said that opium poisoning has no place as a national custom in Lower Bengal in the restricted sense in which the term is here used and, on the other hand, the Dinapore circle (Behar) may be called its home. In the North-West Provinces and the Punjab it is very common, although only a third as frequent as in the Dinapore district (Behar), while in Oudh and the Central Provinces it is comparatively frequent, although five times more common there than in the Presidency & Dacca circles."

"Suicide is more prevalent in Bengal proper than anywhere else, but the mode generally selected is strangulation by hanging. Habit and imitation must be the chief reasons now existing for this selection, but the habit probably arose when opium was more difficult to procure than at present. The Dinapore suicide

is also influenced by custom, and the explanation of his almost uniform selection of opium for suicide. is found in the fact that he has the poison ready at hand. Poppy is cultivated very widely almost the whole district. This explains also the comparative frequency of opium-poisoning in the North West, but as there are large tracts in the latter where no opium is grown, this particular mode of self-destruction is less uniformly used than in Dinapore. The comparative exemption of the Central Provinces, in the neighbourhood of which much fine opium is grown, probably depends partly on a less general readiness to suicide, but there is reason to believe that many cases are not reported, and that suicide by opium is more common there than is shown by the returns.

I have been able to obtain no exact information regarding the North Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, but on the basis of the report of the Punjab Sanitary Commissioner, I found that hanging still accounts for the majority of cases 48.1 p. c., but drowning is more prominent in Lower Bengal 27.1 p.c. and poisoning less so 13.1 p.c. Females are more addicted to drowning and less so to poisoning and violence.

Turning to Madras, the returns for the town show a remarkable excess of cases of drowning, 78.1 per cent and a greater excess in this respect among females, 93.7 per cent. Hanging falls to 10 per cent and poisoning to 5.3 per cent and wounding to 4.8 per cent. These methods are much less frequent among females. The returns for the Presidency (for which I am indebted to T. K. Guthrie, Esq. Assistant I. G. Police, Madras) give evidence to the same effect but hanging shows a larger figure 29.5 per cent. Females are still more prone to drowning than men.

In the town of Bombay drowning is the most prominent item 48.5 per cent, poisoning comes next 31.5 percent, hanging gives only 7.1 per cent. The figures for the presidency are very similar to those of the Madras Presidency. Poison falls to 6.2 per cent and violent methods are in both cases less common than in the towns. Though incomplete, these fact are interesting as far as they go and illustrate the curious differences which obtain

in different parts of the country regarding methods of self-destruction.

I regret that I have been unable to collect informations regarding the races or castes most prone to suicide. Figures given in the report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for the year 1872 would indicate that the practice is more common in districts where the Hindoo element is predominant in the population.[1]

In Calcutta I find that the figures which Dr. Payne was good enough to give me indicate the following results : suicide among Mahomedans constitute 45.4 per million of population ; Hindus 85.4 and among other races 86.4. I would not build too much on figures of this kind, but the point is an important one and deserving of future study.[2]

---

[1] As regards class, the suicides were relatively as follows :—

Districts containing	less than 15 p.c. of Mohomedans		25.61 p. c.
,, ,,	from 15 to 30 p. c	..	29.46 p. c.
,, ,,	,, 30 to 45 p. c.	..	18.57 p. c.
,, ,,	,, 45 to 70 p. c.	..	16.56 p. c.
,, ,,	over 70 p. c.	..	21.77 p. c.

[2] In the five districts which are shown in table No. 4, the proportion of Hindus and Mahomedans are as follows :—

	Hindoo	Mahomedan
Puri	96.1	1.5
Cuttack	95.7	2.7
Nadia	45.3	54.3
Patna	87.5	12.4
Gaya	88.6	11.3

In Dacca, the proportions are Hindus 42. 8 and Mahomedans 56.7. Dr. Beatson's figures (loc cit) give Mahomedan suicides 51.2, Hindoo 48.8. In Mymensingh Mahomedans constitute 64.7 p. c. of the population and Hindoos 34.8 p. c. Assistant Surgeon G. D. Das Gupta's figures (loc cit) give proportions of Mahomedans 66.7 p. c. and Hindoos 33.7.

In Bankura, Hindoos constitute 92.6 p. c. of the population and Mahomedans 26. Mr. Vincent Richard's figures (loc cit) give ratios of Hindoos 96.2 and Mahomedan 3.8. He shows that the three castes of Teli, Goala and Tamil give proportions of 22.03, 11.86, 10.18 of the whole number, but the ratios of these castes in the population are not given. He states that none of his cases belonged to the Sonthal race of which there are a considerable number in the district.

I shall now proceed to discuss strongly the causes determining suicide in India. I shall consider them under the heads of physical and moral, the latter including religious and political as well as social and domestic influences.

1. *Climate & Season*

Dr. Winslow (op cit) said that, in England, suicides are more frequent in Spring and Summer than in Autumn and Winter. Out of 133 cases, 19 took place in April, 17 in June, 17 in August, 15 in July, 14 in October, 13 in May, 10 in March, 9 in November, 6 in September, 5 in January, 5 in February, 3 in December. Of the whole number 46 or 34.6 per cent took place in the six months, January, February, March, October, November, December, and 87 or 65.4 per cent in the six months from April to September. The result is a remarkable one, and contrary to what might have been anticipated. It was reasonable to suppose that the cold and gloom of winter would cause more physical distress and mental depression than the genial months of Spring, Summer, and early Autumn. But so it is. An elevated temperature appears to predispose people to self-destruction and the epidemics of suicide that have been recorded have almost invariably taken place in June and July.[1] It is curious that the statistics which I have been able to collect on the subject in this country point to the same conclusion. (See table no. 22). Statistics in the table no. 22 relate to the Province of Bengal, the North Western Province of Punjab and the Bombay Presidency. In Bengal 38.3 per cent of the suicides in 1877 occurred in the six cool months of the year, and 61.7 per cent in the hot months. In the North Western Province the results of 5 years, 1872-76 show 37.8 cases in the cool and 62.2 in the hot months; in the Punjab 38.5 and 61.5 respectively; and also in the Bombay Presidency, 47.5 in cool and 52.5 in hot months. These figures, recorded by numerous independent observers without any reference to this point, agree so closely that they unquestionably establish the influence of heat as a factor of suicide.[2] The

[1] H. Balfour Browne *The Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity* p. 159.

[2] See also, Mr. V. Richard's paper on The Influence of the Seasons on Suicide" in *Indian Medical Gazette* vol. xxi p. 90.

comparatively cool month of August also shows a lower figure than those preceding and succeeding it in all the series. The highest rates are in the hottest months—April May, and June. On this principle we might expect a higher number of suicides in hot years as compared with cool years, but on this point I have not any evidence to offer.

2. *Famine*

Famine constitutes another suicide-prone situation. Dr. W. R. Cornish, the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, has informed me that the number of deaths by suicide in Madras in 1877 was 2,575 against an average of 1,970 for the five preceding years. "The explanation of that increase is easy enough when we think of how many million were pinched for daily food." (Cornish).

3. *Physical Suffering*

Akin to the effect of famine in causing mental depression and stimulating to suicide is the influence of physical suffering caused by bodily pain or disease. On this point there is a great deal of evidence. The fever months of September and October might naturally be expected to yield an excess of cases, and the table (No. 22) shows this to be true as far as September is concerned. This month yields a uniformly higher rate than August which, I have pointed out, indicates a very low figure, but in October the increase of cases is not sustained.

More satisfactory evidence exists regarding other kinds of physical suffering, more particularly abdominal pain. According to Dr. Chevers (in his *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence*), *Sool Bedna* or colic pain is the common cause of suicide in Bengal, more particularly, among women. I have already shown in my Report 1870, p. 99 that "Abdominal disease has a peculiarly depressing effect in the Lower Provinces. Severe pain caused by bad rice, inflamed spleen, worms etc., is very often the evident motive of suicide."

Vincent Richards, Civil Servant, Bankura gave to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, November 1871 some interesting facts

from the post-mortem examinations made during the preceding ten years. These included 75 cases (42 female, 33 male) of suicide. In this connection Vincent Richards wrote : "Physical suffering in the great majority of cases referable to the intestines, is a very constant cause of self-murder ; of the 21 known cases, 19 or 90.48 per cent were suffering and the remaining 2 or 9.52 per cent, jealousy and distress consequent on litigation." On this point more striking evidence is furnished by Guru Dayal Das Gupta, Assistant Surgeon, Tangail in the district of Mymensingh, in the number of Indian Medical Gazette for July 1874. During 17 months he had examined 18 cases of undoubted suicidal hanging ; of these, one was a male and seventeen female. In only two cases did the age exceed 25 years and round worms were found in the intestines of 12. The Assistant Surgeon concludes his paper with the following remarks : "When the worms bring on much irritation, the nervous system becomes affected by reflex action, and so the sufferer turns feverish and low spiritted ; consequently, they can scarcely withstand a slight or trifling reprimand or any kind of correction from any one. To them these very insignificant causes turn so very painful that they immediately resolve to relieve themselves by commiting suicide ; and, as hanging is the mode of death generally preferred by suicides ; they take recourse to this mode of death."

There can be no doubt, I think, that these observations indicate a very common predisposing cause and frequent exciting cause of self destruction. It is obvious that the more life is surrounded by risks, the less hesitation, scruple will there be among those so inclined voluntarily to put an end to it. Any measures tending to improve public health and increase the value of life must therefore possess a strong influence in preventing suicide.

4. *Leper Burial*

In this connection, I may briefly allude to a remarkable practice of self-destruction on acc. of physical suffering which at one time was very common in this country and still lingers in some parts of India. I allude to *Sumajh* or the burying alive of lepers. This crime was rather an instance of murder than

suicide ; because the deprivation of life was caused by others ; but the deed was always committed really or ostensibly at the earnest solicitation of the victim of the loathsome, painful and incurable malady of leprosy. The criminal history of India abounds in narratives of the commission of this singular crime. The practice was resorted to by both Mahomedans and Hindu and it was found necessary to enact special laws for its prevention. Macnaughten's, *Reports*, *Beauforts' Digests* and Chever's *Medical Juris*. contain numerous instances of its commission under a variety of circumstances. As recently as April 1868 the Agent of the Governor General for Rajputana found it necessary to invite the special attention of the Government of India to the prevalence of the crimes in Kashmir and some of the Rajputana Native States. Here is the Agent's account of the manner of the crime :

"A poor suffering wretch—influenced perhaps by priests, by relatives glad to get rid of him, and by consciousness of his own noxious condition—expresses a desire to bury himself alive. The relatives for two or three days remonstrate and endeavour to dissuade ; but he is firm ; some of the nearest relatives then get up a procession, dig a pit ; the doomed man voluntarily enters it, his friends heap up and beat down the soil, and the whole of the villagers witness the sacrifice. A few days subsequently the mob visits the afflicted house, opium water is drunk and the taint is removed. The rite, inhuman as it is, seems to have been long practised ; nothing is hidden or denied, those concerned saying that it is the established custom of the country". In the Indian Medical Gazette for Oct. 1875 an instance of *Sumajh* is related as having occurred in Sept. 1874.

5. *Insanity and disease of the brain* are a well established cause of self-murder. Indeed, some go so far as to consider suicide of itself an insane act and an evidence of insanity. The relation of insanity to suicide are numerous and delicate, but I shall content myself with simply stating that, when the act is not probably consequent upon an insane delusion, a general state of mental depression or melancholy or an uncontrollable inpulse—when there exists a palpable cause or motive impelling the individual to make choice of the alternative of self-destruction as a

means of escaping real suffering or anoyance, of avoiding positive distress or trouble—then self-murder is not an act of insanity, however foolish or unreasonable it may appear, or however apparently trival the immediate stimulus to its perpetration.

Dr. Taylor in his *Principles & Practice of Medical Juris*

Dr. Taylor in his *Principles & Practice of Medical Juris.* (1865 p. 1038) states: "The law of England very properly treates suicide as a felony; those who have attempted and failed in its perpetration, are held to be sane and responsible agents, unless there should be clear evidence of their (intellectual) insanity from other circumstances, and it is certain that the evidence required to establish this must be much stronger than that sometimes admitted in cases of homicide." Indian practice, is to the same effect, and there is no evidence to show that insanity is a frequent cause of suicide in this country.

6. *Intoxicating Drugs*,

In England the use of alcohol is responsible for a very large proportion of the cases of suicide which occur, both on acc. of its direct influence, and the poverty, misery, social ruin and domestic unhappiness which the vice of drunkeness entails. In this country the vice of drinking is fortunately less prevalent; but other intoxicants, more particularly opium and Indian hemp, are largely in use. I have no facts to show whether either or both of these predispose to suicide. The intoxication produced is not of suicidal kind; but in the case of opium it is very likely that its use as an article of habitual consumption may, and does often suggest its use as an agent of suicide, for the line of demarcation between the intoxicating dose and the poisonous dose is not a broad one. This supposition is rendered probable by the fact that in China, where suicide is very common and the habitual use of opium as an intoxicant is also very common, the drug is the principle means by which self-destruction is perpetrated; hanging and drowning coming next in frequency.[1] Behar and some parts of the N. W. Provinces where opium is grown, and no doubt consumed largely, imitate China closely as regards suicide.

[1] Henry Gray (Archdeaon of Hongkong): *China; A history of the laws, manners, and customs of the people* ch. xiii p. 329.

I now come to the second division of causes, namely, the moral, and I propose to make a few remarks on religious, political, social and domestic influences.

1. *Religion*

It has been alleged by statistists that the practice of suicide is less common in Catholic countries, where the belief in the truth of religion and the efficiency of its offices is more rigid and vivid, than in Protestant countries where religious convictions are not so general and deep and religious influences not so binding.[1]

In this country I am assured by two learned members of this Association that the religions of both Mahomedans and Hindoos affirm and support the maxim, that self-murder is an offence against religion, law and nature.[2] I doubt, however, whether the sanctity of the present life and of the human frames as its embodiment, and the certainty of its voluntary destruction entailing future punishment and misery are so emphatically laid down in either religion as by the precepts of the Christian Church. There is, however, another attitude of religion which is favourable to the suicidal idea. I allude to the elements of asceticism and sacrifice which have a place in all religions and which are apt in debased states of religions to assert too prominent a position.

2. *Politiacl Infuences*

How far positive legal enactment is capable of repressing the practice?

In England self-murder is in the eye of the law a felony, and the voice of law is seconded and sustained by strong religious and social prejudices. Still, the number of suicides there is large. Mahomedan law and the Penal Code prescribe severe penalties for aiding or abetting its commission. Restrictions upon the sale of poison desired.

[1] *Casper—Denkwurdig Keiten Zur Medicinischen Statistik* Berlin 1846.

[2] Abdool Luteef, Rev. K. M. Banerjee.

3. *Social Influences*

Firstly, the practice of *Dhurna* or self-starvation at the enemy's door is one form of suicide. Brahmins took advantage of the personal sanctity popularly attributed to themselves and their relatives, and frequently committed self-mutilation or murder, or killed their female relatives with a view to throw the responsibility of the act upon others. So common were those occurrences that a repressive enactment was passed by Govt., and this undoubtedly had a material influence is abolishing such crimes. Secondly, the survival of the *Sati* feeling in the country. Thirdly, the social position of women. Fourthly, severe rules of caste. Colonel Pugh in his Report for 1872 accounts for the number of female suicides in Orissa partly by the "fact that there are many outcaste women to be found in all parts of the country who saved their lives during the famine at the expense of their caste by taking food at the relief centres and who are now known *chattar khāi*. These unhappy creatures are kept now by one man and now by another, and when all else fails, they commit suicide." "Many young widows also", he adds, "who are not allowed to re-marry have recourse to the same means of putting an end to their cheerless life. The insufficiency of the motive in many cases shows how ready the natives of Orissa are to commit suicide."
4. On the subject of domestic influences I may say that the immediate motive to suicide is no doubt in most cases of a domestic kind a quarrel, slight, some petty annoyance, grief, shame, jealousy or the like. But I think that the real causes of suicide are to be looked for in those more general social conditions and influences rather than in the petty annoyances which constitute the last and most apparent stimulus to the deed.

I am afraid that you will consider the picture which I have drawn a dark one, too dark; the subject is a dark one, and, I have been compelled to seek out, social shadows on account for a particular social blot. I am free to admit that the social weaknesses which I have enumerated are exceptional, and by no means constitute a social rule, but it is none the less duty of an Association constituted as we are for purposes of social reform to dwell upon facts indicating social defects and to consider how

they can best be remedied. I shall leave the question of remedy in your hands; but it appears to me that it must lie on the following lines, namely :

1. Efforts to improve the *value of life.*

2. To purify and refine the religious and moral sense.

3. To educate the intellect and enhance the usefulness of existence, so that it may become settled conviction that the very worst solution of the problem of life, is its destruction; and

4. Specially and prominently, to raise the social value and status of women, by education, by a judicious cultivation of the intellect, and by a gradual social emancipation as she becomes more and more fitted by these means to assume a more independent and substantial place in the social organisation.

3. *Social Influences*

Firstly, the practice of *Dhurna* or self-starvation at the enemy's door is one form of suicide. Brahmins took advantage of the personal sanctity popularly attributed to themselves and their relatives, and frequently committed self-mutilation or murder, or killed their female relatives with a view to throw the responsibility of the act upon others. So common were those occurrences that a repressive enactment was passed by Govt., and this undoubtedly had a material influence is abolishing such crimes. Secondly, the survival of the *Sati* feeling in the country. Thirdly, the social position of women. Fourthly, severe rules of caste. Colonel Pugh in his Report for 1872 accounts for the number of female suicides in Orissa partly by the "fact that there are many outcaste women to be found in all parts of the country who saved their lives during the famine at the expense of their caste by taking food at the relief centres and who are now known *chattar khāi*. These unhappy creatures are kept now by one man and now by another, and when all else fails, they commit suicide." "Many young widows also", he adds, "who are not allowed to re-marry have recourse to the same means of putting an end to their cheerless life. The insufficiency of the motive in many cases shows how ready the natives of Orissa are to commit suicide."

4. On the subject of domestic influences I may say that the immediate motive to suicide is no doubt in most cases of a domestic kind a quarrel, slight, some petty annoyance, grief, shame, jealousy or the like. But I think that the real causes of suicide are to be looked for in those more general social conditions and influences rather than in the petty annoyances which constitute the last and most apparent stimulus to the deed.

I am afraid that you will consider the picture which I have drawn a dark one, too dark; the subject is a dark one, and, I have been compelled to seek out, social shadows on account for a particular social blot. I am free to admit that the social weaknesses which I have enumerated are exceptional, and by no means constitute a social rule, but it is none the less duty of an Association constituted as we are for purposes of social reform to dwell upon facts indicating social defects and to consider how

they can best be remedied. I shall leave the question of remedy in your hands; but it appears to me that it must lie on the following lines, namely :

1. Efforts to improve the value of life.

2. To purify and refine the religious and moral sense.

3. To educate the intellect and enhance the usefulness of existence, so that it may become settled conviction that the very worst solution of the problem of life, is its destruction ; and

4. Specially and prominently, to raise the social value and status of women, by education, by a judicious cultivation of the intellect, and by a gradual social emancipation as she becomes more and more fitted by these means to assume a more independent and substantial place in the social organisation.

Number of deaths by Suicide in England and Wales during the years 1871—75

Table—A

Year	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per millions of Population M	Per millions of Population F	Per millions of Population T
1871	11,093,123	11,689,689	22,782,812	1103	392	1495	99.4	33.5	65.6
1872	11,239,339	11,836,496	23,067,835	1095	419	1514	97.5	35.4	65.6
1873	11,371,273	11,985,141	23,356,414	1129	389	1518	99.3	32.4	65.0
1874	11,512,956	12,135,653	23,648,609	1204	388	1592	104	32	67.4
1875	11,656,400	12,288,059	23,944,459	1184	417	1601	102	33.9	66.8
Total	56,865,091	59,935,038	116,800,129	5715	2005	7720	} 100.5	33.4	66.2
Means	11,373,018	11,987,007	23,360,025	1143	401	1544			
Percentages	48.7	51.3	100	74	26	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	105	—	100	35.1	—	100	33.2	—

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Town of London during the years 1871—75

Table—B

Year	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per millions of Population M	Per millions of Population F	Per millions of Population T
1971	1,529,183	1,734,307	3,263,390	207	86	293	135	49.5	89.8
1872	1,551,140	1,760,158	3,311,298	196	74	270	126	42	81.5
1873	1,572,035	1,784,038	3,356,073	211	66	277	134	36.9	82.5
1874	1,591,692	1,809,009	3,400,701	189	68	257	119	37.6	75.5
1875	1,612,501	1,832,659	3,445,160	199	98	297	123	53.4	86.1
Total	7,856,551	8,920,071	16,776,622	1002	392	1394			
Means	1,571,310	1,784,014	3,355,324				127	43.9	82.8
Percentages	46.8	53.2	100	200.4	78.4	278.8			
100 males to				71.8	28.2	100	—	—	—
females	100	114	—	100	39.3	—	100	34.6	—

Table 1

Number of deaths by Suicides in the Town of Calcutta during the years 1872—76

Year	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per millions of Population M	Per millions of Population F	Per millions of Population T
1872	299,857	147,744	447,601	17	15	32	56.7	101.5	71.5
1873	299,857	147,744	447,601	18	8	26	60.3	54.2	58.1
1874	299,857	147,744	447,601	22	13	35	73.4	88.0	78.2
1875	299,857	147,744	447,601	21	22	43	70.0	149.0	96.1
1876	282,506	147,029	429,535	17	19	36	60.1	129.2	83.9
Total	1,481,934	738,005	2,219,939	95	77	172	64.2	104.4	77.6
Means	296,387	147,601	443,988	19	15.4	34.4			
Percentages	66.7	33.3	100	55.2	44.8	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	50	—	100	81	—	100	163	—

Mean death rate, 29.8 per 1000

Table 2

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Province of Bengal during the years 1872—76

Year	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per million of Population M	Per million of Population F	Per million of Population T
1872	29,870,216	30,080,300	59,950,516	532	883	1415	17.8	29.3	23.6
1873	29,715,313	29,972,091	59,687,404	614	1028	1642	20.7	34.3	27.4
1874	29,868,042	30,078,272	59,946,314	838	1311	2149	28.1	43.6	35.8
1875	29,868,042	30,078,272	59,946,314	738	1249	1987	24.7	41.5	31.5
1876	29,867,067	30,077,432	59,944,499	841	1342	2183	28.2	44.6	36.4
Total	149,188,680	150,286,367	299,475,047	3563	5813	9376	23.9	38.7	31.3
Means	29,837,736	30,057,273	59,895,009	712.6	1162.6	1875.2			
Percentages	49.85	50.15	100	38	62	100	—	—	—
Females to 100 males	100	100. 7	—	100	163	—	100	162	—

Mean death rate 9.7 per 1000

Table 3

Number of deaths by Suicide in selected areas in the Province of Bengal during the years 1872—76

Year	Areas	Population			Suicides			Per million of Population		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	Urban	477,686	318,505	796,191	24	21	45	53.6	65.9	66.5
1872	Rural	3,813,580	3,843,668	7,657,248	97	162	259	25.4	42.2	33.8
	Total	4,291,266	4,162,173	8,453,439	121	183	304	28.2	44.0	36.0
	Urban	621,906	548,367	1,170,273	41	31	72	65.9	63.5	61.5
1873	Rural	750,175	742,135	1,492,310	22	37	59	29.3	49.8	39.5
	Total	1,372,081	1,290,502	2,662,583	63	68	131	45.9	52.4	49.3
	Urban	672,270	607,222	1,279,492	34	42	76	50.6	69.2	59.5
1874	Rural	703,342	703,594	1,406,936	23	49	72	37.7	69.7	51.4
	Total	1,375,612	1,310,816	2,686,428	57	91	148	41.4	69.5	55.2
	Urban	673,976	609,987	1,283,963	44	51	95	65.3	83.6	74.1
1875	Rural	704,189	699,924	1,404,113	30	47	77	42.6	67.1	54.7
	Total	1,378,165	1,309,911	2,688,076	74	98	172	53.7	74.8	64.0
	Urban	1,028,858	973,675	2,002,533	60	60	120	58.4	61.6	59.9
1876	Rural	2,435,146	2,442,850	4,877,996	74	161	235	30.4	65.9	48.2
	Total	3,464,004	3,416,525	6,880,529	134	221	355	38.7	64.6	51.6
Total	Urban	3,474,696	3,057,756	6,532,452	203	215	408	58.5	67.0	62.4
Total	Rural	8,406,432	8,432,171	16,838,603	246	456	702	29.3	54.1	41.7
Grand Total		11,881,128	11,489,927	23,371,055	449	661	1110	37.8	57.5	47.5
Percentages		50.8	49.2	—	40.4	59.6	—	—	—	—
100 males to females		100	97	—	100	147	—	100	152	—

Table 4

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Province of Bengal during the years 1872—76

Area	Population (selected areas average of five years) M	F	T	Suicides (average of five years) M	F	T	Per million of Population M	F	T
Pooree	120,964	117,397	238,361	8.8	15.2	25	72.8	128.1	100.7
Cuttack	179,802	188,871	368,673	9.8	21.6	31.4	54.6	114.4	85.2
Nuddea	201,830	215,178	417,008	11	18.6	29.6	54.5	86.5	71
Patna	248,399	259,688	508,087	7.6	21.2	28.8	30.6	81.7	56.7
Gya	347,483	357,777	705,260	8	26.8	34.8	23	77.5	49.5
Total	1,098,478	1,138,911	2,237,389	45.2	103.4	148.6	} 42.2	90.7	66.4
Means	219,695	227,782	447,447	9	20.7	29.7			
Percentage	49.1	50.9	100	30.4	69.6	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	104	—	100	230	—	100	220	—

Table 5

Number of deaths by Suicide in the North Western Provinces during the years 1872—76

Year	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per million of Population M	Per million of Population F	Per million of Population T
1872				480	856	1336	29.2	59.6	43.4
1873				491	1044	1535	29.9	72.7	49.8
1874	16,406,833	14,362,223	30,760,056	425	1086	1511	25.9	75.6	49.2
1875				456	1109	1565	27.8	77.2	50.9
1876				429	1039	1468	26.1	72.3	47.7
Total	—	—	—	2281	5134	7415			
Means	16,406,833	14,362,223	30,769,056	456.2	1026.8	1483	27.8	71.6	48.2
Percentages	53.3	46.7	100	30.8	69.2	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	87.5	—	100	225	—	100	258	—

Mean death rate 22.5 per 1000

Table 6

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the North Western Provinces during the years 1872—76

Area	Population			Suicides (average of 5 years)			Per million of Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Shajehanpur	511,136	438,335	949,471	37.4	104.4	141.8	73.2	238	149
Furruckabad	499,722	419,026	918,748	24.6	63.8	88.4	49.3	152	96.2
Azamgarh	826,445	705,265	1,531,410	14	62.2	76.2	16.9	88.2	49.8
Budaon	503,619	430,729	934,348	17.6	42.4	60	34.9	98.4	64.2
Jhansi	167,519	150,216	317,735	16.8	51.8	68.6	100	345	21.6
Total	2,508,141	2,143,571	4,651,712	110.4	324.6	435	} 44.1	15.1	93.5
Means	501,628	428,714	930,342	22.1	64.9	87			
Percentage	53.9	46.1	100	25.4	74.6	100			
100 males to females	100	85	—	100	294	—	100	343	—

Table 7

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Province of Punjab during the years 1872—76

Year	Population			Suicides			Per million of Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1872				103	124	227	10.8	15.5	129
1873	9,509,902	7,977,223	17,487,125	115	143	258	12.1	17.9	14.7
1874				116	134	250	12.2	16.8	14.3
1875				90	102	192	9.5	12.8	11
1876				87	102	189	9.1	12.8	10.8
Total	—	—	—	511	605	1116	107	15.2	12.7
Means	9,509,902	7,977,223	17,487,125	102.2	121	223.2			
Percentages	54.3	45.7	100	45.8	54.2	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	84	—	100	118	—	100	142	—

Mean death rate 23 per 1000

Table 8

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Province of Punjab during the years 1872—76

District	Population (annual average)			Suicides (average of five years)			Per million of Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Goorgaon	370,251	326,395	696,646	5.6	15.8	21.4	15.1	48.6	30.7
Jullundhar	429,187	353,833	783,020	7.4	12	19.4	17.2	33.9	24.8
Hushiarpur	504,393	434,497	938,890	7.8	13	20.8	15.5	29.9	22.2
Kangra	393,460	350,298	743,758	11.6	16.4	28	29.5	46.9	37.7
Delhi	326,306	282,544	608,850	7.6	5.6	13.2	23.3	19.8	21.7
Total	2,023,597	1,747,567	3,771,164	40	62.8	102.8	19.8	36	27.3
Means	404,719	349,513	754,232	8	12.6	21.6			
Percentages	53.7	46.3	100	38.9	61.1	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	86.1	—	100	157	—	100	182	—

Table 9

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Province of Oudh during the years 1872—76

Years	Population			Suicides			Per million of Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1872	5,789,878	5,395,479	11,185,357	188	280	468	32.5	51.9	41.8
1873	5,789,878	5,395,479	11,185,357	196	313	509	33.9	58.1	45.5
1874	5,784,495	5,390,290	11,174,785	238	398	636	41.1	73.9	56.9
1875	5,796,697	5,376,841	11,173,538	229	442	671	39.5	82.2	60.1
1876	6,202,466	5,753,219	11,955,685	259	373	632	41.7	64.9	52.8
Total	29,363,414	27,311,308	56,674,722	1110	1806	2916	37.8	66.1	51.4
Means	5,872,683	5,462,261	11,334,944	222	361	583			
Percentages	51.8	48.2	100	38	62	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	93	—	100	163	—	100	175	—

Mean death rate 15.2 per 1000

Table 10

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Province of Oudh during the years 1872—76

Area	Population (annual average)			Suicides (average of 5 years)			Per million of Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Lucknow	416,960	372,505	789,465	15.2	26.2	41.4	36.5	70.3	52.4
Unao	483,686	462,269	945,955	28	40.8	68.8	57.9	88.2	72.7
Barabumki	566,190	535,975	1,102,165	25.2	36.8	62	44.5	68.7	56.2
Hurdui	500,944	340,523	941,517	33.6	54.4	88	67.1	159.8	93.5
Sultanpur	505,591	490,865	996,456	16	38.6	54.6	31.6	78.7	54.8
Total	2,473,421	2,202,137	4,675,558	118.0	196.8	314.8	47.8	89	67.2
Means	494,684	440,427	935,111	23.6	39.3	62.9			
Percentages	52.9	47.1	100	37.5	62.5	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	89	—	100	167	—	100	186	—

Table 11

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Central Provinces during the years 1872—76

Years	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per million of Population M	Per million of Population F	Per million of Population T
1872	3,736,605	3,529,768	7,266,373	202	241	443	54.1	68.5	61
1873	3,777,027	3,649,577	7,426,604	234	236	470	62	64.7	63.3
1874	3,779,512	3,648,096	7,427,608	259	265	524	68.5	72.7	70.6
1875	3,769,821	3,638,253	7,408,074	259	314	573	68.7	86.3	77.4
1876	3,769,821	3,638,253	7,408,074	258	340	598	68.4	93.5	80.7
Total	18,832,786	18,103,947	36,936,733	1212	1396	2608	64.2	77.1	70.5
Means	3,766,557	3,620,789	7,387,346	242	279	521			
Percentages	51	49	100	46.5	53.5	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	96	—	100	115	—	160	120	—

Mean death rate 24.7 per 1000

Table 12

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Central Provinces for the five years 1872—76

	Population (annual average)			Suicides (average of 5 years)			Per million of Population		
Area	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Damoh	141,566	131,272	272,838	14.2	20.4	34.6	99.2	155.5	126.8
Nagpur	324,241	310,514	634,755	29.4	48.2	77.6	90.7	155.2	122.2
Sagar	276,874	244,985	521,859	20.8	27	47.8	75.2	110.1	91.7
Bhandara	284,571	288,821	573,392	19.6	26	45.6	68.9	90	79.5
Nursingpur	175,517	163,358	338,875	12.8	11.8	24.6	72.9	72.2	72.5
Total	1,202,769	1,138,950	2,341,719	96.8	133.4	230.2	80.4	117.2	98.4
Means	240,554	227,790	468,344	19.3	26.7	46			
Percentages	51.4	48.6	100	42.1	57.9	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	94.5	—	100	137	—	100	146	—

Table 13

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Town of Madras during the 5 years 1872—76

Years	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per million of Population M	Per million of Population F	Per million of Population T
1872	194,676	202,876	307,552	16	14	30	82.1	69.1	75.4
1873	194,676	202,876	307,552	9	17	26	46.2	83.9	65.4
1874	194,676	202,876	307,552	23	16	39	118.1	79	98.1
1875	194,676	202,876	307,552	20	23	43	116.6	113.5	108.1
1876	194,676	202,876	307,552	25	24	49	128.4	118.4	123.1
Total	973,380	1,014,380	1,987,760	93	94	187	95.5	92.8	94
Means	194,676	202,876	397,552	18.6	18.8	37.4			
Percentages	48.9	51.1	100	49.8	50.2	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	104	—	100	101	—	100	97	—

Mean death rate 36.7 per 1000

Table 14

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Presidency of Madras during the 5 years 1872—76

Years	Population M	Population F	Population T	Suicides M	Suicides F	Suicides T	Per million of Population M	Per million of Population F	Per million of Population T
1872	15,138,044	15,009,735	30,147,779	1,182	1,184	2,366	78.3	78.8	78.5
1873	15,221,097	15,066,763	30,287,842	988	1,089	2,077	64.1	72.3	68.6
1874	15,265,461	15,053,781	30,319,242	879	1,010	1,880	56.9	67.1	62.1
1875	15,198,449	15,100,454	30,298,903	846	970	1,816	55.7	64.2	60
1876	14,634,704	14,522,352	29,157,056	843	872	1,715	57.6	60	58.8
Total	75,457,737	74,753,085	150,290,822	4,729	5,125	9,854			
Means	15,091,547	14,950,617	30,042,164	945.8	1,025	1970.8	} 62.6	68.5	65.6
Percentages	50.1	49.9	100	48	52	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	99.6	—	100	108	—	100	109	—

Mean death rate 19.1 per 1000

Table 15

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Presidency of Madras during 1872—76

Area	Population (annual average) M	F	T	Suicides (average of M	F	T	Per million of Population M	F	T
Vizagapatam	777,223	742,200	1,519,423	8.3	76	159	106.7	102.4	104.5
Kistna	737,319	714,747	1,452,066	70.8	87.8	158.6	96	122.8	109.3
Godavery	803,326	789,127	1,592,453	68.2	81	149.2	85.1	102.6	93.6
Nellore	707,222	669,261	1,376,483	49	66.6	115.6	69.3	99	83.5
Tinivelly	836,332	857,297	1,693,629	59	78.4	137.4	70.6	90.6	81.1
Total	3,861,422	3,772,632	7,634,054	330.0	389.8	719.8	85.5	103.2	93.7
Means	772,284	754,526	1,526,810	66	77.9	143.9	—	—	—
Percentages	50.5	49.5	100	45.9	54.1	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	97.8	—	100	118	—	101	100	—

Table 16

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Town of Bombay during the years 1872—76

	Population			Suicides			Per million of Population		
Years	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1872				37	20	57	92.6	81.7	88.5
1873				21	26	47	52.5	106.2	73
1874	399,716	244,689	644,405	44	19	63	110.1	77.7	97.9
1875				42	22	64	105.1	89.9	99.3
1876				37	22	59	92.6	89.9	91.6
Total	1,998,580	1,223,445	3,222,025	181	109	290			
Means	399,716	244,689	644,405	36	22	58	90.1	89.9	90.1
Percentages	62.1	37,9	100	62.4	37.6	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	61	—	100	60	—	100	99.7	—

Mean death rate 27.2 per 1000

Table 17

Number of deaths by Suicide in the Presidency of Bombay during the years 1872—76

	Population			Suicides			Per million of Population		
Years	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1872	8,457,972	7,723,769	16,181,741	337	429	766	39.9	55.6	47.3
1873				340	466	806	40.2	60.4	49.8
1874				360	408	768	42.6	52.8	47.4
1875				389	432	821	46	55.9	50.7
1876				320	453	773	37.8	58.7	47.8
Total	42,289,860	38,618,845	80,908,705	1409	1759	3168	41.7	56.9	49
Means	8,457,972	7,723,769	18,181,741	352.2	439.8	792			
Percentages	52.3	47.7	100	44.4	55.6	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	91	—	100	125	—	100	136	—

Mean death rate 208 per 1000

Table 18

Number of deaths by Suicide in some selected districts of the Presidency of Bombay for the years 1872—76

	Population (Annual average)			Suicides (average of 5 years)			Per million of Population		
Area	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Dharwar	506,023	482,014	988,037	42.2	56.2	98.4	83.4	116.6	99.6
Kaladgi	417,398	398,399	815,797	31.4	38.4	69.8	75.2	96.2	76.3
Belgaum	478,903	459,847	938,750	32	45.2	77.2	66.9	98.3	82.2
Kanara	206,417	191,989	398,406	13.8	21	34.8	66.8	109.4	87.4
Satara	539,356	521,646	1,061,002	21.2	36	57.2	39.3	69	53.9
Total	2,148,097	2,053,895	4,201,992	140.6	196.8	337.4	65.1	96	80.2
Means	429,619	410,779	840,398	28	39.4	67.4			
Percentages	51.2	48.8	100	41.7	58.3	100	—	—	—
100 males to females	100	95	—	100	140	—	100	147	—

Table 19

Number of deaths by Suicide in the British Army during the years 1869—73

	Strength				Suicides				Per million of strength			
Years	Home	Colonial	Indian	Total	H	C	I	T	H	C	I	Total
1869	70,831	32,011	55,988	158,830	25	17	43	85	353	531	768	536
1870	70,166	28,308	54,583	153,057	18	13	22	53	257	459	403	346
1871	79,013	19,891	54,974	153,878	24	7	35	66	304	352	637	429
1872	85,722	19,108	59,248	164,078	15	5	34	54	175	262	574	329
1873	77,533	18,835	59,327	156,695	22	4	30	56	284	201	507	358
Total	383,265	119,153	284,120	786,538	104	46	164	314	271	385	577	399
Means	76,653	23,830	56,824	157,307	20.8	9.2	32.8	62.8				

Table 20

Summary of Tables A, B and Tables 1 to 19

Locality	Ratio per million of Population					Locality					
	M	F	T	M	F		M	F	T	M	F
England and Wales	100.5	33.4	66.2	100	33.2	Do selected districts	19.8	36.0	27.3	100	182
London	127.0	43.9	82.8	100	34.6	Oudh	37.8	66.1	51.4	100	175
Calcutta	64.2	104.4	77.6	100	163	Do selected districts	47.8	89.0	67.2	100	186
Province of Bengal	23.9	38.7	31.3	100	162	Central Provinces	64.2	77.1	70.5	100	120
Do selected areas	37.8	57.5	47.5	100	152	De selected districts	80.4	117.2	98.4	100	146
Do elected districts	41.2	90.7	66.4	100	220	Town of Madras	95.5	92.8	94.0	100	97
N. W. Provinces	27.8	71.6	48.2	100	258	Madras Presidency	62.6	68.5	65.6	100	109
Do selected districts	43.8	151.2	93.5	100	345	Do selected districts	85.5	103.2	93.7	100	121
Punjab	10.7	15.2	12.7	100	142	Town of Bombay	90.1	89.9	90.1	100	99.7
						Bombay Presidency	41.7	56.9	49.0	100	136
						Do selected districts	65.1	96	80.2	100	147

Table 21

Modes of Committing Suicide

Locality / nber of years / de of com- ting suicide	London 2 years 1874-1875 Annual Number			Percentages			England & Wales 2 years (1874-1875 Annual Number			Percentages			British Army 5 years 1862-73 Annual Number	Percentages
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Gun shot	17	0	17	8.0	0	6.2	81	1	82	8.2	.2	5.9	33.4	53.2
Wound	49	19	68	25.6	23.5	25	277	73	350	28	18.2	25.1	12.6	20.1
Poison	21	14	35	11.1	17.3	12.9	89	62	151	9	15.5	10.8	4	6.4
Drawning	32	22	54	16.7	27.2	19.9	182	124	306	18.4	30.9	22	6.6	10.5
Hanging	54	19	73	28.3	23.5	26.8	272	114	386	27.4	28.4	27.8	3.6	5.7
Otherwise	18	17	35	9.4	8.5	9.2	89	27	116	9	6.8	8.4	2.6	4.1
Total	191	81	272	100	100	100	990	401	1391	100	100	100	62.8	100

No. 21 (Cont.)

Modes of Committing Suicide

Locality	Calcutta						Madras						Bombay					
Number of years	5 years (1872-76)						5 years (1872-76)						5 years (1872-76)					
Mode of committing Suicide	Annual Number			Percentages			Annual Number			Percentages			Annual Number			Percentages		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Gunshot	1.2	—	1.2	6.3	—	3.5	0.6	—	0.6	3.2	—	1.6			1.0			1.6
2. Wounding	1.6	0.4	2.0	8.4	2.6	5.8	1.8	—	1.8	9.7	—	4.8			4.4			7.1
3. Poison	8.6	6.6	15.2	45.3	42.9	44.2	1.6	0.4	2.0	8.6	2.1	5.3	Information	Not available	19.4	Information	Not available	31.5
4. Drowning	1.4	0.4	1.8	7.4	2.6	5.2	11.6	17.6	29.2	62.4	93.7	78.1			29.8			48.5
5. Hanging	6.2	8.0	14.2	32.6	51.9	41.3	—	—	—	—	—	—			4.4			7.1
6. Otherwise	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.0	0.8	3.8	16.4	4.2	10.1			2.6			4.2
	19.0	15.4	34.4	100	100	100	18.6	18.8	37.4	100	100	100			61.6			00

No. 21 (Cont.)

Modes of Committing Suicide

Locality	Province of Punjab						Madras Presidency						Bombay Presidency					
umber of years	2 years (1872.1876)						4 years (1872-76)						4 years (1873-76)					
ode of Commit-ing Suicide	Annual Number			Percentages			Annual Number			Percentages			Annual Number			Pereentage		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
unshot	3.0	0.0	3.0	3.2	0.0	1.4	31.2	2.0	33.2	4.9	0.2	2.1	25.0	5.0	30.0	7.1	1.1	3.8
ounding	2.5	2	4.5	2.6	1.8	2.2												
oison	17.5	9.5	27.0	18.4	8.4	13.3	16.8	24.6	41.4	2.6	2,6	2.6	32.0	16.0	48.0	9.1	3.7	6.2
rowning	16.5	40.0	56.5	17.4	35.4	27.1	282.0	756.6	1038.6	44.3	79.1	65.2	160.0	328.0	488.0	45.6	76.7	62.7
anging	47.5	52.5	100.0	50.0	46.4	48.1	299.6	171.0	470.6	47.1	17.9	29.5	134.0	79.0	213.0	38.2	18.5	27.3
therwise	8.0	9.0	17.0	8.4	8.0	8.2	7.4	2.4	9.8	1.1	0:3	0.6	—	—	—	—	—	—
otal	95.0	113.0	208.0	100	100	100	637.0	956.6	1593.6	100	100	100	351.0	428.0	779.0	100	100	100

Table 22

Suicide according to season

Place	Province of Bengal						N. W. Provinces					
No of years	Year 1877						5 years (1872-76)					
Months	Number			Percentages			Number			Percentages		
	M	F	T	M	F	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.
January	Information	Not available	107	Information	Not available	4.7	123	205	328	5.4	4.0	4.5
February			133			5.8	96	207	303	4.2	4.1	4.1
March			210			9.2	173	396	569	7.6	7.8	7.7
April			233			10.2	246	560	806	10.9	11.0	11.0
May			258			11.2	197	507	704	8.7	10.0	9.6
June			272			10.9	226	581	807	10.0	11.4	11.0
July			253			11.0	205	531	736	9.1	10.4	10.0
August			171			7.5	197	524	721	8.7	10.3	9.8
September			208			9.0	269	535	804	11.9	10.5	10.9
October			172			7.5	224	450	674	9.9	8.8	9.2
November			160			7.0	182	320	502	8.1	6.3	6.8
December			114			5.0	125	276	401	5.5	5.4	5.4
Total			2291			100	2263	5072	7355	100	100	100
Monthly Means			191			8.3	189	424	613	8.3	8.3	8.3
Jan, Feb, March, Oct, Nov, December			876			38.3	923	1854	2777	40.3	36.4	37.8
April, May, June, July, Aug, Sept.			1415			61.7	1340	3238	4578	59.7	63.6	62.2

Suicide according to Season

Locality	Province of Punjab						Bombay Presidency					
No of years	5 years (1872-76)						3 years (1873-74-75)					
Months	Number			Percentages			Number			Percentages		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
January	23	32	55	5.4	5.5	5.5	83	88	171	7.7	6.7	7.2
February	23	24	47	4.6	4.1	4.4	83	110	193	7.7	8.5	8.1
March	48	50	98	9.7	10.1	9.9	82	109	191	7.6	8.4	8.0
April	55	52	107	11.1	8.9	9.9	115	105	220	10.6	8.1	9.2
May	62	68	130	12.5	11.6	12.0	105	128	233	9.7	9.8	9.8
June	47	75	122	9.5	12.9	11.3	91	109	200	8.4	8.4	8.4
July	51	55	106	10.3	9.4	9.8	92	113	205	8.5	8.7	8.6
August	50	48	98	10.1	8.2	9.1	75	106	181	6.9	8.2	7.6
September	49	52	101	9.9	8.9	9.3	102	111	213	9.4	8.5	8.9
October	42	54	96	8.5	9.3	8.9	80	128	208	7.4	9.8	8.7
November	23	37	60	4.6	6.3	5.9	87	112	199	8.0	8.6	8.4
December	19	28	47	3.8	4.8	4.3	87	82	169	8.1	6.3	7.1
Total	496	584	1080	100	100	100	1082	1301	2383	100	100	100
Monthly Means	41	49	90	8.3	8.3	8.3	90	108	198	8.3	8.3	8.3
Jan., Feb., March, Oct., Nov., Dec.	182	234	416	36.7	40.1	38.5	502	629	1131	46.4	48.9	47.5
April, May, June, July, Aug., Sept.	314	350	664	63.3	59.9	61.6	582	671	1252	53.6	51.6	52.5

Discussion on the Paper of Dr. McLeod :
Rev. K. M. Banerjee :

I think every one will confess that we are under deep obligations to Dr. McLeod for the very learned and comprehensive discourse on the subject of human suicide with which he has favoured us. Few of his conclusions will be disputed by any one present. For myself I had no idea of the statistics of suicide of which he has informed us, nor did I know that they had been classified in the way we find they have been. Suicide, I should think, has very little attraction in general society. Shakespeare makes a noble Roman, Brutus, condemn the act. When he was asked by one of his fellow conspirators against Caeser on the eve, of the eventful battle which brought on their ruin, what he should do in case of a defeat, whether he would outlive his captivity, Brutus said that he had always condemned Cato's act and thought it rather cowardly for fear of what might happen hereafter to put an end to the present existence. But on being taunted by his querist that he would then love a life of bondage more than death, and rejoice in gracing his conquerors triumph by being led in chains through the streets of Rome, he declared that under no circumstances would he submit to be led in triumph by the victor through the streets of Rome. That was the Roman feeling. Then those who under the influence of Philosophy considered it a crime still felt that they must have recourse to it when disgrace or dishonour was at hand ; and we all know how a lady in a state of dishonour owing to an outrage on the part of an ungrateful and cowardly guest, publicly put an end to her life, by which a revolution was brought about in the Government of Rome. In this country, of course, it is very true that females very often under unfortunate circumstances are led to self-murder, putting an end to their own existence, and that (as the learned lecturer has pointed out) is brought about from a sort of despair which excludes all hope. They find themselves not only in a grossly miserable state, but a state of irreparable misery which nothing but death can relieve.

That is their idea, and such an idea of course makes them sufficiently melancholy to covet death. I think every one will agree that a great duty devolves on society under such circumstances. It is incumbent upon all men, specially those who call themselves members of a Social Science Association, to consider to what extent they can remedy this saddest of evils. What these remedies may be, the learned lecturer himself has proposed, and I am unwilling to dilute the force of his observations by repeating them in my feebler language and weaker voice. But I hope that the lecturer will draw public attention to the subject generally, and specially the attention of those whose self-vocation calls upon them to promote efforts for social improvement with a view to remedying of evils which the lecturer has so correctly pointed out. I hope that the attention of the Association will be drawn to it, and that we shall all have afterwards reasons to confess that we have not heard the lecture in vain.

Babu Iswar Ch. Mitter :

I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition of my friend opposite. At this late hour I am not going to detain you with any comments on the lecture which has just been read. Of course the subject is a very wide one, the statistics collected are very interesting, and the suggestions made well worthy the consideration of this Association. I can only hope that the subject will attract attention, that opportunity will be taken at a future meeting to discuss this subject so ably handled by the able lecturer, and that something will be done, as suggested, to prevent the increase of this crime and, if possible, effect a reduction in the number of these offences.

Babu Ashutosh Biswas :

With great pleasure I rise to support the vote of thanks which has been proposed to Dr. McLeod for his very able, interesting and excellent paper which he has just read to us. You have seen that the learned doctor has reviewed the question

of suicide from almost every possible standpoint. There is, therefore, nothing new to add, and at this late hour I should be the last person to detain you except that I feel it my duty to say something on some of the opinions expressed by the learned lecturer on which I most respectfully differ from him. I start with a novel proposition which may seem to you somewhat paradoxical, but which to my mind seems very true. If you have taken the pains to study the history of ancient times and peoples, and contrast it with that of modern times and living nations, it must have struck you as a very remarkable feature in that comparison that suicides were very rare occurrences in the earlier stages of the history of mankind, when the world was almost enveloped in Cimmerian darkness. Should you put me to proof, I should refer you to some remarkable facts of history. Go back to the early history of the Jews, and there you will come across two solitary instances of suicide—I mean the suicides of Saul and Ahitophel. Go back to the early history of Rome, and there you will find another equally solitary instance in the reign of Tarquinius Prisens. I need not, multiply instances from the histories of other nations, and trust that those I have quoted will go to show that before the progress of civilization, before it had widened the sphere of human ambition and taught men to pitch their aims high, the inclination to commit suicide was at a considerable discount. And then when you reflect upon the statistics of modern times, you have this painful fact before you, that with the progress of civilization and the consequent increase of ambition and growth of new wants, that the inclination has been rising steadily to a premium. But although civilization has been instrumental to the increase of the crime of suicide, it still must never be desired that we should seek to arrest its progress and throw ourselves back to those dark and gloomy days when we were hardly worthy of a place in the hierarchy of living beings. The question naturally suggests itself, is there or there not any means of repressing the crime of suicide without at the same time checking the growth of civilization? It was for sometime an open question whether or not one should seek to prevent suicide by legislation. I believe that you all know that that great, that immortal philosopher and historian, Mr. Buckle attempted to show the folly of legislation in seeking to

diminish suicide by enacting penal laws against it. The learned lecturer, it seems, also shares such views. He too, it seems, entertains doubts about the efficacy of law in repressing suicide. But gentlemen, Plutarch's celebrated instance of the Milesian virgins, that instance which is often quoted by modern jurists with approbation, has long prepared the minds of the people to receive with good grace the arguments of that famous historian. You may therefore take it as an established fact that at present no two opinions exist about this efficacy of law, of a penal code, as a measure of prevention with regard to the crime of suicide. Here I shall not forget to call your attention to a most glaring defeat in the Penal Code, that masterpiece of codification the like of which the world has scarcely even seen. The learned Doctor has correctly observed that the code contains provisions for the punishment of abetment of suicide as well as of attempts at suicide. But the provisions against the latter are so lenient, so merciful, so generous, that they can hardly be expected to have any deterrent effect upon the minds of the people. Again, the Code is silent as regards the suicides themselves. I should therefore, like to see not only those merciful provisions recast and remodelled and made more stout and more stringent but also new sections engrafted upon the existing ones in order to show up a suicide in the most odious and ignominious colours. I am not certain as to what is the present state of the English law regarding suicide, but I do most fully remember that there was once a time when your English legislators walked in the grooves of their friends of Miletus. Not content with holding up a suicide to public shame and ignominy, the English law went further and confiscated his property, thus visiting his sin upon his unfortunate family. I should never recommend to our legislators such a system of vicarious punishment, but still I should fervently hope that they would reconsider the question of suicide code for showing up the corpse of a suicide in ignominy and in the light of the English law and add provisions to the existing shame. Such exhibitions I should think would be a very powerful deterrent. There may be some who would not like to see such ignominious sights, whose sense of decency and modesty would revolt at them, but such refined notions, such sentimentalism should evaporate into the air in the presence of this stern,

this heart-rendering fact that suicides are largely increasing in this country. I might tell you here that the father of modern jurisprudence has not, as it appears to me, seen reason to find fault with such ignominious exhibitions. Hence I may say that if our legislature were to make provisions for them in the Penal Code, such provisions would be in consonance or at least would not conflict with the spirit of modern jurisprudence. But some may be apt to break in here and appeal to the religious prejudices and traditions of the people as an argument against such exhibitions. I need not discuss this point at length here. but will simply remind you of what the learned Doctor has said that our religion has no sympathy for a suicide. But if we have nothing to fear on the score of religion, there is another objection, more weighty, more substantial, more sensible. A certain class of thinkers have sought to defend suicide on particular occasions. This they will concede to us that suicide in general is culpable, but is rather an object of admiration and praise. Witness, they say, the glorious termination of the lives of those saints in whose blood are written the truths and doctrines of Christianity; witness, they say, the splendid conclusions of the career of those political martyrs who did not shrink from offering up their lives for the good of their country; witness, for instance, the patience, the endurance, the fortitude, the sacrifice of the Roman hero Mucius, who suffered his hand to be burnt as an offering to his devoted patriotism; witness the triumphant fall of that young Italian who preferred death in prison by cutting open with his own hands one of his arteries rather than betraying under torture the sacred cause of his association. These deaths, they say, have a halo of divinity about them. And some would go to justify such suicides as proceed from studious calculations, from studious casting up of accounts between pleasure and pain, like those made by Cato with Plato in one hand and the dagger in the other. If a man is once convinced that his life is not worth keeping; that he is disabled by some cause or other from accomplishing to the end the mission of his existence; that to live longer will be an infliction rather than a benefit to society; he is, they say, at perfect liberty to make away with his life. I need not stop to tell you, gentlemen, that such calculations are not unfrequently subject to be swayed by treacherous emotions and feelings. The

statistics of our country, however, as you have seen, do not show a single instance of a martyr. I have also very grave doubt about the correctness of those figures which show the number of persons who have killed themselves to avoid the fatal agonies of some acute chronic disease. Very few, I say, among our suicides have fallen like Cato. Very many have fallen victims to the sudden vehemence of a tempestuous passion. Hence I say, whatever weight this objection might carry in other countries, it carries very little weight in ours.

There is another objection to legislation. To punish a suicide means an encroachment upon man's natural liberty. But the founder of the Utilitarian School of Philosophy, that zealous advocate of liberty, has observed that to punish a suicide, one who has abused the sacred rights of liberty, is not invading liberty but strengthening its cause. You see then, gentlemen, that the measure I propose is not open to any sort of objection either moral or religious. But to have an amended and improved Penal Code is not all. I perfectly go with the learned lecturer when he says that we must strike the axe at the root of the evil. It has been said that suicide is generally the natural product of the condition of a society. If, therefore, you sincerely desire to repress suicide amongst yourselves, let your first efforts be directed towards enfranchising your society from those conditions, those arrangements which are calculated to engender inclinations to commit self-murder. The question then resolves itself into this, —Does Indian Society contain within itself such elements as tend to generate such wicked, such unnatural propensities amongst its member's? There are some who call themselves nationalists, who are so conservative that they will not see the dark blots which stain the face of our society. On the contrary, they will struggle hard to maintain as best those archaic institutions which have descended to us from our Aryan ancestors. I will yield to none in my respect for the great Aryan name, but I shall prove false to that name, false to myself, false to my country, if I conceal from you the conviction that, notwithstanding the flood of light which English education and English civilisation have cast upon it, our society is still the hot-bed of such wicked, such unnatural propensities. Nowhere in the world, I say, do breaks,

dissatisfaction, discord, heart-burnings grow and flourish so luxuriantly, as among the females cooped up in a Hindu joint family. To no person under the sun does the world appear so dreary, so miserable, so desert-like, as to an Indian widow. Do you wonder then that under such circumstances, such conditions, women form nearly five-sixth of the entire number of suicides in Bengal. I say then, if you heartily desire to put down suicide in your country, direct your attention to the economy of your society; hurl your philiphic's against those evils which, sitting like so many cancers upon it, are consuming its life and blood.

Mr. H. Bell :

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I should not have attempted at the late hour of the evening to have detained you with any observations of my own, but I think it right to express my dissent from some of the remarks which have fallen from the gentleman who has just sat down. My friend wishes to make suicide more ghostly, and also wishes to ask the legislation for more repressive measures to check it. I am quite sure, however, from the appearance of my friend, that life has gone so easily with him that he can entertain no very great desire to get rid of it. But you must remember that there are a great many less fortunate people in the world to whom life is an insupportable burden of which they long to get rid ; and it seems rather hard that the law should be invoked not for the purpose of alleviating their distress, but for the purpose of still farther embittering a lot which is wretched enough already. The only part indeed of the learned lecturer's address in which I did not agree was that in which he noticed with approval the fact that the Police were becoming much more active in instituting prosecutions against people who had attempted to commit suicide. I must say that I think the energies of the Police might be directed to very much better channels. Then with regard to the number of suicides. My friend has referred to the ancient Jews and Romans, and he thinks that suicides are much more frequent now than they were in those early days. But upon what data

can we base a comparison? We have no statistics of the number of suicides committed in those early ages. The ancients had no statistical officers; No Sanitary Commissioners; no village chowkeedars to enquire into and record the death of every unfortunate person who voluntarily relieved himself of the burden of life. A few remarkable instances alone have come down to us. But we know from history that there was a period when suicide was almost the fashion in Rome. For we must remember that suicide was not in former days a crime. The Hindu law in some cases actually inculcated it; and it is only within the last 1500 years that it has been branded as a crime even in European countries. The learned lecturer has alluded to the fact that suicide was regarded as so serious an offence in England that it used to be visited with the confiscation of the property of the person who committed it. But that law no longer prevails even in England, and an attempt which was made in 1857 or 1858 to introduce that law into India fortunately failed. One of the most luminous decisions which Sir Barnes Peacock gave in the old Supreme Court was upon the the question whether the law which then prevailed in England should be applied to India; and it is owing to that decision of Sir Barnes Peacock that one of the most intelligent and charitable ladies in Bengal has been left in possession of the large estates of her husband, a lady whose name can never be mentioned without the deepest feeling of honour and respect. I mean, Maharani Swarnamoyee. Had the English law been applicable to suicide in India, that lady would have been deprived of the whole of her vast property, and the people of Bengal would have lost an example of charity and munificence which has rarely been exceeded in any country. My idea, therefore, is that in dealing with suicide we should not attempt by legislature enactment to make more wretched the life of those who are already sufficiently miserable; but that our aim should be to remove the causes of unhappiness and to make people generally as happy and contented with life as my friend opposite seem to be.

The Vice-President (Mr. Beverley) said that had it not been for the lateness of the hour, Dr. McLeod's very excellent paper would, he thought, have furnished matter for a much

lengthier discussions. It might be possible to bring up the subject again at some future meeting of the Association ; for the present, however, he could not venture to detain the audience longer. Among the many points of interest raised by the paper, two only had been referred to in the course of the discussion. The first was the very general and remakable preponderance of suicides among females as compared with males. From Dr. McLeod's tables, it appeared that, whereas in England there were three males for every female who committed suicide, in India there were nearly two females for every male. In other words, suicide was six times as prevalent among females in India as it was in England. This, he thought, must be to a great extent attributed to the position of wives and widows, and particularly of Hindu wives and widows, in this country. This alone was an important social fact, and the Association was indebted to Dr. McLeod for having drawn attention to it. The other point had reference to the possibility of discourging the practice of suicide by legislation. He (Mr. Beverley) was aware that repressive measure by way of posthumous dishonour had been tried—and with certain amount of success—both in ancient and modern times. But such measures were hardly in accordance with the spirit of the present age, and he did not believe that any such repressive action had any considerable effect in the long run. Dr. McLeod had told us that the number of suicides committed every year was a pretty constant quantity. So, as Dr. Guy has shown, was the number of executions for murder, a crime which even capital punishment seemed to have no effect in reducing. It was a mistake, however, to suppose that suicide was not a common practice among the ancients. Suicide had largely decreased with the spread of Christianity, which denounced both the cowardice and the selfishness of the practice.

In conclusion Mr. Beverly felt sure that he was only expressing the sense of the meeting in returning to Dr. McLeod its warmest acknowledgements for the most able and exhaustive paper he had read. It was indeed one of the most valuable contributions that had ever been made to the Association.